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**Conflict within intimacy: a socio-demographic
analysis of male involvement in physical
intimate partner violence in Mexico**

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Abstract

This study analyses, from a socio-demographic perspective, the role of different factors associated with intimate partner violence (IPV), the pathways through which these factors operate, and the specific circumstances in which violence occurs. The study puts emphasis on understanding IPV from the male point of view. To be able to understand the conditions in which conflict does or does not result in violence, both violent and non-violent men are investigated. For the analysis, a multidimensional framework is used which is based on the Ecological Model.

The study uses an integrated analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. First, a survey for the population covered by the Mexican Social Security Institute is used to examine the association between IPV and relevant socio-demographic and contextual characteristics. Next, data from a quantitative sample factory-based survey is analysed to explore more specific quantitative information related to IPV. Finally, qualitative data gathered mainly through in-depth interviews are used to understand in-depth the contextual factors influencing IPV.

There were found different pathways through which men could become or not become aggressors against their partners. These pathways are made up of different components and factors that operate at different levels of analysis and are interconnected among each other. Nevertheless, all of these components and factors have their roots in two cultural issues: the predominant culture of violence and the gender system ruling in the society.

The first of these issues is mainly reflected in the acceptance of violence that is learned by individuals mainly during childhood through violent experiences within their natal family. The second issue, gender, dominates all the spheres that affect the use or not of physical violence by men against their female partners. However, it is within the relationship dynamics where gender plays an essential role in the use of IPV.

The main policy implication is that there is a need for appropriate and specific prevention programmes that primarily target young men. These programmes should encourage and offer support to men to reinterpret the social rules that are associated with violent behaviour.

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Chapter 1

Background

1.1 Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)

In the WHO's World Report on Violence and Health it is estimated that 4,400 people die every day and many thousands more are injured or suffer health consequences as a result of violence (Krug et al., 2002b). But how is violence defined? According to Hearn (1998) there is not a simple definition of violence because it is a concept that is historically, socially and culturally constructed and its definition depends on a particular context. However, Hearn (1998) mentions that in any definition of violence, the following elements should be included: a) it involves the use of force with the intention, or perceived intention, of causing harm; b) it is experienced by the violated as a damaging event; and c) it should be recognised as violent by a third party, e.g., the legal authority. The most widely recognised definition is the one presented by the WHO (Krug et al., 2002a) that defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation". This definition includes acts that result from power within a relationship and it associates violence to health and well-being of people (Krug et al., 2002a). The most important is that, independently of the context, violence should be understood as undesirable and inappropriate because it is a conduct that provokes damage.

Particularly, as part of the interpersonal violence, violence against women, also termed 'gender violence', is recognised as one of the most common types of violence. It is defined by United Nations (1993a) as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life." This phenomenon refers to many types of harmful acts directed at women because of their sex (Heise et al., 1999). Kofi Annan established that violence against women is perhaps the most shameful human rights violation and also the most pervasive (Sev'er et al., 2003). Different authors, such as Dobash et al. (1992) and Mullender (1996) consider that abuse against women is both endemic and prevalent across the globe. According to Watts et al. (2002) acts that characterise gender violence are rooted

primarily in gender inequality, and they include: violence against female children; female genital mutilation; female exploitation; discrimination; intimidation; sexual harassment at work; trafficking in women; and forced prostitution, among others. However, there is evidence that the most common form of gender violence is that which is committed against women by their intimate partners.

Family violence is also an important type of violence. According to Straus et al. (1980), with the exception of the military and the police, the family is the most violent social institution. Family violence refers to all forms of violence among members of a family, for example, it includes violence against children, the elderly and women. However, it is also recognised that the most common form of family violence is among partners, in which women are most likely to be the victims while men are most likely to be the perpetrators (Levinson, 1989).

So, in both the categories 'gender violence' and 'family violence', the most common type is violence perpetrated against a woman by her intimate male partner. IPV is defined by WHO as any behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship (Krug et al., 2002a). According to different authors, intimate partner violence is a social issue cutting all socio-economic, racial, cultural, economic and age lines (Heise et al., 1999; Kurst-Swanger et al., 2003). Hearn (1998) identifies the home as the least safe place for women. Although there are some authors who consider violence among partners to be equal between men and women, there is strong evidence that the main pattern of partner violence is that in which men are the abusers and women are the abused (Dobash et al., 2000; Heise et al., 1999).

The terms domestic violence and intimate partner violence (IPV) are often used to refer specifically to this phenomenon.¹ IPV includes all forms of mistreatment: physical (throwing an object, pushing, slapping, kicking, hitting, beating up, threatening with a weapon and using a weapon, burning, punching, pulling hair, biting, shoving, grabbing and any physical action to provoke any kind of harm); sexual (marital rape, harassment, undesired touching, forced vaginal, oral or anal penetration and any sexual act against the woman's will); psychological (constant belittling, intimidation, insults, negligence, refusal to recognise accomplishments, blackmail, degradation, ridicule, rejection, manipulation, exploitation, negative comparison, humiliation, enforced social isolation, stalking, and

¹ These terms are the most commonly used in this thesis.

others); and economic (deprivation of key resources, refusal to pay support, loss of personal belongings of the affected). However, physical violence is generally viewed as the paradigmatic case of violence in society (Hearn, 1996). Most international studies have focused on this form of violence because it is more easily conceptualised and measured (Krug et al., 2002a). It is this form of violence that is focal point of the present thesis as described further below. However, the importance and seriousness of the other types of violence are recognised.

1.2 The setting

Mexico, located in North America and covering an area of 2 million sq. km, is one of the most heavily populated countries in the world. According to the Census of 2000 it is home to 97 483 412 people (INEGI, 2001) and for the period 1990-2000 was characterised by an average annual population growth rate of 1.9 percent. 57% of the population are of reproductive age (15-59) and 60% of those in this age-group are married or co-habiting.

In recent decades, Mexican society has been undergoing an important process of social change. The rural – urban migration flow and the process of modernity are two of the phenomena that perhaps most characterise the changing dynamic of the society. At present, 75% of the Mexican population live in urban areas, whereas 50 years ago this percentage was around 40%, - i.e., within the space of a few decades there has been a major restructuring of the socio-economic and demographic profiles of the society (DGE, 1953; INEGI, 2001). Mexico changed from being a society which based its economy on agriculture to a society which bases its economy on industry. As a consequence Mexico has been converted into a dual society which is home to vast differences: the rural representing the minority, the traditional, the Indigenous ethnic group; and the urban representing the majority, the modern, the racial mix between the Indigenous and the Spanish.

However, both the rural and mainly the urban areas contain a mix of people from different groups. In the Mexican urban settings different cultures interact and the communities are characterised by their heterogeneity. For example, it is interesting to observe how people who recently migrated from rural communities keep their traditions within an urban context which has been influenced by the paradigm of the modernity. The interaction of

diverse contexts makes Mexico a very complex society where elements of different origin coexist. But despite the multiplicity there are some uniform patterns that identify the Mexican culture. Szasz (1998) distinguishes the following: the culture of the Catholic religion, the importance of the family and the social networks, and the construction of asymmetrical gender identities. These three elements are fundamental for the understanding of the social phenomena occurring in Mexico.

At present, urban communities are suffering severe economic and social problems, especially among the young population. The process of urbanisation has contributed to socio-cultural and economic diversity but also has resulted in more contrasts between rich and poor, in poverty, in air pollution and in violence. In the case of violence, this is a phenomenon that is pervasive throughout many spheres of life in Mexico, at both the interpersonal and societal level. It has often been used to resolve socio-political conflicts, and the use of brutal force has been a recurrent feature of diverse episodes in recent decades. Well-known are the massacres of students by the Mexican government in 1968 and 1971, the repression of peasants in Guerrero during the seventies, the assassination of important political figures in the nineties, and the conflicts in Chiapas over the last two decades. These are only a few examples of historical cases where the use of violence has been a common factor.

Also, the proportion of deaths which are due to violent causes is extremely high. More than 10% of all deaths are considered violent. In the 15 to 24-year age-group, the respective figure approaches 60% (INEGI, 2004c). In Mexico, the homicide rate is around 12 per 100,000 as compared to about 6 per 100,000 in the USA and 2 in Canada (PAHO, 2004). According to Lozano et al. (2003) more than 700,000 individuals have been victims of violent deaths in the last 50 years. A particularly shocking situation is the murder of more than 300 Mexican women in Ciudad Juárez (Mexico-USA border) over the last decade. It has been calculated that each month 3 women of reproductive age are murdered in this city. There is a cultural consistency in the use of violence in Mexico. Animal cruelty for entertainment, torture in prisons, corruption, drug trafficking, prostitution, kidnappings, and robbery are some features that characterise the violence that occurs at different levels of society.

In sum, the setting of this study is characterised by its complexity and heterogeneity in diverse socio-economic and cultural aspects. However, gender inequalities wherein male

authority is widely accepted, the importance of the family, the frequent use of violence, and the persistent differences between urban and rural communities are elements which are part of the Mexican culture and that play an important role for the understanding of the violence against women by their male partners.

1.3 A priority

Authors such as Dobash et al. (2000) and Kurst-Swanger et al. (2003) confirm that intimate partner violence against women is not a recent problem. There is evidence of its existence throughout the centuries. However, it was not until recently, around the 1970s, that IPV was recognised as an important problem. This recognition was mainly the result of the efforts of the feminist movement who brought the issues of partner violence into public view (Kurst-Swanger et al., 2003). Heise (1996) explains that the first organised action began with isolated groups of concerned middle class women and professionals who provided support for victims, and it was in the 1980s when activists began to work strategically to raise international awareness of the topic.

At present, health, justice and social sectors have been increasingly concerned with this problem; this has been reflected in more organisations, service providers, academics, and policy-makers being aware of the importance of the serious adverse effects of domestic violence for society. Particularly in the health sector, domestic violence has been considered a public health priority on the international agenda since 1996 (Heise, 1996). The health sector is extremely important in the response to violence because it has the potential to take an active role in the prevention of the problem (Krug et al., 2002a).

The global development of the topic as a priority has been documented in various world and regional conventions, conference declarations, resolutions, and recommendations. These agreements reflect the international consensus and progressive standard of the law on human rights and specifically on violence against women.² These statements establish a very strong disapproval of the use of violence against women and appeal to governments of the world to carry out policies to reduce the levels of intimate partner violence.

² It is possible to find a number of publications that present summaries of statements and decisions adopted about domestic and gender violence, such as CONMUJER (2000); Heise et al. (1999); UNFPA (1998); WHO (1997); and WHO (1999).

The first important document is The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The Declaration states that no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and, that all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. Later, in 1966, The United Nations established the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Both of these covenants prohibit discrimination on the grounds of sex and they also prohibit all forms of violence, and state that violence affects women's health. In these Covenants it is stated that violence against women violates the right to enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health for all humans (WHO, 1997).

In 1979, the most extensive instrument concerning the rights of women was established: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). At present, 97 countries are signatories and 174 have signed ratifications or successions to this convention (Sev'er et al., 2004). CEDAW guarantees women equal rights with men and it specifically addresses many anti-discrimination clauses to protect women from violence. In 1992, the Committee that monitors the implementation of this Convention formally included gender violence as discrimination, and even recommended that States should provide support for all victims and take measures to eliminate such violence.

In 1993 United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, the first international human rights instrument to deal exclusively with violence against women (United Nations General Assembly, 1993a). In 1994, the Organisation of American States (OAS) adopted the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and created the most important and the only international regional instrument specifically designed to eradicate violence against women: The Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (Convention of Belem do Para). It provides a detailed list of duties of the States with respect to prevention and punishment of acts of such violence. At present, around 30 Latin American countries had ratified the Convention, Mexico included.

In addition, several United Nations Conferences have confirmed the global commitment to protect women against violence. For example, the World Conference on Human Rights

(1993b) adopted the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action that highlights gender violence and the vulnerability of women in their homes. At both the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) (Cairo, 1994) and the Fourth World Conference on Women in (Beijing, 1995), the ending of gender violence was agreed to be a high priority.

In Mexico, violence against women started to be recognised during the seventies. Before this period no importance had been given to this topic. As in the rest of the world, feminists were the first that highlighted the seriousness of the problem. Specifically, after the First International Women's Conference of the United Nations held in Mexico in 1975, several feminist organisations emphasised the necessity to include violence on the national agenda. By the end of the seventies, women's organisations started to support victims of domestic violence and to develop activities of advocacy. The pioneer experiences of services for domestic violence in Mexico had many economic and human limitations. They did not give an integral service to victims and did not follow specific actions. However, this work was fundamental to the development of interventions and in the evolution of domestic violence as a priority issue.

For two decades, the awareness and acknowledgement of the seriousness of the problem were rising and, in the nineties, there was a "boom" in the participation of different sectors collaborating with the implementation of programmes of assistance to victims (Valdez, 2004). Domestic violence was identified as a central social and public health issue and it started to be incorporated in important public programmes and policies. As a consequence, different governmental organisations, mainly in the justice and social departments, founded programmes to help victims. At present, several prevention and care services are working incessantly on this essential issue.

Mexico has a number of services, mainly in Mexico City, provided by governmental institutions and some NGOs. Help for victims is the most complete and integral area of service; most programmes include social, psychological, legal and sometimes medical support to victims. There are a few programmes dealing with prevention, medical detection of victims, treatment for perpetrators, and training of service providers.

The government provides an important infrastructure of services. Most of them include several programmes covering different aspects such as, mental and physical care, legal

advice, and prevention campaigns. Besides these services, other relevant actions are: a telephone hotline that works 24 hours a day to assist women; and two shelters for victims who cannot return to their households. Because the governmental services are provided free, they are capable of serving a large number of victims, although, sometimes this affects the quality of the service provided or they are not adequate to cover the requirements of the population in the whole country (Saucedo, 1998).

The NGOs have been pioneers in helping many domestic violence victims. However, the main problem for these organisations has been the lack of resources that restricts their work. There are other services provided by other institutions that have been relevant for many women; most of them do not have particular programmes for domestic violence but they give temporary or provisional help and protection to female victims (Saucedo, 1998). Private organisations, religious groups, academic institutions, and the Human Rights National Commission (CNDH) are some examples of these institutions.

Despite advances, however, much more progress is still needed because many problems persist yet. For example, there are no laws as yet that oblige aggressors of domestic violence to follow a rehabilitation programme; there is a lack of resources in the support centres; many policemen and doctors are not trained to deal with cases of domestic violence; programmes of prevention are scarce and there are few aimed at men; there is little publicity of the services; resources of some centres of support are not adequate to help people living through a dramatic situation. The solution for most of these problems is still far off and the combating of domestic violence has only just been initiated in Mexico.

1.4 A serious problem: magnitude and consequences

The levels of partner violence in the world and the serious consequences to the society – mainly to women – demonstrate that the advances mentioned above have not been enough. Information about prevalence levels of IPV is scarce. Only a few studies have national coverage and most of them are based on convenience samples (Heise et al., 1999; Walker, 1999). However, despite the lack of data, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that intimate partner violence is highly prevalent. The current information available suggests that between 15% to 69% of women in the world have ever suffered physical violence

from their male partners and, between 3% to 52% in the last 12 months previous to the survey (Heise et al., 1999; Krug et al., 2002a; Watts et al., 2002).

Domestic violence prevalence is a very serious problem and is considered endemic. Several authors (Ellsberg 2000; Heise et al., 1994; Ramírez, 1995; WHO, 1997) have gathered information on the proportion of physically assaulted women by an intimate partner for different countries. The most comprehensive report is presented by Heise et al. (1999) and also observed in the WHO report on violence and health (Krug et al., 2002a) (See Appendix I). It is difficult to compare the levels according the different countries – or even between studies performed in the same country - because of the differences in definitions, sample sizes, data collection approaches and cultural factors (Watts et al., 2002). In general, though there are considerable variations in the levels, it can be observed that many studies indicate high levels of intimate partner male violence. For example, according to surveys with national coverage in Egypt and New Zealand more than 30% of women have ever been beaten by an intimate male partner. Also, in some Latin American and Caribbean countries this percentage is around 30%.

Other national representative data which come from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) have found high levels of physical partner violence against women (Kishor et al., 2004). In Colombia and Peru it was found that more than 40% of women have ever suffered physical partner violence. In Zambia this percentage is almost 50%.

In Mexico, the first quantitative study of intimate partner violence was conducted in 1990. This study was based on a random sample survey of 342 women aged 15-72 years and carried out in the Metropolitan area of Mexico City (Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl). It found that 33% of women reported having suffered violence within the family, and in 75% of cases the main aggressor was the male intimate partner. Of the total women who suffered violence, 57% suffered psychological, 31% physical, and 16% sexual (Valdez et al., 1992). Between 1995 and 1996, three of the most important studies were carried out in large cities of Mexico with ever married or cohabiting women. In Monterrey, 1,064 women aged 15 or more years were interviewed. 46% had suffered any kind of intimate partner violence (psychological, physical, emotional, sexual) and 15% physical violence (Granados et al., 1998). In Guadalajara, of 581 women interviewed, 56% had suffered any kind of intimate partner violence and 26% physical (Ramírez et al., 1998). In Durango, 384 women aged

12-48 years were interviewed, and a prevalence of physical partner violence of 40% was found (Alvarado et al., 1998).

More recently other studies have been carried out with the aim of determining the prevalence of violence against women. For example, in 1999, the National Institute of Statistics in Mexico (INEGI), conducted a random sample survey in Mexico City with people aged 18 or more representing almost 6000 households. They found that 30% of married women suffer any kind of violence, the principal aggressors being their partners (INEGI, 2000). Also in Mexico City, Díaz-Olavarrieta et al. (2002) investigated the prevalence of abuse by a partner within the past year among 1,780 female adult outpatients at an internal medicine institution. Current physical and/or sexual abuse (in the last 12 months) was reported by 9% of women and lifetime prevalence abuse by 41%. Another important study was conducted in the metropolitan area of Cuernavaca Morelos in 1998 (Rivera-Rivera et al., 2004). It was found that prevalence of low-moderate violence was 35.8% while prevalence of severe violence was 9.5%.³

Because of the need for more exact information about the magnitude of the phenomenon in Mexico at a national level, in 2002-2003 two large-scale random sample surveys (ENDIREH, 2003 and ENVIM 2003), which included intimate partner violence, were conducted covering the female population of all the States of the country. In both of them it was found that around 1 in 10 Mexican women had suffered physical violence from their partners in the last 12 months (INEGI, 2004b; INSP, 2003). Although conceptual and operational differences between studies make comparisons difficult, it is possible to conclude that the levels of intimate partner physical violence against women in Mexico are high, similar to other settings in Latin America and other countries.

IPV has devastating consequences, its effects could be enormous for the individuals concerned and society (Campbell, 2002; Krug et al., 2002a). It adversely affects the physical and mental health and well-being of people and may also provoke unfavourable socio-economic consequences for the society. Also, intimate partner violence is associated with sexual and reproductive health problems such as the transmission of STIs including HIV/AIDS, unplanned conceptions, miscarriages, sexual dysfunction, and gynaecological

³ In this study the authors combine physical and emotional violence, therefore comparisons with other studies are difficult. For 'low violence' they included: control of activities, not allowing women to have a job, insults, but also face slaps. In 'severe violence' were considered acts as burning, locking, throwing objects, among others.

problems such as pelvic infections (Campbell, 2002; García-Moreno et al.; 2000). Intimate partner violence may also have fatal outcomes: intentional homicide, or multiple injuries that lead to disability or suicide. Campbell (2002) found that 40 to 60% of murders of women in USA are done by intimate partners. According to the British Medical Association (1998), domestic violence is more likely to result in injury than any other violent crime. The World Bank estimates that gender-based victimisation is responsible for one in every five healthy days of life lost to women of reproductive age (Heise et al., 1994) and, in 1998, interpersonal violence was estimated to be the tenth leading cause of death among women aged 15-44 years, most of them murdered by their partners (WHO, 2000).⁴ A figure that summarises negative health outcomes caused by intimate partner violence is presented in Appendix II.

In Mexico, important studies have focused in the reproductive health consequences of women who have suffered from IPV. For example, Valdez et al. (1996) found that women who are mistreated are four times more at risk of having low-birth babies and three times more likely to have difficulties at birth than other women. In addition, more homicides have been observed during pregnancy among mistreated women (Valdez et al., 1996). In another study, 67% of women with stillbirths were victims of intimate partner violence (Granados et al., 1998). Among maternal deaths 16% were detected as having situations of domestic violence (Elu et al., 2001). Furthermore 12% of women who experienced intimate partner violence during pregnancy had at least one miscarriage or abortion (Alvarado et al., 1998).

1.5 What do we know about intimate partner violence?

As a result of the increasing interest in the prevention of domestic violence, researchers from different disciplines have been producing a growing theoretical and empirical body of information on diverse aspects of the problem. The first studies were carried out mainly in the United States and were based on women who accessed sources of assistance, and most of the data were obtained from shelters, official records, or clinical centres. However, over the last years several well-designed studies have been carried out and a lot of progress has been made towards understanding the nature of IPV. According to Dobash et al. (2000)

⁴ The health consequences of the intimate partner violence have been described and analysed in several works (Campbell, 2002; Heise et al., 1994; Heise et al., 1999; Krug et al., 2002b; Valdez et al., 1998; WHO, 1997).

attention turned from whether the problem existed or not to a concern to assess its prevalence, its causes, the psychosocial characteristics of aggressors and victims, the consequences, the models of detection of victims, the intervention programmes and their efficacy, and the possibility of creating new approaches to solutions.

At present, many studies around the world have been focused to explain intimate partner violence. Some authors such as Campbell (1992), Heise et al. (1999), Jewkes (2002), Kishor et al. (2004), Krug et al. (2002a) and Levinson (1989), among others, have examined societies and articles around the world trying to describe the range of factors and circumstances associated with this problem. Several of them are identified; however, there are only some that are constantly named in most of the studies. Male dominance in society and in intimate relationships and the acceptability of resolving conflicts by use of violence are those which seem constantly attached to IPV (Jewkes, 2002). History of family violence, poverty, use of alcohol by men, the influence of social networks and being young are other individual level factors that have frequently been found associated with partner violence.

In Mexico, the first research investigations were initiated at the beginning of the nineties and they were mainly of a quantitative nature with the aim of measuring the prevalence of domestic violence. Since that time, different investigations have emerged. However, despite the growing importance of studies, at present, published articles that show the nature and magnitude of the problem are scarce. A summary-table of some of the most important studies reviewed is found in Appendix III.

Most reviewed Mexican studies coincide with studies of other parts of the world. They conclude that domestic violence is caused mainly by the cultural context characterised by gender inequalities. According to most researchers, Mexican society is characterised by a domination culture, by men over women, that includes tolerance towards the use of male violence against their female partners with the aim of maintaining power and control in the relationship. Furthermore, the tolerance and legitimisation of intimate partner violence against women appears to be more extreme among indigenous Mexican groups. Different authors (Freyermuth-Enciso, 1999; García et al., 1997; González-Montes, 1998; Miranda et al., 1998; among others) have focused their research on these groups and most of them agree that indigenous women live a critical situation of domestic violence. It is suggested

that besides the domination culture, extreme poverty, illiteracy, and the lack of institutional support make women's position more vulnerable.

The second important element found in the international literature, the acceptability of resolving conflicts by the use of violence, has not been widely discussed in Mexican IPV literature. However, as I have mentioned above, there is a high tolerance towards violence in general in Mexican society. Hence, it seems that this element is also relevant for the Mexican context. The links between this aspect and IPV need to be further explored.

Some important authors such as Fawcett et al. (1998), Finkler (1997), and Malley-Morrison et al. (2003), have given particular attention to the role of the family, particularly of the natal family, influencing domestic violence. The family is one of the most important institutions in Mexican society. It plays a key role in the construction of social and cultural structures – including the gender structure – that are part of the individual and collective identities of the society. The predominant Mexican family in urban communities follows the western family model characterised as being monogamous, nuclear and patriarchal. However, there are also a large number of other family models. Actually, socio-demographic and cultural changes in the last years have provoked a transformation of the family's structure. The fertility decline, the elderly process, the economic crisis during the eighties, the participation of women in the labour force, and the urbanisation of the country are some of the factors that have influenced this transformation. For example, at present there is a rise in the number of extended families and also, a rise in families where a woman is the head of the household.

Although there is a diversity of types of families, in general, the family in Mexico is probably the central institution that controls the moral rules that lead Mexican culture; rules that are essentially based on the catholic moral. For example, the control of women sexuality, the stigma concerning the separation or divorce of the couple, the establishment of strong hierarchies among the members of the family, the unquestionable respect for male authority, and childbearing as a phenomenon necessarily related with the union, are some aspects that are determined by the family. The family is also the primary sphere of power struggle but also the space of affection and solidarity. This institution, considered by 85% of Mexican as the most important issue in their lives (Salles et al., 1996), can be determinant in the well-being of the couple

In Mexico the influence of the family could take either a supportive or a negative form in relation to partner violence. In the first case, Fawcett et al. (1999), in their study carried out in a community in Mexico City, found that female victims of IPV perceive their families as the most accessible source of support when they suffer abuse. Also the family (mostly woman's family) provides protection or defence to women when they are potential victims of abuse. This protective situation occurs more often within extended families than within nuclear families. According to Finkler (1997), marital conflicts are more often mitigated in extended families because of the presence of other members of the household. In contrast, in nuclear families women are more isolated and consequently in a more vulnerable position.

In the second case, the family could generate, exacerbate or maintain the conflicts that end in violence. For example, in her study Finkler (1997) found that in some cases mothers in-law promote a son's right to abuse his partner and this occurs more often in extended families in which the couple resides with the man's family. Also, the family can limit a woman's ability to challenge the violence because, according to the cultural norms, it is her responsibility to keep the family together (Malley-Morrison et al., 2003). Finally, Fawcett et al. (1999) also found that members of the family are not always supportive. These authors found that sometimes the attitudes of family members are judgmental and blaming towards women who are abused.

In the Mexican literature, there are other factors that have been found associated with IPV. The following are the ones that have received more attention: female participation in the labour force, jealousy, use of alcohol by men, age, and a woman's experience of abuse during her childhood. It is clear that some of these factors have their roots in the gender inequality operating within the household and the broader society. For example, in the case of the female participation in the labour force, Oliveira et al. (1994) found that the most serious cases of domestic violence are among families where women are responsible for the economic support of the home. These authors state that the participation of women in work causes, or at least exacerbates, domestic violence because men feel they have failed in their role as breadwinners and try to reaffirm their authority in the household by the use of physical force. Findings from the recent surveys ENDIREH 2003 and ENVIM 2003 confirmed that women who work and who contribute to the family income are more at risk of suffering violence than women who work just in domestic duties. Another factor with gender roots is jealousy. Granados et al. (1998), and Ramírez et al. (1993) found that

jealousy was one of the often-mentioned motives for domestic violence. It was found that many women reported that they were beaten because their partners were jealous. However, jealousy on the part of women towards men was also mentioned.

Malley-Morrison et al. (2003) consider that one of the most studied topics in partner violence in the Latino context is alcohol use and some studies have found that there is a correlation between alcohol abuse and partner violence. For example, in the research of Díaz-Olavarrieta et al. (2002) it was found that 64% of women who reported IPV stated the violence occurred under the effects of substance abuse. Similar findings were found in studies by Natera et al. (1997), Ramírez et al. (1993), Ramos-Lira et al. (2001) and Rivera-Rivera et al. (2004). For example, Ramos-Lira et al. (2001) found that 75% of women who had been hospitalised because of physical domestic violence stated that the aggressor was drunk when the violent act occurred. In contrast, Miranda et al. (1998) did not find any association between alcohol and domestic violence. Some researchers in Mexico, as in other parts of the world, believe that alcohol abuse is not a determinant factor of violence, but that it contributes to an increase in risk of severe physical aggression that can provoke serious injury to the victim.

Among the socio-demographic factors, the age of individuals was occasionally noted as a risk factor with a greater risk attached to young couples. Granados et al. (1998) and the result of the recent national surveys found a higher prevalence of partner violence among individuals aged 15-19 than among the rest of the population. Even Malley-Morrison et al. (2003) said in among Latinos, being over 40 years of age serves as a protective factor. Finally, few studies have given attention to the experience of violence during childhood and partner violence, though the focus of the research has been only on the experience of women.

Despite the important developments in knowledge in this area, many gaps still remain. For example, in developing countries little systematic research on IPV has been carried out that uses a multilevel perspective for the analysis; therefore, little is known about the nature of violence at different levels in these settings. Most of the understanding of factors is based on research carried out in the USA, which may not necessarily be relevant to other countries (Krug et al., 2002a).

Another important gap in the research is the very limited knowledge regarding men who are violent, from their own perspective. This area has been neglected because violence against female partners has been seen only as a women's issue (Abrahams et al., 1999). This has created an obstacle to improved understanding of the nature of IPV because the prevention of partner violence depends directly on the primary source of the problem: male behaviour. However, at present consensus has emerged on the need to scrutinise the perpetrators and to develop interventions focusing on them (Abrahams, 1999; Anderson et al., 2001; Archer, 1994; Cunningham et al., 1998; Dobash et al., 2000; Dutton et al., 1995; Fuller, 2001; Hearn, 1998; Holtzworth-Munroe et al., 1994; Montoya, 2001; among others).

1.6 Men under research

As mentioned above, recently the role of men as a central factor in understanding partner violence has become recognised. Violence becomes an essential gender difference in which men predominate through the phenomenon of violence. The connection between gender and violence is evident. Men dominate different interpersonal and structural violent spheres. For example, men predominate in the homicide statistics, in the accounts of crimes, in the violence in organised groups such as the armed forces and the police. They are more likely to be armed, to participate in violent acts in public, to be involved in violent sports, to commit violence against animals, against themselves, against children, and particularly against women.

The conception of violence against women as a gender-rooted phenomenon is mentioned by authors who have focused their research on male violence. For example, Dobash et al. in 1998 show how gender relations support battery, concluding that men use violence against women who fail to meet their needs. In their research, Anderson et al. (2001) suggest that male violence against women is not only a way to construct masculinity, it is also an effort to reconstruct a contested and unstable masculinity. They suggest that because of the structural changes in the gender order in United States, some men position themselves as vulnerable and powerless and the feeling of "disempowerment" is used to justify the use of violence.

A small number of articles and books on men who batter have been published in nations other than the USA. However, interesting empirical work carried out with perpetrators of partner violence in developing countries support the relationship between gender and violence. For example, Fuller (2001) interviewing Peruvian men, found that violence is used by men as a resource to reinstate order in situations in which the 'gender order' has been disrupted. Montoya (2001), who compared violent and non-violent Nicaraguan men, found that although non-violent men showed patriarchal behaviours, their gender expectations toward their female partners were less rigid than violent men. One of the most interesting studies was carried out by Abrahams et al. (1999) with male workers in Cape Town. In this work, the authors found that the main reasons for conflict between the couple and partner violence were associated with the attempt of men to control their female partners in which the control of the female sexuality and the control in the interaction within the household were particularly important. These authors mentioned that their findings support Walker's (1979) famous hypothesis: men who hold rigid gender roles are at higher risk of becoming abusers.

In Mexico, few studies have investigated men as the unit of analysis. People working in NGOs or governmental programmes describing their experience with violent men have written most of the documents available. They also argue that men use violence as a means of dominion against their partners. They found that violent men show a traditional gender patriarchal ideology. For example, an interesting work was developed by the NGO named Group of Men for Equal Relations A. C. (CORIAC) that helps men to recognise their aggressive behaviour and to gain a gender-equal view. Qualitative data that CORIAC collected from men enrolled in their programme showed that these men had negative perceptions of themselves and had authoritarian attitudes and patriarchal beliefs of gender norms. These men justified their behaviour with the following arguments: "she provokes me"; "men have to be violent"; "I was drunk and I did not know what I was doing"; "men are the authority"; etc. According to the experience of CORIAC there are three main aspects that provoke violent reactions of men within couples: a) the loss of control over their wives; b) the belief that they are the authority; and c) the fact that women do not carry out their obligations (Garda, 1999; Liendro, 1998). All of these aspects are rooted to gender norms.

Another manuscript presents the experience of the Centre of Care for Interfamily Violence (CAVI) of providing care to men. CAVI assisted 110 men who were violent towards their

partners. Of these, 90% down-played their violent conduct and 75% considered the main reason for violence to be the behaviour of their wife. Besides these men showing gender patriarchal ideology, they also presented: low self esteem; manipulation and control of the victim; poor self-control of their impulses; insecurity; and fear of being abandoned. Furthermore, they showed resistance to modifying their behaviour and problems in understanding the idea of an equal gender relationship (Ortíz-Betancourt, in press). Some international works which have studied men and violence are consistent with these findings.

Recently, in the international literature some authors have argued that it would be useful to build typologies of violent men (Connell, 2000; Cunningham et al., 1998; Montoya, 2001). Some researchers have worked on this aspect. There are several suggestions as to how to categorise intimate partner violent men. The classifications could be based at least on the following aspects: a) violent patterns (severity, frequency, and escalation); b) generality of the violence (towards the woman and towards others); c) level of control in the relationship; d) psycho-social characteristics of the perpetrator; and e) motives for the violence.

For example, one of the most famous proposals is given by Johnson (1995). He identifies two types of violence: a) the “common couple violence” which is perpetrated by men as a response to occasional everyday conflicts, motivated by the need to control specific situations, but not by a desire to exert control over the partner more generally; and b) the “patriarchal terrorism” that is a product of traditional norms of men’s right to control women that involves the frequent use of violence besides other control tactics. The latter is characterised by an escalation in seriousness over time. Another typology is the one presented by Hanson et al. (1997) cited by Gordon (2000). Men are categorised in three groups: non-physically abusive, moderately abusive, and severely abusive. According to Gordon (2000), these authors found that the groups differ in their history of violent and ‘negative’ conducts such as: antisocial behaviour, emotional instability, alcohol abuse, among others. Finally, Walker (1999), based on a review of North American authors who have worked in building typologies, suggests that there are three major types of violent men: a) those who are motivated by the need to gain or maintain power and control within their relationships; b) those who have psychological problems and use violence as a life strategy; and c) those who have committed other crimes as well as partner abuse and who

could be diagnosed as having an antisocial personality disorder. At this point, the process of constructing typologies is under development (Cunningham et al., 1998).

According to García-Moreno (2001), increasing the available knowledge of the nature of the problem is an important step towards developing effective strategies to prevent violence. In Mexico, few studies have attempted to explain the complexity of the problem from the male perspective, and all of them centre their conclusions on the unequal gender construction between men and women in the society. However, this does not explain why some men who live in a patriarchal context do not commit violence against any known women. In this case, to understand which situations result in intimate partner violence or not, both, violent and non-violent men must be investigated. Also, it is necessary to examine the experiences of men, their attitudes and behaviours, their learning histories, their interaction with their partners, and the specific context surrounding them. In other words, it is necessary to study the process through which men become aggressors or not. Such an understanding is only possible if the information comes from the male perspective.

Studying men will permit an alternative perspective in order to look for new potential factors involved in IPV as well as to confirm those found from the female perspective. For example, in the Mexican case, nothing is known about the relationship between IPV and a history of violence experienced by men during their childhood. Also, little is known about the male perspective of the couple's dynamic.

In Mexico, there is just one model aimed at batterers to prevent violence. As part of the task of developing effective strategies to prevent violence, it is necessary to build different prevention models according to the different types of men involved in violence. The construction of typologies could be useful for developing new preventive models aimed to aggressors. Most of the typologies found in the literature are based on the experience of high-income countries. Specific typologies considering the socio-cultural aspects of the Mexican context are needed.

This thesis is a contribution to increasing knowledge of intimate partner violence in Mexico, filling some of the gaps that I mentioned above. The broader aim is to investigate how some Mexican men living in heterosexual unions become involved in physical violent relationships. The ultimate purpose is to provide recommendations for developing appropriate strategies to prevent this problem.

Chapter 2

Theoretical treatment of intimate partner violence

The search for causes is probably the most studied aspect of domestic violence research. Explanatory theories have been developed from a wide range of disciplines. In this chapter, a brief summary discussion of the main socio-cultural theoretical approaches formulated is presented.⁵

Based on the illustrative overview of the theories presented by Kurst-Swanger (2003), I classify the most important ones into four groups according to different levels of analysis. First, those that explain domestic violence at an individual level of analysis; i.e., the social problem is studied through the behaviour of the individuals. The second is the mesosystem level in which I include the theories that focus attention on the family system, the interaction between the members of this system, and the social environment affecting the system. Theories analysing the phenomenon at the societal level are included in the third group. And finally, the multidimensional group contains those integrative theories that incorporate factors at all levels of analysis.

2.1 Individual level

The early research on domestic violence attempted to explain the problem focusing on the behaviour of the individual, and seeking explanations in organic factors or psychological characteristics. Biological Theory was the first to try to explain the “strange” behaviour of couples involved in violent relationships. This perspective states that to understand aggression, there is a need to understand the biological and genetic factors. Authors who have worked on this theory have focused their studies on genetics, brain dysfunction, hormonal irregularities, endocrinological factors and other illnesses. For example, in a review of this literature, McKenry et al. (1995) found that there is an association between high levels of testosterone and low marital quality and aggression. Another study, Gearan et al. (1996) observed that brain dysfunction and neurological impairment could reduce

⁵ Many authors have presented extensive reviews of the most representative theories. Some of the most important are: Campbell et al., 1995; Gelles, 1993; Hague et al., 1998; Hearn, 1998; Kurst-Swanger, 2003; Levinson, 1989; Malley-Morrison et al., 2004; Michalski, 2004; and Viano, 1992.

impulse control, distort judgement, and cause communication difficulties. There is yet other stream that associates genetics with violent behaviour; in this case, it is established that social behaviour is influenced by the biological kinship (Emlen, 1997).

At present, social researchers usually refuse the biological perspective because it has several limitations and because there are little systematic studies to establish whether they are firmly based (Hague, 1998). For example, findings are difficult to test empirically, even the implementation of biological tests in humans is hard to obtain. Also, it is difficult to identify the correlation between biological factors and aggressive behaviour and to establish direction of causality. Another limitation is that most studies do not consider other factors and those that do consider them have found that once controlling for psychosocial factors, the weight of biological as a determinant of domestic violence is low (McKenry et al., 1995).

Other first attempts to explain the nature of abuse at the individual level were psychological theories. These theories were first developed during the sixties when domestic violence was thought to be a rare occurrence that occurred because an individual within the family suffered from a psychopathological condition (Kurst-Swanger et al., 2003). Under this perspective, violence against an intimate partner is the result of some aberration in the character of the offender. These theories led to a number of characterisations including mental illness, developmental disability, immaturity, low self-esteem, pathological jealous, or personality disorders. At present, these theories still persist and have influence in the development of programs to prevent violence.

However, these theories are not widely accepted by most social researchers in the field because they place little attention on the socio-cultural context. As a result, no strong agreement has been reached regarding a psychopathological personality profile of people involved in domestic violence, and the theories are inadequate in the explanation of why there is a high prevalence of the problem. There is also empirical evidence that not all men with mental dysfunction use aggressive behaviour against their partner. Another limitation is that it is not clear if these factors cause violent behaviour, as some studies have shown that there is a relation but not causation. Finally, a key problem of the psychological studies with violent men is the reliability of diagnosis. Sometimes the validation of psychological tests and their interpretation are not clear (Cunningham et al., 1998).

Nonetheless, other authors such as Dutton et al. (1995) and McKenry et al. (1995) affirm that psychological factors play a role in the explanation of interpersonal violence, which should not be ignored. According to McKenry et al. (1995) the psychological factors could be useful for the understanding of those men who provoke intense physical aggression and who also commit other criminal acts. I consider that future research of these aspects could be of benefit to the understanding of this genre of cases of domestic violence. For example, it would be useful to know if there is a genetic predisposition for increased propensities of aggressive conduct than others. I coincide with Cunningham et al. (1998) who consider that future studies such as DNA testing could contribute to the bio-genetic theories. However, for the development of effective prevention strategies and public health interventions, the use of the results from these theories is inadequate. This is mainly because these theories pay little attention to gender relations.

2.2 Mesosystem level

In the seventies, some theorists started looking for explanations under a social scheme. They focused on factors related to populations involved in domestic violence and the immediate community surrounding the individuals involved, such as the family and peers. Several theories have been proposed to explain domestic violence at this level of analysis, named mesosystem level. Some of these theories are still widely used to explain the phenomenon. The most relevant are: the Exchange Theory; the Resource Theory; the Bonding Theory; and the Social Learning Theory.

The Exchange Theory, adapted by Gelles (1983) for the study of domestic violence, is based on economic philosophy in terms of costs and benefits. The assumption is that partner violence is used as long as the costs are less than the rewards which are gained from the action (Levinson, 1989). One of the main hypotheses of this theory is that a lack of negative sanctions against violent individuals enables individuals to be violent without incurring any kind of cost. So, according to Gelles (1983) lack of sanctions and social support are important determinants of violent behaviour. In contrast, the presence of active community intervention against partner violence and violence in general prevent violent behaviour.

Specifically at family level, isolation from a woman's family encourages the use of violence by her male partner because the lack of control over him and the lack of support to her. A corollary of this hypothesis is that women belonging to nuclear families are more likely to be victims of violence by their partners than those belonging to extended families. A nuclear configuration of the family isolates the couple from the scrutiny and support of other members of the family.

Studies conducted by Counts et al. (1992) and Levinson (1989) support Gelles' Theory. Their studies found that in societies with more sanctions against violence there are lower levels of intimate partner violence. In general, they found strong association between norms favouring violence and spouse abuse.

The Exchange Theory has been mainly applied to understand the mechanisms that may increase or reduce the costs of violence. The lack of interventions is the most studied aspect from this perspective. In contrast, few have analysed the rewards of being violent. Most of the studies that have focused on the beneficial aspects to aggressors concur that one of the main key motivating forces behind the use of violence is the gaining of power and control over the family members. However, the main limitation of the theory is that it is not adequate to explain why family members need to obtain power and control and why those who generally have this need are men.

The Resource Theory was applied by Goode (1971). According to this perspective, the family is viewed as a power system in which a member of the family exerts power over other members and the use of violence depends on the resources the dominant family member can command. According to Goode (1971) men with fewer resources are more likely to use violence with the aim of maintaining their dominance in the relationship, than men with more resources. Apparently, if the dominant person in the family has few resources they may choose to use violence to maintain the dominant position due to limited alternatives he has to keep the dominion in another way. Therefore, this theory suggests that men with less resources are more prone to use violence to maintain power in the relationship than those who have more resources.

For example, economic problems and a lack of education are factors associated with lack of resources. According to Campbell (1992) this theory helps to explain the association between poverty and partner violence. The hypothesis suggests that men from low social

strata are particularly vulnerable to being abusive because they have few alternative resources. As a result of their lack of resources, they experience frustration, stress and pressures causing family conflicts.

Empirical data support the idea that poverty may increase the occurrence of violence, however, there is no categorical conclusion about this statement because there is evidence that the use of violence against women by a male partner occurs in all social classes (Hague, 1998). Therefore, it seems that this explanation fails to understand the use of violence in middle and high income families. Another weakness of this perspective is that the dispute of power by the woman in the relationship and the gender dynamics are not considered in the analysis for the understanding of IPV.

The next perspective is the Social Bonding Theory. According to Lackey et al. (1995), this theory, developed by Hirschi (1969), assumes that people are “deviant” by “nature” and the probability of continuing deviance is reduced by strengthening the bond to conventional society. The explanation depends on an assessment of an individuals’ bond to society. The main hypothesis is that men’s attachment to their partner, as well as to friends and relatives, increases the probability of non-violence. Lackey et al. (1995) present an interesting study that illustrates this position; their empirical results show that despite their violent family histories, men who develop strong attachments – e.g. to friends and relatives - are more likely to be non-violent with their partners.

Retzinger (1991) based on this theory, proposed that bonds are essential to the health of the community of families, and of individuals. Therefore, a couple is at great risk of being involved in violence when bonds with each other and/or with the community are few. Hirschi (1969) argues that if a person is bonded to society, this individual is too sensitive to the feelings of others to victimise them. In the case of partner violence, the analysis through this perspective is focused on the attachment developed among members of the couple; attachment mainly measured by affection and sensitive.

This theory is useful for the explanation of the role of some interaction characteristics of the couple in the use of violence or not. It appears that the levels of commitment and affection towards the partner could be important in the prevention of violence. However, the Bonding Theory could be turned down in several ways. For example, some authors such as Dutton et al. (1981) and Graham et al. (1991) among others, have found that

couples could build strong emotional ties that provoke violence instead of preventing it. A mutual emotional dependency between abuser and victim could be developed perpetuating the abuse and at the same time reinforcing the attachment among the couple. Also, according to the Bonding Theory, the attachment and involvement with peers could prevent the use of violence by a man against his partner. However, the attachment and involvement with conventional peers may provoke the opposite situation; i.e., peers may influence a man to enforce strong hierarchical beliefs that increase the risk to commit violence against his partner. Finally, Bonding Theory focuses on the interaction of the couple, however, little attention is given to the gender dynamics that are essential for the understanding of IPV.

The meso-level theory that has received the most attention is the Social Learning Theory originally developed by Bandura (1973) and applied to family violence by O'Leary (1988). The main assumption is that violence is conceptualised as a learned behaviour. The most well-known outcome that has resulted from this theory is the intergenerational transmission of violence paradigm, i.e., violence is learned in childhood and is transmitted across generations. This theory argues that by a social learning process, many people are witnesses to or are victims of violence in their family of origin and subsequently use violence in their own intimate relationships. So, intimate partner violence is a learned behaviour that has its main roots in the family. This learning could also be extended to exposure to violence from the mass media or the use of violence by neighbours, peers, or other significant actors.

This theory assumes that men who experience violence in their family of origin may have learned a model of conflict resolution. Once children learn this model that may have had a functional value, they continue to use it as adults. According to Cunningham et al. (1998) this learning depends on the rewarding or deterring consequences of the violent behaviour experienced, the characteristics of the individual, and the individual's association with victims and aggressors.

This approach has received considerable attention and has been supported by several empirical studies. However, it has also received some criticisms. For example, this theory does not explain why a large number of individuals who have experienced violence during childhood do not become aggressors (Hague et al., 1998). And also, why there are far

fewer female than male aggressors if women experience the same or more violence than men during childhood.

The theories described under the mesosystem level have been very important in the study of domestic violence because they started looking for explanations within the social arena. Also, these theories focus their account on important factors involved in domestic violence such as the lack of support for a woman by her community, the lack of affection among the couple, and the experience of violence during childhood. However, their major weaknesses are that they attempt to explain violence considering only single factors and that they do not pay attention to the wider societal context that affect intimate partner violence. With the aim of filling these gaps, some authors developed theories which centre the understanding of the phenomenon of partner violence at societal level, and additionally, some authors developed models considering a multilevel approach. In the next sections I will describe the most well-known of these theories and models.

2.3 Societal level

The Cultural Violence Theory and the Patriarchal/Feminist Theory are the most important theories that have been put forward to explain violence in terms of social structures. These theories focus on the large social context in which individuals are involved. Norms and values that are relevant to the use of violence, particularly the use of violence against women, are used for the understanding of IPV.

The basic assumption of the Cultural Violence Theory, originally developed by Wolfgang et al. (1967), is that the use of violence is a reflection of basic values that constitutes part of the cultural normative system that views violence as appropriate under certain circumstances. According to this theory norms and values provide meaning and direction to the acceptance of the use of violence as a social behaviour. The Cultural Violence Theory explains why some sectors of society or different societies are more violent than others.

Following this theory, intimate partner violence is a reflection of the broader culture and it is associated with the level of acceptance of the use of violence in general in the larger society, i.e., partner violence is viewed as a part of a pattern of general violence in the

society. The theory predicts that domestic violence will occur more often in violent societies than in peaceful ones (Levinson, 1989). It assumes that partner violence against women is more common and considered more appropriate in certain societies because violence is an accepted means of conflict resolution.

The Cultural Violence Theory is important for the understanding of IPV because it helps in the explanation of why a specific group of people is more likely than other groups to participate in violent situations. This theory facilitates the contextualisation of the use of IPV because it analyses the violent environment in which individuals who are aggressors are involved. However, this theory does not explain why men who are involved in a violent environment are not aggressors of domestic violence and why men are more violent than women.

The second societal theory for the understanding of IPV is the Patriarchal/Feminist Theory which is based on 'feminist thought'. Because its enormous complexity, this feminist thought has been manifested in a wide range of different theoretical approaches. These approaches have been classified by the experts in several ways (Bryson, 1999). The most well-known of these classifications identifies four main branches of feminist thought:

a) Liberal. This school is centred in an individual perspective. Liberal feminists focus on individual rights and choices which are denied women. The main demand is the equality between men and women in law, education, economy, health, among others.

b) Social/Marxism. Unlike the liberal, this perspective presents a collective approach rather than an individual approach. It focuses on the integration of women as a collective group within a context of social and economic exploitation. Social/Marxism feminists argue that the issue of women's oppression and subordination is part of the exploitative economic system that has its roots in the capitalism. They consider that it is only in the context of an economic equality that the needs of all groups of women could be fulfilled. Also, this perspective promotes the abolishment of the sex division of labour, i.e., that both men and women are able to do any kind of work.

c) Radical. Similar to the other two, this perspective has interest in women's oppression but it considers that women are an oppressed group who have to fight for their own liberation against their main oppressors, i.e., against men. One of the main contributions is

that this thought introduces the term 'patriarchy' to conceptualise the structure of the society that is based on male domination. Followers of this approach give priority to studies associated with the control of women's bodies, reproduction and violence.

d) Post-structuralism. In general, the post-structuralism has important impact in the feminist theory. Many recent feminist studies have drawn on this perspective. Post-structuralists focus in how words and meanings are constructed. It is the society who makes these words or categories significant and gives them meaning. For example, the word 'woman' is understood as a constantly shifting signifier of multiple meanings. These meanings emerge only when they are named and in relation to other words. Based on this thought, post-structural feminists explore how culture and language assign meaning to identity categories as 'woman', focusing in both culture and language as sources of power. The meanings form patterns that are intimately connected to the exercise of power and subordination. The aim is that the meanings which society attaches to categories as 'men' and 'women' could be challenged and changed.

This brief review of these perspectives shows that feminist theory is complex and has a variety of different approaches. However, the commonality of all is that they look for the understanding of women's subordination in all spheres of social, cultural and economic life in order to end it (Jaggar and Rothenberg, 1993 cited by Bryson, 1999).

There are wide ranging points of view within the feminist approach to explaining intimate partner violence. However, based mainly on the radical perspective, the central argument is that gender inequity is responsible for spouse abuse. Feminist explanations of partner violence were fully explicated by Dobash et al. (1979). According to these authors "the seeds of wife beating lie in the subordination of females and in their subjection to male authority and control. The relationship between women and men has been institutionalised in the structure of the patriarchal family and is supported by the economic and political institutions" (Dobash et al., 1979, p. 33-34).

This theory postulates that intimate partner violence results from cultural values, rules, and practices that allow and encourage patriarchal structures presenting men superior to women and with control on them. This literature focused on the explanation of the socio-historical and cultural roots and contexts in which unequal gender relations were developed. The feminist view considers that individuals and their socio-cultural relations

are involved in power dynamics that aim at getting control. So, domestic violence is the result of unequal power relations between men and women and those who feel they have the right to control others and those that have to satisfy their need to display control practise it.

Bograd (1988) presents the basic assumptions that represent the position of the Feminist Theory on intimate partner violence. This author identified six assumptions: it is about and for women; it is focused on gender; it addresses issues of power in relationships; it is empowering and transformational for victims; it has an activist component in helping to liberate the oppressed; and it analyses the family as a historically-situated social institution.

In recent years, the feminist perspective on the possible causes of domestic violence has been overwhelming. Many researchers agree that intimate partner abuse is deeply rooted in the unequal gender construction and power relations between men and women in the society. Empirical studies in different countries confirm the association between gender inequity and partner violence. In the literature that supports this perspective it has been found that the main motives for a man to beat his wife are, for example, not obeying the husband, not having food ready on time, failing to care adequately for children or home, questioning husband about money or “other” women, going somewhere without the man’s permissions, refusing to have sex, jealous of other men, etc. and in general, the transgression or non execution of the female role are the main justification for aggressions (Heise et al., 1999). According to Mullender (1996), a feminist view of gender inequalities in society is the only explanation that can satisfactorily encompass the nature of abuse.

However, some theorists (e.g. Cunningham et al., 1998; Dutton, 1994; Gordon, 2000; Romans et al., 2000; Straus et al., 1997) consider this approach to be inadequate to fully explain partner violence, because it fails to explain why particular men raised in patriarchal cultures do not engage in violent and controlling behaviour against their partners.

The Cultural Violence Theory and the Patriarchal/Feminist Theory offer a comprehensive understanding on IPV because they focus the analysis in the social structure of the society; i.e., these theories incorporate socio-cultural norms and values that contextualise the use of violence. However, in general, these theories cannot explain why some individuals who live in the same environment are violent and why some are not (Kurst-Swanger et al., 2003). In response to this situation, recent literature has encouraged the use of these

theories along with other theories to offer an integrative approach that may improve the understanding of the phenomenon. Next, I describe the most important multidimensional models that have been developed.

2.4 Multilevel approaches

At present, it has been found that no one theoretical approach is sufficient to understand IPV. Therefore, researchers (Corsi, 1994; Ellsberg, 2000; Gordon, 2000; Heise, 1998; Jewkes, 2002; Kurst-Swanger, 2003; Malley-Morrison, 2003; Romans et al., 2000; Straus et al., 1980; among others) have recognised the necessity to consider the problem as extremely complex requiring a multidimensional approach to obtain a more integral explanation of its causes. Theoreticians are attempting to provide explanations that integrate approaches and incorporate variables measured at different levels. In practice, all levels can be combined because they represent different dimensions of human behaviour.

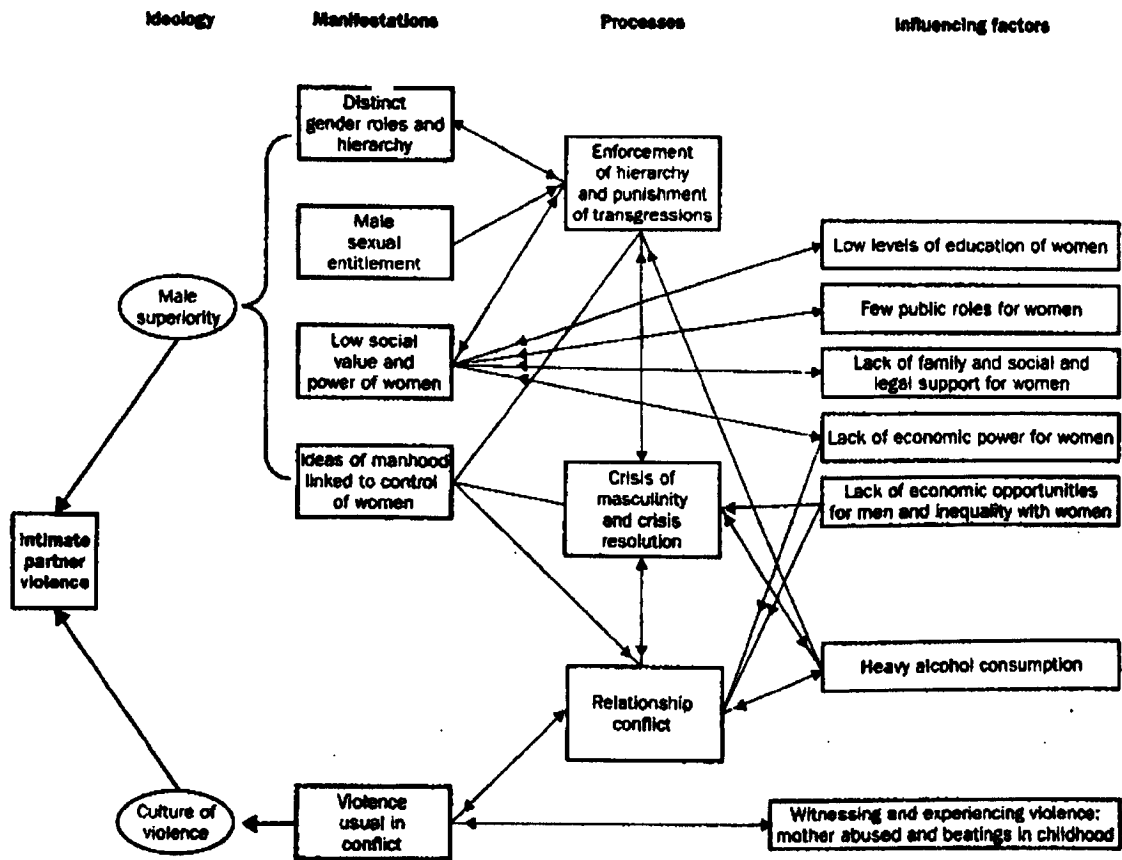
The first important multilevel model was developed by Murray Straus and collaborators: the General Systems Theory. According to this theory, family violence is viewed as the result of the social system encompassing the individual, family interactions, and societal spheres (Viano, 1992). This model includes many of the factors included in other theoretical approaches. However, the most important, according to Levinson (1989), is that this model attempts to analyse all the possible variables and their interaction with each other to maintain the system that generates violence. According to Campbell et al. (1995), there are six major causes of family violence that could be identified in the model produced by Straus: stress, interaction between spouses and children, male dominance in the family and society, cultural norms permitting family violence, intergenerational transmission of violence, and the deep violence within the society.

The main focus of this theory is the family examined as a system, and how this family system operates within its environment provoking family violence. The family is viewed as a dynamic organisation of individual members that interact with one another (Cunningham et al., 1998). In this model, violence is associated with the dynamics and characteristics of the family, and specifically of the relationship; and sees violence as a symptom of a dysfunctional relationship.

This extensive model has been extremely important in the theoretical development of domestic violence. However, according to Kurst-Swanger et al. (2003) it has been criticised because: a) it is highly complex and difficult to test and b) although it recognises the importance of the unequal male-female relationship and the patriarchal dominance in the phenomenon, gender is not considered to be an essential element and sometimes it is assumed that both man and woman share the responsibility for the conflict.

Other authors have also developed interesting multidimensional models for the understanding of intimate partner violence. For example, based on different empirical studies including her own work, Jewkes (2002) developed a framework that incorporates different social factors. According to Jewkes (2002) the causes of IPV are complex, however, the unequal position of women and the normative use of violence in conflict are essential in the model. Actually she says that without either of these factors, IPV would not occur. The author mentions that these two factors interact with other factors to produce partner violence. For example, the model shows how patriarchal legitimise disciplining of women by men because the non-fulfilment of conservative gender roles, and the use of violence in this process. Partner violence is also seen as a phenomenon which results in settings where the use of violence is normal and sanctions are often low. In general, this model confirms the importance of the factors for the understanding of IPV that are involved in the culture of violence (Cultural Violence Theory) and the gender patriarchal system (Patriarchal/Feminist Theory). In Figure 2.1 the whole model is shown.

Figure 2.1 Model developed by R. Jewkes for the understanding of intimate partner violence



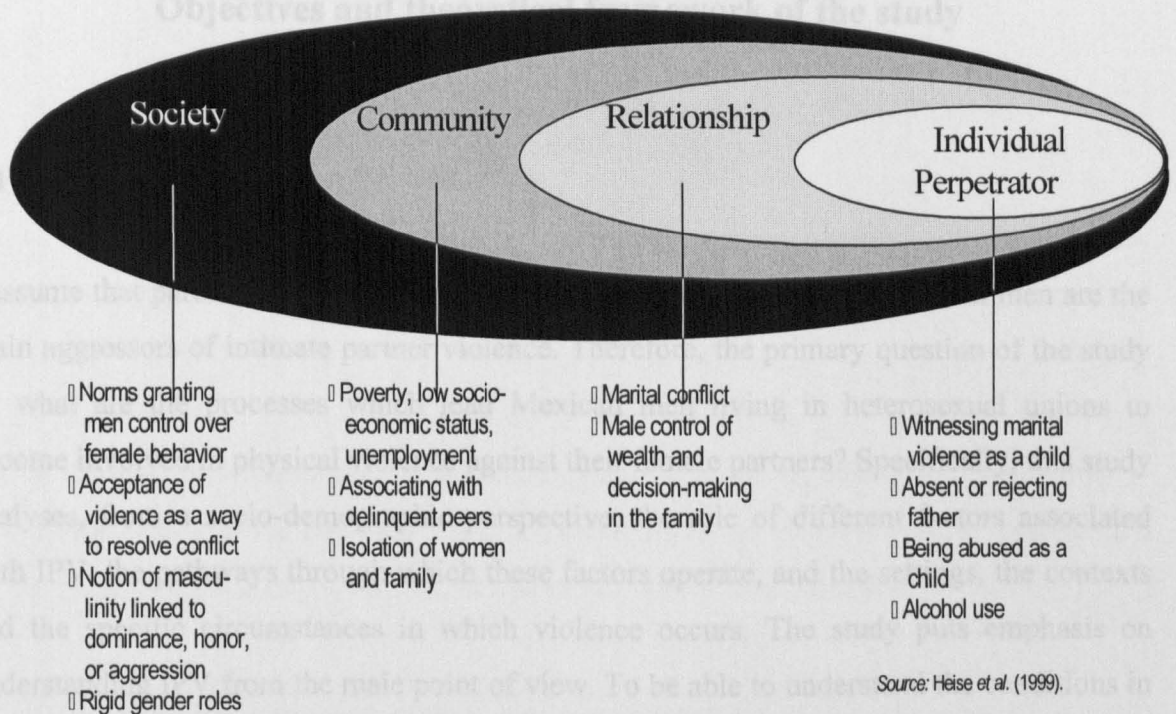
At present, the most comprehensive approach used to study intimate partner violence is the Ecological Model (Heise et al., 1999; Kurst-Swanger, 2003; Malley-Morrison et al., 2004; Walker, 1999; among others). This theory, developed by biologist Von Bertalanffy around 1940, emphasises that an organism can be conceptualised as a system with various interacting components or subsystems that have a relation between them. The theory focuses on the function of these components that constitute the system and their relations. In general, this approach has become very popular in contemporary science and has been adopted by a variety of disciplines as a mode of explanation of many phenomena. The systems conception has been applied to understanding human behaviour and environmental influences using ecological models.

The Ecological Model in violence research was first presented by Belskey (1980) to organise the variety of findings on the causes of child abuse and neglect (Heise, 1998). Later it was applied to interpersonal violence by different authors (Carlson, 1984; Corsi, 1994; Dutton, 1988; Edelson et al., 1992). Most recently, Heise (1998) presented a specific

ecological framework for partner abuse. In this model, intimate partner violence is considered as the product of a system involving the interaction of factors at different levels of the social environment (Heise et al., 1999). The levels of analysis are: the macrosystem (also called the structural or societal level), mesosystem (also called the community level), microsystem (also called the level of relationship) and the individual (also called the personal history level). This approach recognises the important role of different factors or variables that constitute each level. In the Figure 2.1, Heise (1998) identifies the four concentric circles and factors involved in each level, which are presented below. These factors come from a revision of many empirical North American studies on domestic violence and from three cross-cultural comparative and ethnographic studies of domestic violence: Counts et al., 1992; Levinson, 1989; and Sanday, 1981. The final model includes only those factors that are empirically more strongly related to the problem.

The outer circle includes the cultural views, norms, and attitudes that permeate a male dominant and violent society. The community circle refers to the work status, the socio-economic conditions, and also includes variables such as social networks and peers. In the adaptation by Heise (1998), she incorporates the dynamic of the marital relationship at the microsystem level. Finally, the inner circle refers to the individual perpetrator level, which is more associated with the origin family and childhood. Heise et al. (1999) states that the Ecological Model contributes to understanding the reason why some men are more violent with their partners than others. Also, this approach is important because it attempts to bridge the distance between individual, community and societal levels more generally. However, the author recognises that the resulting model should not be interpreted as definitive because it is based on empirical studies and some critical factors may be missing.

Figure 2.2
Ecological Model of Factors Associated with Partner Abuse



It is observed that the conceptual progress in the topic has been significant and useful to the prevention and intervention to support those affected by violence. At present, it is recognised that single explanations are not sufficient for the understanding of this complex problem and perspectives that integrate different aspects are necessary to examine violent relationships in an interactive way. Therefore, a multidimensional approach to obtain a more integral explanation of the causes of intimate partner violence is required. The main implication of this review is that the use of a multilevel model is necessary to conceptualise IPV in order to understand this phenomenon.

Chapter 3

Objectives and theoretical framework of the study

3.1 Research purpose

I assume that partner violence occurs in a context of gender inequity in which men are the main aggressors of intimate partner violence. Therefore, the primary question of the study is: what are the processes which lead Mexican men living in heterosexual unions to become involved in physical violence against their female partners? Specifically, this study analyses, from a socio-demographic perspective, the role of different factors associated with IPV, the pathways through which these factors operate, and the settings, the contexts and the specific circumstances in which violence occurs. The study puts emphasis on understanding IPV from the male point of view. To be able to understand the conditions in which conflict does or does not result in violence, both violent and non-violent men are investigated. The ultimate purpose is to contribute to the abolition of intimate partner violence, by providing recommendations for the development of appropriate intervention strategies.

3.2 Objectives

- 1) To measure the prevalence, frequency and severity of physical violence as reported by men.
- 2) To characterise and identify the role of socio-demographic factors associated with men's involvement in violent relationships.
- 3) To identify and examine contextual elements at different levels of analysis that may increase or reduce violent behaviour in a relationship.

- 4) Based on the above findings, to examine the pathways through which different factors operate at different levels to generate violent situations within couples.
- 5) To explore men's perceptions and attitudes of the experience of being violent.
- 6) To explore perceptions held by non-violent men about why they have not used violence against their partners and to examine the mechanisms they have used to resolve conflicts without using physical violence.
- 7) To observe differences and similarities on attitudes, beliefs and behaviours between violent and non-violent men. Special attention is given to attitudes, beliefs and behaviours related to gender and the use of violence to resolve conflicts.
- 8) To develop typologies of violent and non-violent men with the aim of guiding intervention programmes.

3.3 Developing a conceptual framework

IPV is a very complex problem that must be analysed from a broad and comprehensive conceptual framework. To guide the current investigation into intimate partner violence, a framework is elaborated here that integrates important social factors structured at different levels. This framework illustrates most of the components that are investigated in this study. The factors represented were mainly selected on the basis of the theories described in Chapter 2.

Based on the Ecological Model developed by Heise (1998), the framework proposed perceives intimate partner violence by men against women as a phenomenon that results from a complex dynamic process involving a combination of the macrosocial environment, the community or intermediate environment, the individual characteristics and experiences, the dynamic and characteristics of the relationship, and the situational or immediate events and circumstances surrounding the intimate partner violence.

This theoretical framework is flexible, allowing the possibility of adaptation according to research findings. A graphical representation of the framework is presented in Figure 3.1. Clearly, it is impossible to capture a dynamic phenomenon and its process in a model, however it is useful to help understand the approach used. In the diagram, circles represent different social levels. The Macrosocial and Community are surrounding individuals, both men and women that have an intersection which represents the relationship where the conflict arena takes place. The resolution of conflicts is the outcome, either positive (non physical violence) or negative (physical violence); this outcome is in the centre, as it is affected by all the levels of the social context. Next I describe each one of the layers of analysis.

First, the broadest level, the macrosocial, refers to social and cultural norms, laws, customs, and values that permeate the society. The macro-level factors operate on individuals, their relationships, and their environment. According to the literature (Culture Violence Theory and Patriarchal/Feminist Theory), the acceptance of use of violence to resolve a conflict, the norms of the society about the use of violence against women and the gender order dominating the society (e.g. a patriarchal gender order) are particularly relevant to partner violence. Also, the legal system and a socio-political violent context (e.g. a civil war) are considered important in this level.

Second, in the social context the current community or environment surrounding the individual is relevant in human behaviour. In this case, the role of the family is crucial in influencing conflicts and violence within the couple. However, the family can also play a protective role. The support of a woman by her family and her community in general can have an important influence on the predisposition to violence (Exchange Theory). For example, extended families can have a protective role for a woman. Within the community level the sanctions for aggressors (Exchange Theory), the attachment to peers (Bonding Theory), the learning of violence through peers and media (Social Learning Theory), and belonging to a low economic setting (Resource Theory) could play important roles at this level of analysis.

Individual factors that influence the outcome are also included in the framework. The individual factors refer to the personal history and the current personal features of each

individual. The personal history refers to the experiences of the individual through his or her life, particularly important are the violent experiences during childhood in the family of origin (Social Learning Theory). The current personal features of the individual are divided in three: socio-economic and demographic characteristics; personality; and beliefs. About the socio-economic and demographic factors, the occupation, educational level and age are characteristics of the individual that may be associated with IPV.

The personality includes factors such as the ability to express feelings, emotional volatility, self-esteem, and impulsiveness, mental disorders, and alcohol and drug addictions, among others (Psychological theories). Finally, beliefs of the individual acquired in life concerning gender-roles (Patriarchal/Feminist Theory) and the use of violence as a mechanism to resolve conflicts may be associated with intimate partner violence (Cultural Violence Theory).

The next level of analysis is the relationship of the couple. Certain authors (Frude, 1994; Hoffman et al., 1994; Michalski, 2004) have argued that an understanding of IPV requires particular attention be given to relationship dynamics. Such an interactional perspective focuses on the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of both partners, that is men and women. However, this perspective does not ignore the fact that men and women commonly play a different role in the phenomenon, i.e., that men are the main aggressors and women are mainly the abused, or that “most interactions between men and women occur in the structural context of roles or status relationships that are unequal” (Ridgeway et al., 1999, p.191). Different authors have made progress in the study of interaction. However, it is in the literature of sexuality where Ingham et al. (1997) and Rademakers et al. (1992) made an important advance in the analysis of the dynamic of the couple, by developing the Theory of Sexual Interaction. According to Juárez (2001) the Theory of Sexual Interaction emphasises the role of the social dimension and takes as the object of interest not individual decision-making but the interaction between the partners itself. Such an approach implies that although individual characteristics and the effect of wider society play an important part, interaction is central, and therefore an individual’s outcome will vary depending on who s/he interacts with and the context of that interaction.

The interaction includes aspects such as communication ability, affinity between partners, negotiation skills, decision-making ability, respect and taking care of the partner, gender

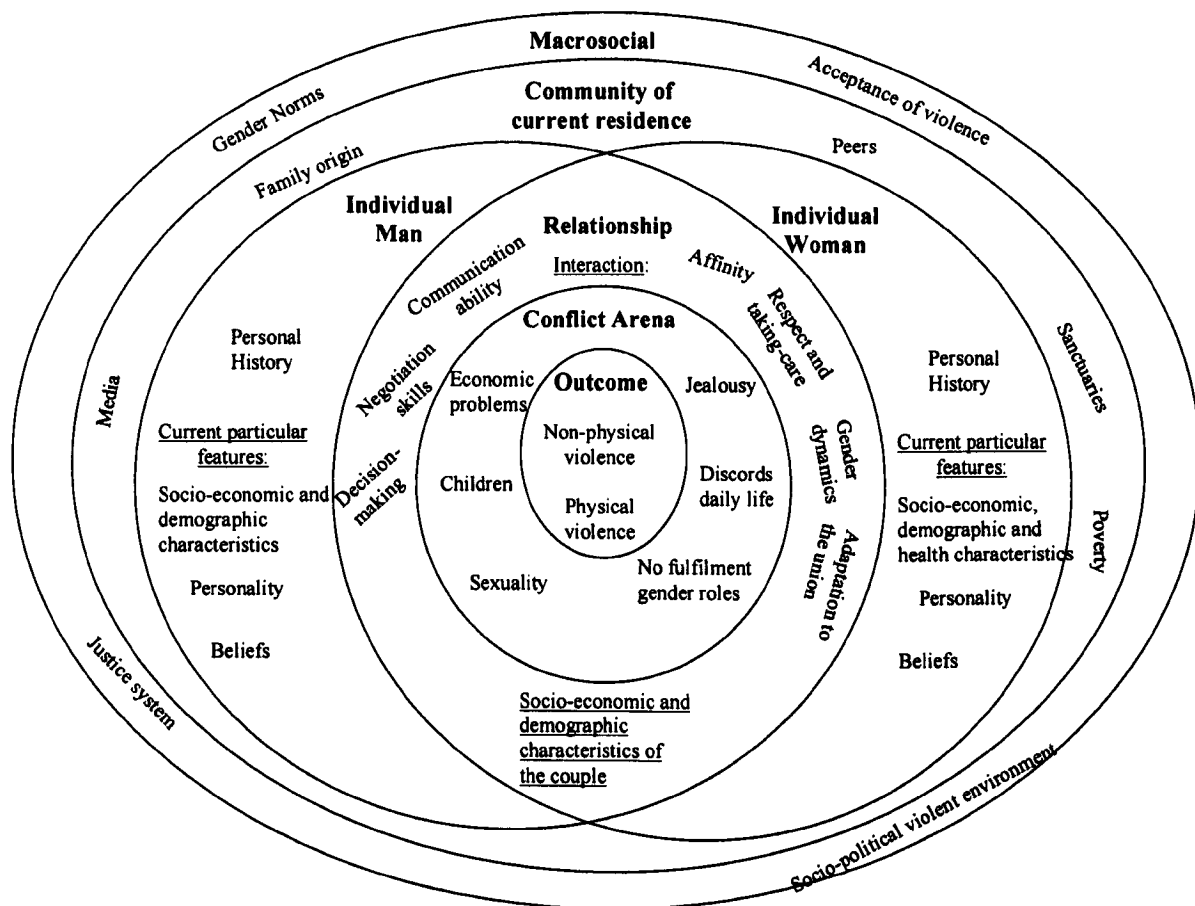
dynamics in the relationship, capacity of adaptation for living with a partner, among others. Also, it is considered that socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the relationship play an important role in partner violence. Some of these characteristics are represented by the marital status, motives of union, socio-economic differences between the couple (e.g. differences in income or age) and the stage of the life cycle of the couple (e.g. the number of children, the length of the relationship, etc.).

In the conflict arena are considered any of the immediate situations that may provoke a violent incident, i.e., this level is represented by problems that “trigger” violent reactions and the specific circumstances in which this violence occurs. The non-fulfilment of gender roles (e.g. household duties), economic problems, sexuality (e.g. sexual dissatisfaction), children (e.g. problems with their education), discords of daily life (e.g. disagreements in the use of the free time), and jealousy are conflicts that can end in violence.

The framework presented assumes that the development of a conflict situation is influenced by the interaction and characteristics of the relationship, but also by individual factors and the macro and intermediate contextual environment. Simultaneously, there is reciprocity of interaction between the different levels and several connections of their factors; i.e., many of the factors operating in the model are interconnected and there is a reciprocity of interaction between them at different levels.

The final outcome is the use of physical violence or not. In this research, the outcome is the physically violent behaviour perpetrated by men against their female partner. The intimate partner is considered as the current heterosexual partner married or living in-cohabitation. Physical violence will be considered as any behaviour with the potential for causing intentional physical harm. It includes, but is not limited to: scratching, pushing, shoving, grabbing, biting, choking, shaking, poking, hair-pulling, slapping, hitting, burning, threat to use or using a weapon (gun, knife, or other object), throwing an object, kicking, beating up, punching, strangling, starving, scalding, holding the arm behind the back, pinching and tying.

Figure 3.1
Conceptual Framework of study



In approaching the analysis of whether or not men use violence against their female partners it is also necessary to understand the social construction of masculinity (Hearn, 1998). Hence, in this research the concept of masculinity is used in the analysis of the involvement of men in IPV. The concept of masculinity was originally developed as a tool for understanding how and why the society and individuals produce mechanisms that involve the social identity of ‘being a man’. At present, Connell (2000), based on the gender relations approach, suggests that masculinity must be understood as a ‘gender project’. This project is a dynamic process that configures gender practices – or actions – that emerge in the social structures. In other words, “‘masculinity’ is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture” (Connell, 1995, p.71).

Masculinity conceptualised under this perspective is not necessarily a property of men. In fact, the term can be used to refer to both men and women, i.e., masculine men and masculine women. However, masculinity refers to the conduct of the group represented by the 'male bodies' and presupposes distinctions from and relation with the group represented by the 'female bodies'. The nature of the term is dynamic, i.e., masculinity changes over time and space responding to the changes in the relationships between men and women. Furthermore, in each society there is a range of different models of masculinity, so, it is possible to talk about a specific kind of masculinity according to a specific gender context. Therefore, Connell suggests that it is better to use the concept in the plural instead of in the singular. Multiple masculinities can be found in different cultures and in different periods of history.

According to Connell (2000) the use of violence becomes for many men part of their sense of masculinity. Therefore, violence becomes an essential gender difference in which men predominate through the phenomenon of violence. Actually, many scholars have suggested that violence against female partners is an attempt to construct masculine identities. For example, Watts et al. (2002) argue that sometimes men use violence against women as a mechanism for subordination. In an interesting work, Anderson et al. (2001) summarise the position of three of the most important researchers of male violence in the UK. These authors mention that Dobash et al. (1998) show how gender relations support battery, concluding that men use violence against women who fail to meet their needs. Also, they refer to the work of Hearn (1998) saying that he proposes that violence is a "resource for demonstrating and showing a person is a man" (cited by Anderson et al., 2001, p. 359). As mentioned in Chapter 1, Anderson et al. (2001) suggest that male violence against women is not only a way to construct masculinity; it is also an effort to reconstruct a contested and unstable masculinity.

Therefore, in understanding the process in which Mexican men become violent against their partners and the contextual elements surrounding the violent behaviour, I have focused my analysis on a socio-demographic perspective, following a multilevel approach based on the Ecological Model. Different perspectives that have been mentioned in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 were found essential to this study. For example, the Culture Violence Theory, the Patriarchal/Feminist Theory, the Exchange Theory, the Social Learning Theory. Factors related to each of these theories, which are illustrated in the conceptual framework, assist in a deeper understanding of IPV and the conditions wherein

conflict does or does not result in violence. Besides, a focus on the social construction of masculinity was found important for the understanding of a male's behaviour and the association between men and violence. I intend that a profound insight into IPV from the male perspective will contribute to the prevention of this problem.

Chapter 4

Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology used to conduct this research. The first section gives an overview of the use of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, and the integration of both methods. Particular attention is given to the strengths of integrating the two for this research. The study involves three main components - two quantitative and one qualitative - moving from a general to a specific explanation of the phenomenon of violence from a male perspective. A detailed description of each component is presented in the last three sections of the chapter.

4.1 Quantitative and qualitative

4.1.1 Quantitative methodology

From the XIX century until the nineteen-sixties, quantitative techniques were the choice methodology for studying the social sciences. The theoretical basis of this methodology rests mainly on the positivist tradition. According to classical positivism, knowledge about society should be generated using the principles of natural science; i.e., derived from empirical evidence acquired through observation, comparison and experimentation. Hence, social researchers adapted methods normally used in the natural sciences to gather information on a large scale in order to understand society. Surveys and social statistics were the most important methods developed from this perspective.

According to several authors (Campbell et al., 1999; Pelto et al., 2003; among others) a quantitative approach relates to the measurement and numerical analysis of an observed phenomenon. Quantitative research is concerned more with universals, i.e., it resolves the issues surrounding generalisation and representative samples because large numbers of people can be studied. Quantitative research relies on structured instruments to investigate the levels and distribution of information in representative samples of large populations, and the analysis of the data mainly involves the use of statistical and demographic tools. Quantitative methodology also allows the exploration of associations between factors and, through this, the identification of possible causal relationships. In other words, it looks to

explain phenomena by identifying significant causal associations between a particular outcome of interest and other variables.

Quantitative methodology has been extensively used for the analysis of intimate partner violence. The quantitative investigations have mainly focused on obtaining information on the prevalence, frequency and seriousness of the violence used by males against their female partners. It has also been used to identify factors that may increase or reduce violence, to describe the consequences for the victims and to identify the strategies that women use to deal with violence.

The use of quantitative methodology for the study of partner violence has been very valuable in allowing the recognition of the dimensions of the problem. In recent years, reliable national level data have been used to characterise the phenomenon in different settings. Reproductive health and demographic surveys, hospital registers, police station records, centres of care for victims, and specific surveys of violence (carried out mainly in developed countries) have been the main sources of information. This information has been important for the design of policies and interventions to deal with domestic violence.

In 1979 Murray Straus and his collaborators developed the measure of intimate partner violence that has been the most widely used: the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS). With the CTS it is possible to obtain the prevalence, the frequency, and the severity of specific acts of violence. According to its author, the CTS consists of 18 items in hierarchical order that measure different ways of handling interpersonal conflict in intimate relationships. These items are ranked on a continuum from least to most severe, starting with the negotiation scale items and ending with the most severe of the physical violence items (DeKeseredy et al., 1998; Straus et al., 1996).

CTS has been considered one of the best available methods to estimate levels of intimate partner violence. It is one of the most detailed measure that exists to assess levels of IPV. The CTS has demonstrated reliability and validity and it is particularly useful for international comparisons focusing primarily on the physical aspects of abuse (Ellsberg, 2000). For example, in their sections of violence, DHS surveys have used this scale to measure spousal violence (Kishor et al., 2004). CTS has made an important contribution to the study of family violence because is a standard quantitative technique that obtains estimates of the extent of partner abuse. Also, one of the main advantages of CTS is that it

asks separately about specific events related to violence instead of asking a single question to assess violence. This gives respondents diverse opportunities to reveal their experiences of violence. To ask in a hierarchical order, from less to more severe violence, has been demonstrated as being an effective approach to avoid underreporting of violent acts (Straus et al., 1996).

However, CTS has faced a large number of criticisms by different authors. For example, one of these criticisms is about the issue that this scale only asks about specific types of abuse but there are many others that are missing; i.e., there are some victims who could have experienced certain types of abuse that it is not included in CTS, as a consequence this scale can originate an underreporting of cases of IPV.

Another important criticism to CTS is that it is a measure that ignores the context of the aggressions, the consequences of the violent acts and the reasons why the violence is committed. Therefore, with the only use of this scale much of the picture of the violent situations is missing. The central problem is that CTS and most of the scales developed to describe partner violence do not get key information about the relationship between the victim and the offender and the context surrounding the abuse (Schwartz, 2000). For example, CTS does not include consideration of economic deprivation, sexual abuse, intimidation, isolation, stalking, and terrorising – all common elements of wife abuse and all rarely perpetrated by women (Yllo, 1988). In sum, CTS does not take into account the general context of the relationship and the circumstances surrounding the assault. The main result of CTS' limitation is that several studies that use the scale arrive at the wrong conclusion that IPV is a symmetrical phenomenon, i.e., women are at least as violent as men. This is the main criticism that CTS has received from many authors such as Dobash et al. (1992).

In 1996 Straus and collaborators developed the CTS2 to address some of the criticisms that the original CTS received. For example, CTS2 included additional items to enhance validity and reliability (Straus et al., 1996). CTS2 incorporates additional scales to measure sexual violence. Also, CTS2 provides a better operationalisation than CTS to distinguish the acts according their severity. However, CTS2, like the original CTS, continues to only situate violence without considering the contexts, meanings and motives of abuse. Therefore, an important number of studies that use CTS2 still found males and females committed physical aggression at equal rates.

CTS and CTS2 have several strengths and limitations. It has been an important quantitative instrument for the study of IPV that has demonstrated its quality to measure prevalence. However, as Straus et al. (1996) mentioned, CTS was not designed to measure attitudes about violence nor analyse causes or consequences. Therefore, research that relies solely upon the CTS tells just a part of the story (DeKeseredy et al., 1998). Studies on IPV that apply the CTS must use other techniques in conjunction to give a better understanding of the problem.

In general, similar to the CTS studies, most of the quantitative research presents methodological inconveniences. I highlight three here. The first relates to problems in getting reliable data. For example, accurate estimation of the levels of violence is often made difficult by underreporting. This is mainly a problem of disclosure. IPV is considered a “taboo” subject given its painful nature, and people may have trouble speaking openly about this intimate aspect of their lives. Some individuals involved in partner violence may actually refuse to participate in the studies, and the high non-response rates found in many quantitative studies will bias the findings. In recent years, some researchers have emphasised the importance of designing methodology to cope with these situations.⁶

The second issue is about the operationalisation of concepts. In the research literature there is a lack of standardisation of definitions and concepts associated with intimate partner violence. Several different terms are used to describe and measure the same phenomenon. As a consequence, inconsistencies have been found in the results of several studies. Also, in many cases it hinders comparisons between the results of existing studies as well as across nations. Some researchers such as Saltzman (2004) draw attention to the importance of uniform terminologies in research of IPV.

The third concern relates to the nature of quantitative methodology per se. Quantitative research based purely on numerical analysis is not sufficient for a full understanding of the issues surrounding partner violence because some patterns require in-depth cultural explanations. Most studies based on quantitative methods provide little information on the experiences and contexts within which violence in the relationship occurs. Even if quantitative research is reliable, it fails to capture many of the circumstances surrounding the violent events (Schwartz, 2000). A serious consequence of this failure to paint the

⁶ Chapter 5 discusses the mechanisms used in this study to deal with this problem.

whole picture is the one mentioned above: that some studies (most of those that base their work around Straus's scale) come up with findings that are not consistent with the historical features of domestic violence. They may therefore lead to wrong conclusions being drawn. The most famous example of such an invalid conclusion is that which says that women are as violent as men.

This perspective has been strongly criticised by authors who advocate the use of qualitative research to get more reliable information to describe and understand the context in which partner violence occurs. Another feminist critique is that the quantitative approach to studying partner violence tends to follow the classic positivist tradition; i.e., knowledge is produced purely from the "objectivity" of numbers, without any subjective influence. Instead, they argue that in order to understand partner violence it is necessary to study the symbolic communication of actors in their natural settings and also to take into account the subjective position of the researcher.

In sum, there are at least two main issues to highlight regarding the use of quantitative methodology for research into intimate partner violence. First, it is necessary to recognise that quantitative research has been effective in the development of knowledge; however, particular attention should be given to the design of the methods to yield reliable information. Secondly, quantitative methodology has limitations in its capacity to provide a comprehensive understanding of this sensitive topic. Some of these limitations can be tackled with the use of qualitative methods. These two issues are discussed in relation to this study.

4.1.2 Qualitative methodology

In contrast with quantitative methodology, the principles of qualitative research rest mainly in the interpretivist ideology. In other words, the central aim of the qualitative approach is the understanding and interpretation of the human experience. Qualitative methodologies are grounded in the philosophical ideas of ethnographic theory. Ethnography derives from the anthropological tradition and is concerned with the study of culture. It essentially aims to understand a different way of life from the "native" point of view (Spradley, 1979). Interest in ethnographic research grew during the 1960s as a result of the diversification of

theoretical approaches to include symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology (Hammersley, 1998).

Symbolic interactionism was developed by George Mead in the Chicago School of Sociology in the nineteen-twenties. Mead argues, based on Weber's action theory, that the social world is a world of inter-communicative symbolic interaction (Filmer et al., 2004). This theory locates the phenomenon of human experience within the world of social interaction and seeks to explain human behaviour in terms of meanings. The meanings are constructed through the use of symbols and the ability to put oneself in the position of another and interpret one's own actions from that position (Grbich, 1999). According to Spradley (1979) the three main premises of symbolic interactionism are: a) human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them; b) the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows; c) meanings are handled and modified through an interpretive process used by a person dealing with the things he or she encounters.

Phenomenology was introduced into sociological discourse by Alfred Schutz. Phenomenology focuses on language as the fundamental resource for interaction. The individual is at the centre of the analysis because he or she is the originator of meanings resulting from language. The philosophy behind phenomenology rests partly in constructionism which considers that society is socially constructed of the way in which its members make sense of it. In contrast, ethnomethodologists are less concerned with how people see things, and instead are more interested in how people do things (Filmer et al., 2004).

All three perspectives consider that human behaviours result from a set of interactions and meanings placed in the reality of a specific socio-cultural context. They emphasise the need to explore social phenomena as experienced by individuals in their contexts. This involves studying the culture of the people in their natural setting. Qualitative methodology has been the preferred approach for research within these perspectives because it is considered to offer the most in-depth understanding of why people act as they do. It has been proven that qualitative methods provide rich descriptions and explanations about social life.

Several different qualitative methods have been developed. The most traditional of these are observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and biographies. Of these, interviewing and focus group discussions are the qualitative methods which predominate in the social sciences. These methods allow an understanding of local knowledge and practices relating to daily life, through the observation of interactions and through formal and informal conversations. The use of these methods came into vogue in the 1970s.

At present, most of the feminist methodologists no longer argue in favour of a distinct or unique feminist method. In the early stages of feminist research most feminist researchers should employ qualitative rather than quantitative approaches. But nowadays, the term feminist methodology does not indicate any particular choice of one method over another. The current feminist tendency is to avoid dualisms that implies, among other things, to integrate quantitative with qualitative methods. However, qualitative research is still widely advocated by feminist researchers (Brunskell, 1998) because, according to many feminists, the qualitative approach is the best for exploring details about emotions, preferences, motivations and the dynamic of interactions. This kind of information is central for research with a feminist perspective. For example, most qualitative studies about intimate partner violence have focused on providing detailed data about women's experiences of violence. These studies tend to get information about specific circumstances surrounding the events, interaction within the couple, the position of the researcher, and so on. (Ellsberg et al., 2001). With its interpretative approach, qualitative methodology can capture specific issues relating to violence, provide explanations and interpretations of the phenomenon, and also evoke images of the local context conducive to violent behaviour.

Therefore, the use of qualitative research has been extremely important in understanding the nature of partner violence in specific contexts. However, the qualitative methodology also has some limitations. First, the validity and reliability of qualitative research is often questioned. The next chapter will present the way in which issues of validity and reliability were managed in this thesis. The second, and probably the most important limitation, is related to the problem of generalisation. In this research, the use of quantitative methodology is used to overcome this problem. The following section will give details on the need to integrate both quantitative and qualitative methods for this research.

4.1.3 The integration

The choice of a methodology depends principally upon the aim of the research. Some study questions will be more efficiently answered using quantitative methods, while others will be better explored with qualitative methods. For example, the quantitative approach is useful to measure incidence, while the qualitative approach can be used to elaborate subjective rationales for behaviour (Pelto et al., 2003). Both, qualitative and quantitative methodologies have distinct and equally important contributions to make. In recent decades researchers have tended to use both methods in their studies in order to obtain complementary and richer information.⁷

Feminist social researchers, who used to put emphasis on the use of qualitative methods, are actually now more open to the use of multiple methods of research (Brunskell, 1998; Spicer, 2004). For example Jayaratne (1983) (cited by Brunskell, 1998) argue that quantitative research is needed to complement qualitative research in studies based on a feminist perspective. In the field of domestic violence, Schwartz (2000) claims that the advantage of using several different methods to explore the phenomenon is that one is more likely to get a clear picture of the situation and the context. A broad understanding of the nature of intimate partner violence can be obtained through the rigorous analysis of quantitative data about factors associated with abuse, combined with sophisticated and empathetic qualitative data on the experiences of the individuals involved.

Several authors have tackled the problem of how to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches. Pelto et al. (2003) present one of the most extensive discussions of the different forms of combination that have been used, outlining ways commonly employed by researchers in the field of reproductive health. These are: a) qualitative and quantitative techniques are integrated in a single instrument; b) qualitative and quantitative methods are separate but complementary; c) qualitative data-gathering is used to sharpen the quantitative instrument, and to provide appropriate local language and content for the questions; d) a quantitative survey is developed to test a specific hypothesis arising during the course of prior qualitative research; e) qualitative studies are conducted in order to further explain and get better understanding of results found in an earlier quantitative phase of research; f) qualitative work is used to develop a sample for structured investigation; g)

⁷ According to Lazar (2004), Weber is the pioneer of the integration because he encouraged the study of social science from two perspectives: scientific (or positivist) and interpretive. Weber's position created the first theoretical possibility for using both quantitative and qualitative methods.

structured content analysis of qualitative case studies is used to provide some numerical perspectives on the categories of cases and types of situations; h) qualitative followed by quantitative and then back to intensive qualitative data gathering.

In this research the combination of methods takes the form of that described in situation 'b)' (please see previous paragraph). The gathering and analysis of the information was carried out in a sequential way, quantitative first and qualitative second. However, there is interplay between quantitative and qualitative results. Qualitative methods were used more as a way to examine the context of quantitative findings or to give depth to the causal relationships identified using the quantitative data. My approach differs to that described in point 'e)' because I was careful to maintain reciprocal feedback between the two approaches, i.e., data obtained from the quantitative component provided important information for the analysis of the qualitative approach and vice versa. Both methods were integrated in a complementary manner.

I considered the mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to be useful for this study because the aim of the research required that the subject be addressed from different angles. In general, quantitative methods were used to identify the factors associated with intimate partner violence, the relationships between the factors and the pathways influencing violent conduct in relationships. In addition, the quantitative phase was used to identify groups and screen for individuals who could participate in the qualitative phase. The qualitative work was then used to explain how particular factors interact and why these patterns exist. The use of both methods allowed increased understanding of the complex and sensitive phenomenon of intimate partner violence.

This study has three components of research: two quantitative and one qualitative. First, a survey of reproductive health for the population covered by the Mexican Social Security Institute (1998) is used to examine at national level the association between IPV and relevant socio-demographic and contextual characteristics. Next, data from a quantitative sample survey conducted among male factory workers in an urban middle to low income setting in Mexico City is analysed to explore more specific quantitative information related to IPV. Finally, qualitative data gathered mainly through in-depth interviews with men selected from the sample survey are used to interpret and contextualize the patterns found in the quantitative analysis and to explore new relevant data that help in the understanding of IPV. In the following sections a detailed description of each component is presented.

4.2 First component: Quantitative, national survey

4.2.1 Aim

The first component of this research consists of the analysis of a national survey of reproductive health (ENSARE 1998) for the population covered by the National Health Service, conducted in 1998 by the Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS). Most of the “insured” population reside in urban areas. 52% of Mexican male workers of reproductive age who reside in urban areas are covered by the health service. Most of them tend to come from a middle-low socio-economic background. The relevance of ENSARE 1998 is that it is the first large-scale random sample survey in Mexico to collect information on domestic violence from both women and men. The data obtained from this survey offer the opportunity to present the first large panorama of the phenomenon in Mexico from the male point of view. The aim of this first phase is to analyse this important information.

The main strength of this information is that it can be used to measure levels of IPV and to identify the existence of associations which may indicate causal relationships. Specifically, the analysis of the ENSARE 1998 allows estimations and exploration of: the prevalence, frequency and severity of violent incidents and the main motives for these incidents; differentials in these indicators according to socio-economic and demographic variables; and the relationship between the main outcome of interest (intimate partner violence) and relevant independent variables such as the interaction of the couple (decision-making, sexuality, economic control, gender dynamic) and violence in childhood.

4.2.2 Characteristics of the survey

According to Mendoza-Victorino et al. (2000), ENSARE is a stratified sample survey collected in 1998 which obtained information from men and women of reproductive age (men 12-59, women 12-54). All households from the selected districts were visited and those households with at least one insured person were selected. In each household, all women aged 12-54 years were interviewed and just one man aged 12-59 years was selected using simple random sampling. A total of 5,405 women and 2,992 men (selected from 4,569 urban households) were interviewed. The structure of the population of ENSARE

1998 is very similar to that of the national population, according to official estimates (Mendoza-Victorino, 2000).

According to those who were in charge of the conduction of the survey, men and women from the same household were interviewed separately. In most of cases the majority of women were interviewed when men were not in the household and vice-versa. For this reason, for the conduction of the survey, the interviewers did more than one visit to most of the households. In some cases it was impossible to conduct the survey with the absence of the partner. In these situations interviewers tried to carry out the interviews in different rooms without the presence of the any other member of the household. Also, the interviewers were trained to give special attention to avoid under-reporting of violence.

The questionnaire was extensively pre-tested and a well-trained staff carried out the fieldwork over a three month period. The aim of the survey was to collect information contributing to knowledge of the reproductive health of men and women. Data collected include: socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, fertility and nuptiality, reproductive preferences, child care, contraception, STI's, sexual behaviour, attitudes about gender roles, domestic violence, and quality of the National Health services (IMSS's services). In addition, female respondents also provided data on infertility, recent fertility, maternal health, cervical and breast cancer detection, and menopause (Mendoza-Victorino, 2000). In general, ENSARE has a very similar format to that of the widely used Demographic Health Surveys (DHS).

4.2.3 Data on domestic violence

Domestic violence was measured using a modified version of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) which was described in subsection 4.1.1 (the version utilised by ENSARE 98 is presented in Appendix IV). Respondents were asked about particular types of abuse. This scale allowed estimation of the prevalence of the use of physical force by men against their female partners in the previous 12 months, and the frequency and severity of these events (types of abuse and injuries). According to the scale used by ENSARE 98, physical violence includes the following acts: hitting, throwing an object, pushing, slapping, kicking, biting, and using a weapon. With the specific aim of finding out about violent incidents each man was questioned about physical force within the couple, i.e., any

physically violent behaviour between a man and his female partner. Each question was asked in the following way: “have you and your partner participated in a fight using physical force in the last 12 months?” It is assumed that in most of these physical fights men are active participants. In fact, in most cases they are considered to be the main aggressors.

The module on domestic violence utilised by ENSARE 1998 also included issues associated with conflicts in the relationship such as household decision-making, agreement or disagreement surrounding these decisions, verbal violence and strong fights within the couple, and the main reasons for physically violent fights.

4.2.4 Data analysis strategy

In order to explore the relationship between intimate partner violence and the variables under study, bivariate and multivariate analysis was used. Because a large number of variables was considered, they were classified by topics and subtopics informed by a theoretical framework for step by step analysis. For example, the variable “age” was classified as a “socio-economic and demographic” topic and a “life cycle characteristics” subtopic.

The bivariate analysis was conducted to describe the relationship between the outcome and the independent variables. Two way tables were used to describe the percentage of cases involved in IPV for each variable. Both Chi square and Wald tests were used to test the significance of the associations between the variables and the outcome. In most cases a 5% significance level was used to assess the presence of a true association.

In order to examine these relationships while controlling for other factors, multivariate analysis was performed using the logistic regression technique. It was considered appropriate to use logistic regression because the outcome is a dichotomous categorical variable. Each observation takes the value of ‘1’ for those who reported having been involved (in the last 12 months) in any of the violent acts described in the last subsection (violent men), and ‘0’ for those who did not (non-violent men). The logistic model can be expressed as:

$$\log [\pi/(1-\pi)] = \alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \dots + \beta_n x_n$$

Where:

π = probability of being violent

α = constant term (or corner) representing the value of $\log [\pi/(1-\pi)]$ (or log odds) when all the explanatory variables take value zero. This corresponds to the log odds at the baseline value of all factors

x_1 to x_n = series of explanatory variables

β_1 to β_n = regression coefficients associated with the explanatory variables

The choice of variables to be included in the models was based on statistical associations and the conceptual framework describing hierarchical relationships between risk factors.⁸ The models were developed to assess the effects of different combinations of factors. Overall, the multivariate analysis was conducted using the following strategy. As mentioned above, a theoretical classification of variables was performed. Crude odds ratios and their 95% confidence intervals were obtained for each variable of interest. These findings were compared with the results of the bivariate analysis to check for consistency. Then, different models were built including variables from the groups of topics and subtopics. For each group, all the variables were entered in all different possible combinations in a series of models. Due to the strong multicollinearity between some variables and the existence of highly redundant factors, only those that appeared to have strong independent effects on IPV were retained in the final model. The adjusted odds ratios and their 95% confidence intervals were obtained. The crude and adjusted odds ratios were compared. The Wald Test was used to test whether individual coefficients differed from zero. Log likelihood ratio tests were used to assess the statistical significance of the contribution each variable made to the models. Finally, likelihood ratio tests were also performed to test for interaction between certain independent variables.

The data from ENSARE 98 was collected using a stratified, clustered and weighted sampling frame. All of the analysis performed took the effects of this sampling design into account, i.e., the effects of the stratification, cluster sampling and weighting were controlled for the estimation of effect of each risk factor on the outcome. The statistical package Stata 8.0 was used to carry out this quantitative analysis. Stata 8.0 has a set of

⁸ The hierarchical approach of the analysis is based on Victora et al. (1997).

commands, named 'svy', that take into account the lack of independence of individual observations within clusters (Stata, 2003). Because Stata 8.0 does not have the command to conduct the likelihood ratio test on weighted data, this test was carried out on unweighted data.

4.3 Second component: Quantitative, factory-based survey

4.3.1 Aim

As mentioned in subsection 4.1.3, the second phase comprised a quantitative sample survey conducted in Mexico City. The development, design, and fieldwork of this survey was managed and implemented by myself, as the primary researcher, and with the assistance of others involved in this study. The reasons for using this survey were two fold: 1) to aid in selecting the participants for the third phase of the study where qualitative information was collected; 2) to obtain additional quantitative data, including relevant data on domestic violence.

With this survey it was possible to obtain more specific quantitative information on some of the issues presented in our framework such as relevant demographic variables from the life history of the individual, and information relating to support of the community, the individual's childhood, and the dynamic of the couple. It also provided information about the conflicts and the violent incidents within the couple.

4.3.2 Characteristics of the survey

A total of 500 face-to-face interviews were conducted with male factory workers aged 20-40 who had been married or co-habiting for at least one year. Participants were selected randomly and a high percentage of them (around 90%) agreed to participate in the study. Most of those who refused to participate gave the reason that they were too busy.

The survey was carried out in three factories in Mexico City (an urban setting). The factories selected had the following characteristics which are typical of factories in Mexico: a) most of the workers are men; b) the workers are of middle to low socio-

economic status; c) most of the workers are of reproductive age. The majority of participants were manual skilled and unskilled workers, but some non-manual workers also took part in the research.

This non-stratified survey was not aiming for large statistical representativeness, but was designed to have a sample size which would yield sufficient numbers of men involved in domestic violence with whom in-depth interviews could then be conducted. A sample of 500 was also considered sufficient to allow exploration of predictors of intimate partner violence among the subgroup of the population under study.

4.3.3 The questionnaire and data on domestic violence

This survey collected data on the following issues: the socio-demographic background of the individual, his partner and his children; childhood (violence in the birth family, parental support); community support (relatives, neighbours, peers of the individual and his partner); the dynamic of the relationship (interaction, sexuality, gender dynamic); the immediate context surrounding conflicts (jealousy, alcohol, non-fulfilment of household duties, economic problems, unfaithfulness, etc.); gender attitudes and beliefs around gender and issues of violence; and the history of violence in the relationship (for the questionnaire see Appendix V). The questionnaire was translated from English into Spanish and back-translated for appropriateness of conciseness of meaning. The questionnaire was also adapted for use in the Mexican context through the use of slang and 'common' language appropriate for the target population under study. It was pre-tested and the appropriate modifications were made before the formal data collection began. The pilot work during which the questionnaire was tested consisted of 20 interviews carried out with men from a factory in Mexico City. This factory was not one of those selected for the survey but it had similar characteristics to those which were.

In the field of domestic violence, because of the sensitivity of the topic, it is particularly important to pay close attention to the design of the questionnaire. The development of the questionnaire used in this research drew on recommendations from eminent authors in the field such as Ellsberg et al. (2001), Jewkes et al. (2000) and Schwartz (2000). In general, special attention was given to the sequence of enquiry (from the less to the more personal); the careful wording of the questions; and the clarity of the questions. Specific

considerations in designing the domestic violence section were: a) to avoid using terms such as “abuse” or “violence”; and b) to avoid questioning men as if they were the sole aggressors (i.e., it followed the same model as ENSARE 98, eliciting information about violent incidents perpetrated by men, by asking about physical force within the couple).

To measure domestic violence a modified version of the CTS was also used. This measure of physical violence incorporated a more comprehensive list of events than that considered in ENSARE 98. It included the following acts: pushing, shaking, pinching, slapping, throwing an object, biting, hair-pulling, holding the arm behind the back, pushing, kicking, burning, hitting, strangling, tying, using a weapon, and any other behaviour involving physical force with the intention to harm.

The domestic violence section was developed to identify men who had been involved in physically violent events in the last 12 months, in the last four weeks and ever in their lives; and to estimate the frequency of these incidents. The module also included questions relating to the frequency of strong fights with the partner, any change in frequency of the occurrence of these situations, and characteristics of the first and last physically violent events.

4.3.4 Data analysis strategy

The data obtained from this survey was entered into the CSPro software package as it was collected. A database was developed for use in Spss 11.0 and Stata 8.0. Data quality was controlled through the extensive checking of all questionnaires and data entry.

The analysis of these data followed the same strategy as that used for the analysis of ENSARE 98. Bivariate and multivariate analyses were used to explore the associations between IPV and the independent variables under study. These variables were classified by topics and subtopics for step by step analysis. The statistical package Stata 8.0 was used to carry out the analysis of this quantitative information.

4.4 Third component: Qualitative

4.4.1 Aim

The third component of this study consists of the use of qualitative methodology (participant observation and in-depth interviews) to understand the world of partner violence from the male perspective following an interpretational approach. This approach answers the questions involving a deep explanation of why people act as they do. With the use of qualitative methods it was possible to take into account key aspects of the perception of individuals about this phenomenon. Particularly, qualitative data was used to: a) understand in-depth the contextual factors influencing violent and non-violent behaviour from the social actor's point of view; b) find out in what contexts violence occurs and its meanings for participants; c) examine how particular factors, measured quantitatively, interact and interpret why these patterns exist.

The process of the qualitative research was separated into three main stages. The first aimed to grasp the experience of main service providers in different instances, administrative and operational, and in dealing with intimate partner violence. The second consisted of exploring the context in which participants interact. It also was useful for refining the instruments and the issues of the study and to build rapport with the participants. The third consisted of carrying out in-depth interviews with the participants to get information about the life history of the individual, his attitudes, interaction with his partner and, in general, the processes that lead him to violent or non-violent within the relationship.

4.4.2 First phase

In this phase, informal interviews were conducted in order to gain an insight into the perception of those dealing directly with cases of partner violence. The interviews focused on the attitude and beliefs of the main service providers with respect to domestic violence and they also explored the barriers, difficulties, and efficiencies of the delivery of services. This provided the opportunity to become more involved in the situation of domestic violence in Mexico. This phase took around one month and it was performed during the first year of the research.

The interviewed personnel were: three staff (female) working in government centres; two representatives of NGOs, one woman and one man; two government officials, one man and one woman; a lawyer (male) working in the Tribunal of Justice of Mexico City who deals with cases of divorce caused by domestic violence; the director (male) of the Ministry of Health in charge of the design, revision, and execution of the Official Mexican Norm; one nurse (female); a psychologist (female) in charge of the therapy programme for victims in a public health centre; and a priest of the Catholic Church.

In this phase, a documentary study was carried out as well. The objective of this study was to have a macro perspective of the governmental interventions into intimate partner violence and other important actions by different institutions. Most of the documents consulted were obtained from visits to governmental institutions – health and judicial. Governmental and non-governmental care centres and governmental departments - justice, health, and social development - were visited. Official documents, public records and web sites were included in this study.

4.4.3 Second phase

The second phase of the qualitative component involved three main activities: a) observation and informal conversations; b) pilot work using semi-structured in-depth interviews; c) participation in sessions of group therapy for men involved in violence.

Observation and informal conversations

The aim of these activities was to examine the broad context and environment of male Mexican's life. This allowed increased understanding of how they think, their customs, and their values and norms attached to gender roles and the use of violence. I considered that observation was an effective technique for this purpose because it is a method that permits the researcher the opportunity to see people as they go about their everyday lives in their natural settings. According to Silverman (2000) observation is a method of data collection frequently used to understand the cultural aspects of a phenomenon.

The observation was carried out inside the factories in which the quantitative survey (second component) was done. This activity was conducted throughout the entire fieldwork; however, particular attention was given to observing the behaviour of the workers during the period in which the survey was carried out and during the process of recruiting) participants for the in-depth interviews. This period took around four months; it was during this time that I had the opportunity to spend a long time inside the factories observing how men socialised with their male peers. Observation notes were taken and recorded as field notes and entered into the computer. For the transcription of these notes Microsoft Word was used.

During the entire fieldwork process and, particularly during the period described above, I had also the opportunity to have informal conversations with the workers during their lunch time or after work. In general, these informal conversations also offered the opportunity to know more about their lifestyles; for example, I talked with them about their background, their hobbies, the situation in their jobs, and their opinion about life in Mexico City.

Both, observation and informal talks allowed me to become more immersed into the setting, to explore the terminology that they use to express their feelings and ideas, to know about their main activities and to become familiar with their common beliefs and behaviours regarding gender issues. For example, I observed how they talked with their friends about women, how they referred to their bodies and sexual issues, how they made homophobic jokes, and how they expressed affection to other friends using violent acts such as spanking or pushing. So, the use of these methods was appropriate for increasing my understanding of the context; but they were also helpful for having a better understanding of how to approach men adequately for the third phase of the qualitative component – the in-depth interviews.

Pilot work using semi-structured in-depth interviews

Preliminary pilot work, conducted before the main fieldwork, is particularly useful for unexplored fields. The pilot work was helpful for clarifying the focus of the research and for assessing whether the tools would produce meaningful information according to the research questions. This allowed an increased level of depth in the interviews conducted in

the third phase. Through this pilot work, I gained a better idea of what kind of data I was going to have access to, i.e., what men could tell me about their lives that was useful for the research. Besides, this phase revealed the efficacy of the tool employed – the guide for the interviews - and suggested ways to improve it for the main fieldwork. Five semi-structured in-depth interviews – the same instrument that was used for the third phase - were carried out to conduct this part of the research. Three of the participants of this pilot work were considered violent men. Two of them were selected from CORIAC – the NGO working with violent men – and another from the factory in which the pilot work for the survey was carried out. The other two interviewees, considered as non-violent, were also selected from this factory. The interviews, the transcription and analysis of the data, and the modification of the guide for the main fieldwork took one month.

Participation in sessions of group therapy for men involved in violence

Another important part of this phase was conducted “outside” the setting. This consisted of the participation in sessions of group therapy for violent men carried out by CORIAC. I attended these therapy sessions over six months. The care model of CORIAC has three main characteristics: it incorporates a gender perspective; it uses psycho-educational therapy for aggressive men; and it provides particular attention to each of the participants. The therapy is divided into three levels. In each level, men have to follow 16 sessions of group therapy of two hours per week for each session. The first level is when men recognise the cause of their violent behaviour and decide to stop; the second level is when men reflect upon their emotionally violent experiences aiming at a change in attitude; and the third level is when men are ready to construct a new behaviour for themselves. I only participated in the first level as more men attend this service. This activity helped in gaining knowledge of how men experience their violence, the context of violent situations and the norms attached to the use of violence and gender roles. Also, it was useful for learning more about how to establish adequate relationships with these men.

4.4.4 Third phase

The instrument used for this phase was semi-structured in-depth interviews with broad thematic questions. In-depth interviews are a tool in which the researcher interviews an

informant and the result of this interview is documented. This is a very useful method if the study is exploratory and if in-depth information about the perspectives of respondents is needed. In-depth interviews provide data about the history of the individual and the context in which behaviour occurs. This approach allowed participants to articulate their perceptions of the phenomenon in their own ways.

Originally 40 semi-structured in-depth interviews with men selected according to the findings of the factory-based survey were planned for this project. This number was determined by initial estimates based on consultation with other researchers and by reference to previous qualitative studies on the topic. The length of each interview varied from one to two hours that corresponded, on average, to 27,000 words. Because the length and the depth of the interviews, each one provided much useful information. During the course of the fieldwork each interview was revised. I realised that after 33 interviews the data had reached a saturation point, i.e., the amount of information collected was enough for the analysis according the objectives of the project. The next 4 interviews did not add new relevant information for the analysis. Also, there were 3 interviews that were not considered for the analysis because the respondent denied the violent event that he had reported during the survey. Therefore, at the end, 30 interviews were considered for the final analysis of the qualitative phase. The 30 interviews provided more than adequate information to be analysed and the emotional and economic costs were considered too high for the benefits that another interview could give to the analysis.

So, at the end a total of 30 respondents were successfully interviewed. 15 participants were selected on their condition of having been recently involved in a physically violent incident within their current relationship. For the selection, priority was given to those who reported perpetrating more recent violence with their partner in the last year. 15 men never having experienced physical violence with their current partners were also selected. These 15 non-violent men were chosen according their socio-demographic background. I chose those who had more similar socio-demographic characteristics to the violent men chosen before.

Each man was interviewed only once. The original plan was to conduct repeated interviews with some respondents; however, this was impossible mainly due to their availability. For married male workers who commonly work an average of 12 hours daily it was extremely difficult to get them to agree to spending approximately one to two hours for an interview about violence.

The topic guide used for the pilot was refined to develop a new guide of questions for the main fieldwork. As a result of the pilot testing of the interview tool, adjustments to the interview guideline were made before conducting the main interviews. With the use of this tool, I was able to obtain information about the life history of the individual, his attitudes, interactions with his partner and, in general, the processes that lead him to violent or non-violent behaviour within the relationship. The guide was divided in the following topics: a) general background of the individual and his partner; b) childhood; c) adolescence; d) courtship with current partner; e) the relationship after the marriage and before the first child; f) the relationship after the first child and before the second; g) the relationship after the second child; h) the relationship at present; i) community; j) conflicts and violent situations; k) and the last was left open to other topics of interest to each individual (for the first and final guide see Appendix VI).

All information collected were tape-recorded using a cassette recorder and were transcribed verbatim into computer files using Microsoft Word. During the interviews, field notes were also taken and were transcribed as well. The third phase of research took six months to complete.

4.4.5 Data analysis strategy

Grounded theory was used, as it is an appropriate theoretical approach for the qualitative analysis of this study allowing investigation of an unexplored phenomenon through the participant's perspective; in this case, the perspective of men involved in violent relationships. Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss developed grounded theory at the beginning of the 1960s. These authors were influenced by the symbolic interactionism and the phenomenological tradition; they give particular attention to field methods and to the documentation of action, interaction and the experience of a phenomenon (Grbich, 1999).

This perspective assumes strong relationships among social factors, and emphasises the development of theories grounded in empirical data of cultural description (Spradley, 1979). It is best used for small scale, everyday life situations where little previous research has occurred and where processes, relationships, meanings and adaptations are the focus. According to this approach, data is analysed as part of the research process and theory is

derived from the data, i.e., data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another.

Grounded theory was constructed as a reaction to the traditional tools used for research based on the positivist tradition. However, this approach is also influenced by positivism because it gives scientific status to ethnographic research – understanding the scientific from a positivist point of view. Grounded theorists have concerns about rigour and proof of qualitative research; therefore, they focus on developing elements of testing and verification. The discovery of grounded theory has been very important, among other things, because it has helped qualitative research gain more acceptance among those sceptic researchers who were concerned about its seriousness. As a consequence, diverse disciplines – such as health - have incorporated the use of qualitative methods for their investigations.

Grounded theory is one of the most basic approaches of data analysis, which is commonly found in literature. For the analysis of this study, the theoretical framework was used as an initial approach. The structure of the guide of the questionnaire for the interviews, which was based on the theoretical framework, influenced the direction of analysis. However, Grounded theory was also used to direct the analysis of data. The theoretical framework was utilised as a starting point from which themes were created according to broad topics presented in the framework. Next, themes began to emerge during the analysis of data which were then coded. These themes were subsequently mapped and organised as a result of the theoretical framework and the generated data. Based on these approaches, I analysed the data with the following steps:

- 1) Analysis of the data began while it was being gathered. After each interview I listened to the taped interviews to become thoroughly familiar with the information. All information was then read and reviewed after transcription to check for consistency.
- 2) The second step consisted of the process of coding data. According to different authors coding is the first step toward organising data. Through a close examination of the data, I assigned codes – also called labels or nodes – to the data. In each interview I marked segments of text according to themes of particular interest for the research. Codes were created both, emerging from the data – as suggested by grounded theorists – and also, through the conceptual framework.

- 3) With the use of the codes, it was possible to link segments of data that were brought together to develop analytical categories related to particular topics of the theoretical framework. The next step was to examine the most important categories, explore their characteristics and make connections between these categories.
- 4) Using the categories, different incidents were grouped together and compared for similarities and differences. The aim of this step was to capture key features of the phenomenon of violence and to identify patterns and typologies in the data.
- 5) Particular focus was paid to the comparison between violent and non-violent respondents. To facilitate the exploration of similarities and differences between the two groups the data were classified in two groups: those who correspond with violent respondents and those who correspond with non-violent.
- 6) The next stage involved a process of reflection and interpretation of the data. The main activity was the analysis of patterns with the aim to develop theoretical ideas about the phenomenon. Also, the contrasts found on the data were important for the analysis, i.e., the deviant cases were helpful for this stage.
- 7) After the analysis, I organised the data according to the theoretical framework developed for the study.

The data analysis process also involved the design of summaries about key details of each of the cases. This allowed having specific control of the main information given for all of the respondents. A summary of general characteristics of respondents is presented in Appendix VII.

It is important to add that for the codification and analysis, particular attention was given to the use of language by respondents. Focusing on ordinary language used by men allowed examination of how they express their experiences. This helped to identify and understand cultural meanings associated with the use of violence and gender roles for Mexican men involved in this study.

Finally, for coding, organising and analysing this qualitative information Nudist software was used. After tape-recording, interviews were entered into Microsoft Word and then imported into Nudist. The use of Nudist was very useful for codifying, organising and retrieving information rapidly.

4.4.6 Presentation of data

For the presentation of the qualitative chapters I have identified segments of data that best illustrates the main characteristics of the phenomenon. From these data, specific direct quotes and stories of personal experiences were selected to help exemplify the context and give generalisations of particular situations that were described.

All of the analysis was conducted using transcripts in original Mexican Spanish. I translated only the final quotations presented. These quotes were translated into the nearest British English equivalent. However, it was impossible to translate precisely and some changes in the meanings were inevitable. The original quotes in Spanish are reproduced in Appendix VIII.

Chapter 5

Doing research with men on IPV

Conducting research on IPV with male participants is a difficult process which presents diverse challenges. In this chapter I give an account of how I dealt with these challenges. In the first section are described three main aspects which were considered for the collection of data with men in this topic. In the second section is presented how I coped with these aspects. In the third section I give some personal observations about the process of doing research with men on IPV. Finally, in the last section the ways in which issues of validity, reflexivity and reliability were taken into account are described.

5.1 Aspects to consider for the conduction of research on domestic violence with men

Research with men on sensitive topics presents important methodological challenges. In this particular case, the question is: How can research into domestic violence with men be conducted in a way that considers ethical issues and, at the same time, ensures the quality of the data collected? This question involves at least three main aspects: a) the process of finding interviewees; b) the ethical issues for domestic violence research and; c) the responsibility to ensure quality of data. In the following sections I explain in detail why I consider these issues important for this kind of research and in section 5.2 I present details of how I confronted these issues in my study.

5.1.1 Reaching men

In social research it is well known that it is usually very difficult to access men for interviewing. For example, in Mexico men are the main providers of the household, therefore, they spend most of their time at their jobs. After work they return to their homes to spend the rest of the evening with their families or to go out with friends. For example, according to the respondents, after an intense and long day at work they prefer to relax. Therefore, men usually have little free time for answering a survey and even more limited time for participating in an in-depth interview.

Another problem that makes accessing men difficult is that it seems they do not talk about these issues as women do (Castro, 2004). That has been a reason why women have been studied more than men in sensitive topics. I do not agree with this position. I consider that the main problem men do not share their thoughts and feelings is that attempts to approach men are done in much the same way that women are approached. However, this may not be appropriate or effective. Most of the methodological techniques for conducting research on partner violence are aimed at women. So, in this case, I think it is necessary to develop different strategies that fit more appropriately with the characteristics of men. This also presents a methodological challenge.

Because of the difficulties of dealing with these situations, some researchers have opted for reaching men in aggression rehabilitation and assistance centres. However, these men are selectively different than most men who have committed violence because they have tried to change their situation or because they have been reported by their partners. Other investigators have recruited men at the household level or by telephone. However, this is not adequate due to the ethical issues and sensitivity concerning domestic violence research. Next I explain these issues in depth.

5.1.2 Ethical issues

“All scientific activities, including those by the social scientists, are conducted with the participation of human beings or have an impact on human beings or on the wider society and environment. Therefore, it is essential that researchers understand ethical issues and the implications of their scientific work and act accordingly” (Jesani et al., 2004, p. 1). Since 1945 different organisations have been concerned about ethical norms for scientific research involving human subjects. It was in 1979 when The Belmont Report was published by the National commission for the protection of human subjects of biomedical and behavioural research providing ethical arguments for the laws governing research with individuals. This report establishes the three ethical principles that are fundamental for research:

- a) The principle of respect. Research must respect and protect the rights, dignity and autonomy of participants.

- b) The principle of beneficence. Research must make positive contributions towards the welfare of individuals. It must maximise benefits and minimise possible harms, i.e., research must not cause any kind of harm to the participants and to people in general.
- c) The principle of justice. Research must treat individuals fairly, the benefits and risks of research must be fairly distributed among people, and subjects must be equitably chosen to ensure that certain groups are not systematically selected for excluded from research.

As mentioned above, these principles have been used as the main ethical guidelines for research with human beings. Ethical issues become particularly crucial in the case of research on intimate partner violence because of the sensitive nature of the topic. For this reason Watts, C., Heise, L., Ellsberg, M. and García-Moreno, C. developed specific ethical guidelines for domestic violence research that can be consulted in WHO (2001), p.11:

- a) The safety of respondents and the research team is paramount, and should guide all project decisions.
- b) Prevalence studies need to be methodologically sound and to build upon current research experience about how to minimise the under-reporting of violence.
- c) Protecting confidentiality is essential to ensure both women's safety and data quality.
- d) All research team members should be carefully selected and receive specialised training and on-going support.
- e) The study design must include actions aimed at reducing any possible distress caused to the participants by the research.
- f) Fieldworkers should be trained to refer individuals requesting assistance to available local services and sources of support. Where few resources exist, it may be necessary for the study to create short-term support mechanisms.

- g) Researchers and donors have an ethical obligation to help ensure that their findings are properly interpreted and used to advance policy and intervention development.
- h) Violence questions should only be incorporated into surveys designed for other purposes when ethical and methodological requirements can be met.

Any research involving human beings must give special attention to the ethical norms established by the Belmont Report. Also, it is paramount that all research on partner violence follows the guidelines elaborated by the WHO. Despite this, the guidelines were designed to reflect issues arising when interviewing women, I consider that, in general, most of them can be followed and adapted for research aimed men.

5.1.3 Quality of data

According to WHO (2001), it is ethically unacceptable to conduct a study of partner violence which gives as a result poor quality of data. “Bad data may be worse than no data” (WHO, 2001, p. 15). For example, point b) of the ethical guidelines clearly establishes the importance of methodological mechanisms to obtain good data in quantitative surveys. Particular importance is given to the problem of under-reporting of violence due to incorrect information on violence prevalence. As a result, policy-makers may question the importance of the topic. This situation could seriously affect the implementation of interventions to prevent partner violence.

Therefore, in any domestic violence research it is necessary to ensure that the findings reflect the “real” situation of the area of study. Specifically, according to different authors the key methodological considerations should be focused on the disclosure of violence by respondents. This disclosure is highly influenced by the design and implementation of the research (Ellsberg et al., 2002).

5.2 The field

As mentioned above, in this section I describe how these three important aspects of research on partner violence were coped with in my investigation. The section is divided in

five main issues that were fundamental to conducting this research. The first issue is related with the selection of the location where the main fieldwork was carried out, the second refers to the tools developed for the research, the third with the importance of the pilot work in the research, the fourth issue with the team that was directly involved in the fieldwork, and the last with the interaction with participants.

5.2.1 The setting

Why was a workplace chosen for the study, both quantitative and qualitative, rather than another setting? There are four main reasons why this kind of location was chosen: a) for security; b) for reducing bias; c) for ensuring privacy; and; d) for accessibility of male respondents.

Security: The principle of beneficence of the Belmont report and the first point of the WHO recommendations highlight the importance of the safety of people involved in research. This includes not just participants, also their families – in this case their female partners and children - and the interviewers. Actually, the main ethical concern related to researching domestic violence is the potential to cause harm (Ellsberg et al., 2002). So, in this case I considered that the issue of security was paramount and the type of location was important to ensure this security. For example, surveys that visit households or telephone surveys are not adequate because they can provoke violent incidents. There is a risk that violent men may think that they are being interviewed because their partners have reported them. In most household visiting surveys, the population of study are women and in most cases it is recommended that they should be alone during the interview to prevent more violence in the house. However, since my interest is to interview men, it would be almost impossible to find them alone without their wife being present at home, and there is a great risk of provoking more violence against the female partner.

I considered that workplaces were locations where the survey and the in-depth interviews could be conducted thus minimising the risk of provoking a violent incident. First, respondents were less likely to present aggressive conduct in their workplace against the interviewer. Also, in these places there were security staff that could prevent any inconvenient incident. In addition, workers observed that other peers were interviewed in the same way. This reduced their anxiety that they were interviewed for a particular reason,

and thereby minimised the risk of provoking violent incident in their homes. Also, in the case that the interview may provoke high stress in the participant, he has time to become more relaxed before returning home.

Reducing bias: To conduct the research in an NGO or government centre working with aggressors would be relatively easier than in open populations. However, these men would be selectively different to other men. The aim of the research is to access “ordinary” men who represent most men in Mexican urban areas. Conducting the research in factories allowed the opportunity of accessing these ‘ordinary’ men with reduced risks.

Ensuring privacy: The principle of respect of the Belmont Report includes the issue of privacy. Privacy is also a condition of confidentiality recommended by the WHO ethical guidelines. To obtain privacy is often difficult and might require creativity from the researcher. The factories chosen were large locations where both the quantitative interviews and the in-depth interviews were conducted as privately as possible. However, a problem of conducting the study in workplaces is that some men may believe that their answers could affect their job security. To deal with this problem, the interviewers were very careful to ensure confidentiality and anonymity to the participants and to reassure them that our study was completely separate from their work.

Accessibility to male respondents: Factories were an appropriate space where there was relatively easy access to a large numbers of male workers of reproductive age with similar socio-economic status. Permission was obtained from the factory manager/owner for entry to the factories to conduct the interviews with participants.

5.2.2 The instruments

In the case of the factory-based survey, face-to-face interview was the method used to collect quantitative data for this study. In social sciences, face-to-face surveys are generally considered one of the best methods for gathering data. Compared to some other methods, such as self-administered or phone interviews, face-to-face interviews allow a better relationship between the respondent and the interviewer for collection of high quality data on sensitive topics such as intimate partner violence. This is one of the reasons why this instrument was chosen. Another reason, and perhaps the most important, is because this

instrument is suitable for all types of populations, independent of their socio-economic characteristics or literacy level.

For the qualitative part of this study, I preferred to employ in-depth interviews as they are suitable to the objectives of this part of the research. Additionally they are an effective tool in which the researcher and participant could develop a close relationship, and because, as a novice in qualitative research, I preferred to employ methods which had been tested and commonly used in previous domestic violence research. During the design of the fieldwork, I explored the advantages of other methodological alternatives such as focus groups and life histories. However, they were not used in the present study. For example in the case of focus groups the disadvantages lie in part in the difficulties in organising the groups. Conducting focus groups poses numerous difficulties in domestic violence research, especially among groups of men, because many of them are reluctant to participate (Shrader and Sagot, 2000).

Both, quantitative and qualitative instruments were designed to ensure quality of data and to follow ethical guidelines. This was addressed through the following two aspects: a) minimising the underreporting of violent events from perpetrators against their partners, and b) by avoiding re-traumatisation and misunderstandings. Similar to the case of interviewing women about these issues, with men it was also found that it was important to give special attention to the development of tools used for collecting data. Appropriate questionnaires and guides were essential to acquire information from men participating in this study and to reduce possible distress that the questions could provoke in participants.

For example, it was important that the language used in the tools was not interpreted by men as being judgemental or stigmatising. Also, I was very careful that the words I chose were appropriate for participants, i.e., easy to understand and that they did not result in being offensive. As mentioned in Chapter 4, when participants were asked about violent issues it was important to avoid terms such as “abuse” and “violence”, instead they were asked about specific events that referred to physical violent episodes. Also, the order of questions was of utmost importance, less sensitive questions were asked before more sensitive, personal questions. This allowed for a rapport to be established between the interviewer and participant for the more sensitive issues. For example, both in the quantitative questionnaire and the qualitative guide, I started asking men about their

general background, then their childhood, etc., and I finished with issues of partner violence. It would have been completely inappropriate to ask in a different way.

Another instrument that was used for the collection of qualitative data was participant observation. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the behaviour of the workers was observed during the period we stayed in the factories. We did not inform the workers that we were observing and taking notes about their behaviour. The decision not to inform them was mainly because we did not want to provoke any change of attitude and behaviour of the participants that would affect the quality of the data. The most important ethical issue in this activity was to ensure data quality. Also, it was important not to cause any distress to observed workers. This was avoided by trying to show an ordinary behaviour in the factory. Not telling workers that we were observing them was an advantage for taking this ordinary position.

5.2.3 Pilot work

WHO (2001) strongly emphasises the need for careful pre-testing of the tools to ensure quality of data on domestic violence research. Also, efficient pilot-testing assists in the familiarity of the culture and the development of appropriate instruments for research. This activity is essential for avoiding distressful situations of participants and for understanding how men could feel more comfortable during the interview.

For this research, special attention was given to the pilot work because research of intimate partner violence in men is a very new topic (description of the quantitative and qualitative pilot work is given in Chapter 4). Little is known about how and what Mexican men would answer to sensitive questions. The pilot work shed light on the type of information that could be obtained from men as the main informants on intimate partner violence. Overall, the pilot work was important for establishing a general context of the environment in which participants were involved. Also, the pilot work was useful for becoming familiar with the setting, gaining access to the work place facilities and in developing the trust of the participants.

5.2.4 Fieldworkers and local contacts

An effective local network supporting the fieldwork is extremely important for obtaining good quality data and for giving special attention to ethical issues concerning domestic violence research. I divide this subsection in two parts: the first is concerning the research team and the second the local contacts that were essential for carrying out the fieldwork.

Fieldworkers

Two points – d) and f) - of the WHO guidelines refer to those who participate directly in the fieldwork. This is an evidence of the importance of fieldworkers in domestic violence research. According to different domestic violence researchers, careful selection of fieldworkers is crucial because the characteristics of interviewers may directly influence the results of the research. I was in charge of the fieldwork, however I recruited four interviewers for the quantitative factory-based survey. As the primary researcher, I did the data entry of the quantitative information myself. Additionally, one was chosen to support me in the qualitative work and another person was hired to assist with the transcription of the interviews.

The characteristics of the selected interviewers are described in this section. Four Mexican males aged 25-30, with high educational level were chosen to interview participants. Two of them had a degree in psychology, one a degree (partially completed) in sociology and one a degree in social marketing. All of interviewers presented appropriate attitudes to sensitive issues as they had experience working with people involved in domestic violence. Two of them were staff of CORIAC, the main NGO working with violent men in Mexico, another one was working as an assistant in the National Institute of Psychiatry, and the other was collaborating with an NGO that focuses its activities on female victims of violence (APIS). Only male interviewers were selected to avoid the possibility of a biased response provoked by the gender of the interviewer (Hammersley et al., 1995; Jewkes et al., 2000).

For the selection of interviewers I also considered that those selected must possess emotional maturity, the ability to deal with difficult situations, a friendly attitude, and strong interviewing skills. All of them were very interested in the topic and because they

were from Mexico City, they had good knowledge of the context of the area of the study. Actually, for all of us it was not a new experience to interact with male Mexican workers of middle-low socio-economic status. This is part of our everyday lives.

Fernando, one of the fieldworkers, supported me in conducting the qualitative interviews. He conducted 15 of the 30 interviews that were analysed. He showed excellent qualities such as a non-judgemental attitude for administering the interviews and he was available to participate full time in the work. Lastly, a mature woman was hired to transcribe the interviews. She had extensive experience in transcription and expressed great interest and sensitivity to these issues.

The research team was carefully trained over four weeks for this research. Every week, two sessions of two to three hours each were carried out (approx. 20 hours of training). First, the training consisted of introducing them to the purpose of the study and to provide practical information on the methodology to be used. Special attention was given to the familiarity of the tools they were going to use during the fieldwork. The second part of the training consisted of the theoretical background of domestic violence and gender concepts. All of them had field experience; however, this part of the training helped to reinforce sensitivity to gender issues. The next part of the training included interview techniques, for example, this included how best to ask questions and probe in a supportive and non-judgmental way. Many hours were spent practicing interviews. This practice was primarily between the interviewers but also it included interviews with relatives and friends. The last part of the training was the most difficult. This focused on how to terminate an interview and to provide assistance and further information for participants requiring this. For example, we practiced how to react if a respondent became distressed and how to hold an appropriate attitude in any situation.

In this last part also I made clear to the interviewers hired for the study that they had the option of leaving the study at any time. This situation happened with only one of interviewers near the end of conducting the quantitative survey. He was no longer able to participate as an interviewer in the study due to a new job. Because this occurred at the end, I did not consider hiring another interviewer as it was not necessary, so, the rest of us continued with the interviewers. This did not affect the course of the fieldwork.

In addition to the trainings, I held regular meetings with the interviewers selected, particularly with Fernando for the qualitative work. These meetings were used for sharing experiences, feelings and opinions and also for venting our emotions. The meetings helped to improve the fieldwork by providing a forum for discussion. My intent for this process was to make the research participatory for the entire research team. The focus of the meetings was also to discuss the situations in the field and to take decisions together. Actually, I also discussed emerging results with them. This gave me the opportunity to have a better reflection for the analysis.

Following the WHO guidelines, the safety and emotional well-being of the interviewers were constantly monitored. During the meetings we talked about how the fieldwork was affecting our mental health. We were constantly exposed to stressful situations, so it was necessary to regularly discuss them. Sometimes, the stories of participants reminded us of our own difficult experiences. It was also important to talk about these experiences during the meetings. Fortunately, no serious situation was experienced during the fieldwork by any member of the research team.

Local contacts

The support of local contacts was extremely important during the fieldwork. In this research, I received vital support from academic institutions, governmental and non-governmental care centres, and the key staff in the workplaces where the research was carried out. For example, one of the most important academic institutions for social science in Mexico, El Colegio de México, gave me the opportunity to use their facilities such as the library, computers and classrooms. To have this institutional support was useful for carrying out different activities during the fieldwork. Also, I had the opportunity to interact with highly qualified academics that spent their time discussing different issues about my research. Their feedback was essential for the achievement of the fieldwork.

Governmental and non-governmental care centres were also very supportive during the fieldwork. In particular two NGOs participated directly in the research: CORIAC and the Mexican Family Planning Organisation (MEXFAM). The latter is the most recognised Mexican NGO in reproductive health issues. Its work has been recognised through various international awards. MEXFAM delivers reproductive health programmes in schools,

communities and workplaces. They supported the study in the selection and contacts with the factories. They introduced us to the top executives of selected factories with the aim to obtain permission for entry.

In the case of CORIAC, this institution helped me to establish contact with fieldworkers and it gave me the opportunity to use their facilities to carry out the training and meetings with the research team. I had several meetings with the main service providers belonging to this NGO during the fieldwork. They gave me very important suggestions of how to conduct research with men on this topic. Additionally, they gave me the chance to participate as a user in the group sessions that they organised for violent men.

Finally, a good relationship with the key staff of the factories where the research was conducted was essential to obtaining permission to conduct the research in the workplaces. They facilitated the entrance to the factories at any time, they provided us places where the quantitative and qualitative interviews could be carried out with privacy, and they gave us free access to talk with all the workers. Of particular importance was the participation of the human resource and health staff at the factories. Normally, they were most interested in the research because they had a better idea of the topics compared with the rest of the executives of the factories.

5.2.5 Participants

The issues mentioned above were very important for conducting the fieldwork with men following ethical recommendations and ensuring quality of data. However, from my own point of view, the interaction with participants was the main aspect during the collection of data that affected the issues of quality and ethics. In this subsection I describe different aspects that were taken into account in my fieldwork approach.

Voluntary and autonomous participation

According to the first point of The Belmont Report, research must respect and protect the rights, dignity and autonomy of participants. This implies that the participation in research of any individual must be voluntary and autonomous. In this research, it was emphasised to

men selected to participate in this study in both the quantitative and qualitative phase that their participation was voluntary and that they were completely free to stop the conversation at any time for any reason or not to answer the questions. Neither of these situations occurred in any phase. However, some respondents asked us if we could go faster because they had to leave the session soon. This situation mainly occurred during the in-depth interviews. The response to this request was always positive and supportive.

Three activities were employed by the interviewers to ensure autonomy in the decision of potential participants regarding taking part in the quantitative and/or qualitative study or not. The activities included: to give an explanation of the research; to avoid coercion in looking for acceptance of participants; and to ask for informed consent. Following I give a description of these activities for this research.

Explanation of the research: Considerable time was spent explaining to participants detailed information about the study, why the investigation was important, and how the information would be used in the future. We read to each participant a letter of information that I developed about the research (see Appendix IX). We encouraged respondents to ask any questions or voice any doubts or concerns before starting the interview and we tried to give appropriate answers to all questions. However, we did not introduce the research as a partner violence study. According to different researchers of this topic, it is very difficult to carry out research if it is known as a violence study. In this case, I followed the recommendation given by WHO (2001) who establishes that it is a good option to frame the research as a study on health and family relations. Even though the topic of violence was not revealed as part of the study, the rest of the information was provided to participants. For example, participants were advised that some of the topics would be extremely personal and may be difficult to talk about.

To avoid coercion: All participants were asked for permission to proceed with the interviews. In all cases we tried to obtain this permission without the use of any direct or indirect coercion or inducement or promising unrealistic benefits for the participants. However, in some situations I think that they may have agreed to participate because they assumed that this would be positive for them in their work. This situation was impossible to avoid.

Request for informed consent: The consent of all participants was obtained prior to initiating any interviews. For this activity I developed a consent form based on the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine's guidelines for research (see Appendix IX). The initial plan was to ask the participants for signed consent, however, because of a cultural Mexican issue, most individuals expressed concern about giving written consent. I respected their wishes and decisions. Instead we asked them for explicit verbal agreement to participate in the study. In the case of the in-depth interviews, we read aloud the consent form at the start of the interview so that the agreement could be recorded on the same tape as the interview itself.⁹

Confidentiality and anonymity

In both phases, quantitative and qualitative, the research team was extremely careful to ensure confidentiality of participants and to reassure them that the study was completely separate from their work. It was essential that men felt certain that their answers would not be accessed by anyone other than the main researcher. We followed some mechanisms to protect the confidentiality of the information collected:

- Only I had access to the information and this has been used only for the purpose of this research.
- All interviewers received strict instructions about the importance of maintaining confidentiality.
- The questionnaire and the in-depth interviews were conducted in private.
- All the material was locked and only I had access to it.
- In presentation of findings, cases are presented without specific detail that may identify the source of the information.
- Each participant was informed of these mechanisms.

The issue of total confidentiality was a priority, even though severe criminal acts such as child abuse, murder, among others would be disclosed by the participants. Actually some respondents reported extremely serious events. However, I consider that it would be completely unethical to disrespect the principle of confidentiality. I think that as a

⁹ We asked all participants for permission to record the in-depth interviews. All of them accepted. Also, all of them were offered a copy of the tape or the transcript of their interview. None of respondents ask for it.

researcher, it would have been an inadequate position to legally intervene in these situations.

Complete anonymity was impossible to obtain. During the quantitative phase I asked for the first name of participants and their job position to identify those selected for the qualitative part. We tried to use an identifier code but the participants said that it was going to be difficult to keep the code and that they did not have objection to give their first name. Only my research assistant and I had access to this information. When we returned to the factories to look for those who were chosen for the qualitative work we were assisted in this search only by the medical doctors. However, we asked them to tell the participants that those selected were randomly chosen.¹⁰ They also ensured us confidentiality. During the in-depth interviews we did not record any names or other identifying information.

Attitude and behaviour of interviewers

The attitude and behaviour of interviewers clearly play an important role for building rapport with the participants with the aim to obtain reliable information and to minimise possible distress. During the whole fieldwork we tried to be friendly, patient and possess a non-judgmental attitude. It was important that men felt comfortable during their participation, this helped to gain trust with them. Also, the research team continuously expressed interest in the participants' answers, and the interviews were carried out trying to avoid repetition, to avoid interrupting the participant, to avoid intimidation of the individuals by the questions and to end in a positive manner. However, it was also important to show confidence and also to show a "masculine" attitude, otherwise, respondents could not take us seriously or they could be easily distracted during the interviews.

I think that the appearance also played an important role. The research team dressed and acted in an informal and ordinary manner, with the idea of not attracting attention in any way. It was important to introduce ourselves as an ordinary or typical individual who was

¹⁰ We also told them that they were randomly selected. I found it inappropriate to reveal to them the main reasons of why they were chosen, even though not telling them the real reason could be considered dishonest and, therefore unethical. However, I think that to tell them the 'truth' would have altered their answers and it would have gravely affected the quality of the data collected.

just doing his job. This allowed us the opportunity to have an equal relationship between the respondent and the interviewer.

Referral

One of the ethical recommendations established by WHO (2001) states that “fieldworkers should be trained to refer individuals requesting assistance to available local services and sources of support” (WHO, 2001, p.11). According to Fontes (1998) research abuse refers to the practice of raising painful past feelings in people and then vanishing, leaving the participants to deal with unresolved feelings alone.

We understood that our role was not as a counsellor or a ‘hero’; however, we were prepared to provide temporary assistance to those individuals who presented distress during and after the interview. Also, we took care to remain sensitive to any questions that may cause a negative impact to an individual. In the case of men this is a difficult issue because they have a propensity to hide their feelings. However, during the quantitative phase and more so during the qualitative we observed that some participants became upset during the interviews. For example, during the in-depth interviews, one of the participants cried while discussing the violence his mother suffered from his stepfather or another participant showed deep sadness when he talked about the probability of separation from his current partner. In these situations we would stop the questions, keep silent for few minutes and use mechanisms to calm the respondent such as inviting him for a cigarette or a soda or giving him a comforting pat. In all the cases we asked the participants if they wanted to terminate the interview. All of the participants reported that they preferred to continue throughout the interview.

At the end of the quantitative and in-depth interviews we asked all participants if they wanted information or/and to be referred to specialised centres. We did not give information if the participant reported that he did not need it. However, all of those who became upset accepted the information. We provided them with a list of services that could respond to their situations. I gave them contact information for all of the centres for victims and aggressors of domestic and sexual violence in Mexico City. At present, Mexico City has a number of services provided by government institutions and some NGOs. Help for victims is the most complete and integral area of services and most programmes include

social, psychological, legal and sometimes medical support to victims. Additionally, there are some programmes of treatment for perpetrators. All government centres dealing with domestic violence provide care free of charge and are capable of serving a large number of individuals. Mexico City is divided into sixteen districts, each district has at least one government support centre.

Justice and non-exploitation

According to the principle of justice of The Belmont Report the criteria for selecting participants must be fair, for example, easy accessibility does not constitute a fair criterion for their selection in research. In this case we included Mexican male workers from middle to low income because they are the most representative group of men in urban settings in Mexico. Also, because they have a similar background to the men who participated in the national survey (ENSARE 98).

Regarding the issue of non-exploitation, two aspects were considered. One, the information must only be used for research purposes with the aim to benefit the community, i.e., the data are not exploited in any other way. Second, a concerted effort was made to respect each participant's time and to avoid any undue loss of resources and income. This was a priority mainly during the qualitative phase. This is one of the reasons we preferred to conduct the research after working hours. But also, this was one of the reasons we did not conduct a second interview with any of the participants.

5.3 Personal observations

In this section I share some personal observations that I consider important to my experience in the fieldwork and the interpretation of the findings. First, I refer to some difficult challenges in the process of conducting research with men in partner violence; second, I give my points of view about the reaction of men in relation to their participation in the interviews; and third, I express my own reaction about conducting this kind of research.

5.3.1 Challenges

One of the first difficulties that I faced while conducting the fieldwork for this research was to receive permission for access to the factories even though I had received the support from MEXFAM for achieving this task. It took a long time from when I contacted the first factory until one of them opened its gates to us. The process was exhausting. I arranged many meetings with several executives of the workplaces trying to convince them of the importance of the study and that the interviews were not going to affect the execution of duties of the workers.

Another big challenge was in relation to the consent by men to participate in the research. Sometimes it was very difficult to convince them about the value of the research. They asked us what they were going to gain in giving us the interviews. In this case, we told them that the research would not necessarily benefit them directly, but would be essential for improving the situation of Mexican families in general. So, we emphasised that their collaboration was extremely important for the well-being of all, male and female Mexicans. In this process of encouragement we also told participants that this was a unique opportunity to listen to the opinion of men about these issues. Most of them agreed and accepted to participate. Finally, another “strategy” used to encourage men to participate in the research was that we introduced ourselves as workers similar to themselves. This developed a kind of identification and affinity among the researchers and respondents because we had something in common: the masculine identity as breadwinner or wage earner. In my opinion, this built in participants a feeling of solidarity with the interviewers. Hence, I think that the perception of some of them was that as Mexican male workers they had the moral obligation to support other workers such as themselves. This support may have influenced their participation in the interview.

Another arduous activity was to make the arrangements with the participants to carry out the in-depth interviews. The research team spent many hours trying to make appointments for interviews because the participants were very busy working with an extremely inflexible schedule. Actually, many times the participants did not show up and we had to arrange the meeting again for another time. When a participant did not show up for the agreed upon appointment we strongly encouraged them. This proved useful for finally conducting the interviews.

Another difficult issue related to our own personalities. For example, we had to maintain a positive attitude at all times despite the stress that resulted from studying an extremely brutal phenomenon. Or for example, at the same time we had to show a strong, male attitude to participants despite the fact some of us do not feel comfortable or even accept these kinds of attitudes. It is important to make clear that we did not show collusion with the participants when they told us their violent stories or when they talked about the 'superiority' of men. In these cases we agreed that the best option was to show an 'objective' behaviour. Actually, sometimes they directly asked us about our opinion of these issues. We answered that we were not allowed to answer any questions of that kind because we did not want to interfere in the answers of respondents. Again, sometimes it was extremely difficult to present this behaviour.

5.3.2 Reaction of men about their participation in the research

The research team had the impression that men were content to have the chance to talk about these issues, for many of them for first time in their lives. Actually, some of the participants explicitly reported that the interview was a good experience for them because they lack opportunities to talk about their life and their feelings with other people, even their peers. There is a stereotype associated with the idea that men do not talk about sensitive topics. However, during the fieldwork they showed the opposite. Most of the men were pleased to share their private stories with someone who they felt was reliable, trustworthy and friendly.

There is also the stereotype that presents men as individuals who do not suffer from the violent events in which they are involved. However, we had the perception that feelings of distress and sadness also arose when participants discussed these situations. Only one participant showed satisfaction when he talked about the abuse he committed against his partner.

5.3.3 My own reaction

Research is not neutral. As mentioned above, one of the main difficulties that the research team repeatedly faced was to maintain objectivity and serenity after listening to serious

stories of violence. Prejudice and judgement is almost inevitable because we have a clear position about violence against women, we consider that this phenomenon is wrong. The way in which we coped with this situation was to have debriefing sessions between all members of the research team with the aim of expressing our feelings. Listening to men talking about the violence they used against their partners was unpleasant and unsettling. However, it was not our position to show the participants our point of view or to confront them. The problem is that this attitude could legitimise violence. In this case, we tried to maintain a distance rather than show collusion.

Another issue that is important to mention is about the impact of the research on my life. First, I had to recognise my own violence. My relationship with violence is not associated with physical aggression but emotional. Before the research, I considered myself as a person who had never committed any violent act. But during the research I learned that I had been emotionally violent, particularly against women. This caused a strong impact in my life with positive consequences. At present I could not say that I am not a violent man any longer, however, I think I am more aware of my own violence, hence, I try to avoid being involved in any violent act. Also, I try to avoid following any “masculine” behaviour that could reflect an unequal gender relationship with a woman. In sum, this research has positively changed my life.

5.4 Validity, reliability and reflexivity of the research

The idea of ensuring rigor in methodology is rooted from the positivist tradition. The positivists, who have dominated the social research since 19th century, have developed different concepts for attaining rigor in social research. Some of them have been frequently used in qualitative methodology: validity, reliability and reflexivity.

Validity is defined as the ‘truth’ of a research project and interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers (Hammersley, 1990; Seale, 2004). Hammersley (1990) suggests that while we can never be absolutely certain about the validity of any knowledge, we can still make reasonable judgements based on the plausibility and credibility of the findings.

Reliability is an issue of consistency, i.e., it refers to the consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Hammersley, 1992). For example, if a questionnaire is applied on two different occasions to the same person it would generate the same answers.

Finally, reflexivity is another way for enhancing the rigour of qualitative research. It involves the provision of a methodologically self-critical account of how the research was done. In this case it is important to give particular attention to the characteristics of the investigator and how these could have influence on the research.

Next, I present how these concepts were taken into account for this research.

5.4.1 Validity

Different aspects were considered to assess the validity of the qualitative findings of this research. I want to start off by mentioning those aspects concerned with the design and the conduct of the fieldwork. First, I was extremely careful in the design of the project. For example, I decided on an appropriate sample to collect sufficient data to account for the issues I wanted to analyse according the objectives of the research. Also, I chose participants who best represent the population of study. Second, during the fieldwork, the research team attempted to avoid “mistakes” such as errors in the transcription; care over meanings during transcription translation; the loss of cassettes; among others. Third, I made determined efforts to avoid refusals of participation and for minimising underreporting of IPV. I have described most of these efforts in the previous paragraphs above. Fourth, I used multiple methods for the analysis of the phenomenon. Using more than one method, the research was addressed from different angles permitting a stronger validation of the findings. Fifth, during the fieldwork, the quantitative and qualitative data were systematically checked to ensure congruence with the research questions.

There are other aspects of validation more associated with the analysis of the qualitative data. For example, I moved back and forth between design, implementation and findings to ensure coherence through the whole project. I was careful to observe if my interpretation of data fit with the literature and the conceptual framework. Also, during the analysis, particular attention was given to observe if the stories of participants were recognised as

believable and coherent according to the expectations I had, based on other studies. The findings were compared and contrasted with existing understandings on male violence. It is important to mention that particular attention was given to the negative cases and to the contradictory findings. I re-examined these cases in detail.

Finally, I presented and discussed my results with colleagues and people working in the field. We had the opportunity to reflect upon most of the findings. Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to discuss this directly with the informants because of the several difficulties in meeting again with them. However, a full report of the findings was given to the medical doctors and the human resource staff who were interested in the research. I received some useful feedback from these staff members.

5.4.2 Reliability

Silverman (2000) states that reliability is a problem of credibility. Much of the behaviour reported by participants was confirmed by my own observation and by other studies conducted with women. I think this gives confidence in the reliability of the data. According to different authors, reliability of data involves the design of the tools and procedures of categorising the information. As I mentioned previously, I spent a long time in the design of all quantitative and qualitative tools considering recommendations of other studies to ensure ethical issues and quality. About the qualitative analysis, the categorisation and organisation of data was mainly based on the conceptual framework that was developed for this study and in the themes that emerged during the analysis of the data (Grounded Theory).

5.4.3 Reflexivity

In this subsection I discuss the potential effects on the research that could be caused by personal characteristics and by my own position on the topic. First, I consider that my own characteristics did not affect relevant aspects of the research. The setting and the people under research are not completely unfamiliar to me. I have lived more than 25 years in Mexico City and have interacted with numerous Mexican men of different backgrounds. Other advantages for the fieldwork include some of my characteristics such as age, race

and sex. About age, the research team interviewed men between 20-40 years, we were exactly in the middle of this rank; this may allow avoiding a kind of bias for age. It has been documented that to be much younger or older may influence in the behaviour of the participants (Hammersley et al., 1995). About race, all of the interviewers were of the same race as respondents. And about sex, according to previous experience, male researchers may find it easier to gain access to the world of men. This was helpful for establishing “ordinary” relationships with the informants. However, the occupation and the educational level were clear differences between the participants and the research team. In this case, our attitude and behaviour with them was important to avoid bias in their answers caused by these differences.

About my personal position on the topic. I agree with Hearn (1998) who considers that research on the topic of violence must demand a personal and political commitment against violence. My own current interest in researching men’s violence comes from my hatred of the extreme gender patriarchal norms and practices, including gender violence. So, even though I tried to be fully aware of my own preconceptions, I consider that my assumptions and ideas about gender roles and the use of violence cannot avoid influencing in the results. The research has a pro-feminist position about the use of violence by men against their female partners.

Chapter 6

Analysing The National Survey of Reproductive Health (ENSARE 98)

This chapter presents the findings resulting from the bivariate and multivariate analyses of the information obtained from the national survey of reproductive health (ENSARE 1998) that corresponds to the first component of this research. The purpose is to examine the situation of intimate partner violence in Mexico at large scale level.

The first section of the chapter presents estimations of levels of intimate partner violence in Mexico obtained from this source of data. The main factors associated with IPV are presented in the next three sections. The first of these sections corresponds to socio-economic and demographic factors of the studied population, the second focuses on variables representing violent experiences in the family of birth, and the third to variables capturing relationship dynamics. Each of these sections is divided in two parts: first, the findings of a descriptive analysis are presented, and second the findings of a multivariate analysis using logistic regression. In the next section are presented the findings of an overall model in which all variables previously analysed are included. The last part of the chapter corresponds to a descriptive analysis of the violent situations categorised according to the severity of the aggression.

6.1 Levels of intimate partner violence

Data obtained from ENSARE 98 indicate that 9.0% of men reported that they had been involved in intimate partner physical violence in the last 12 months, i.e., 164 respondents. This is the first national level estimate of IPV based on men's answers for Mexico. The estimated level found according to women's responses is very similar at 10.0%. These findings indicate that: compared to the women's responses, men did not underestimate the levels of physical violence and IPV is a serious problem in Mexico.

Those who were involved in IPV were also questioned about the frequency of the violent events and if either party suffered injuries as a consequence of them.¹¹ With this

¹¹ Unfortunately, because a mistake in the collection of data, 22 men were not asked these questions. They represent 13% of the total violent men.

information it is possible to give a picture of different levels of violence.¹² Of all men who were asked for the frequency of the events, 49% had used physical violence against their partners more than once in the last year. Also, 30% of respondents said that the violent events caused injuries.¹³ With the intention to categorise the violent situations, a variable that combines frequency and injuries was built. The variable is divided into two categories: “moderate” violence and “severe” violence. In “moderate” are considered those cases where there was only one violent event in the last twelve months and nobody suffered injuries. “Severe” includes those cases where there were more than once episode of violence and/or somebody suffered injuries. Out of 164 violent men, 57 were cases of “moderate violence” (40%) and 85 were “severe” (60%). In order to explore if there are differences between these two groups a descriptive analysis is presented also in section 6.6.¹⁴

6.2 Socio-economic and demographic factors and IPV

6.2.1 Descriptive analysis

Table 6.1 presents the distribution of selected socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the studied population, the percentage of men involved in IPV recently (in the last 12 months) and the test of significance of Chi-squared. In order to organise the information, the variables selected are classified into three main groups: life cycle stage, relationship and socio-economic status. The variables selected and their categories were decided after a basic descriptive analysis of the data. All of them are convenient for the purposes of this thesis. The conceptual framework developed in Chapter 3 was used as a guide in the selection of the variables.

‘Age’, ‘length of relationship’, ‘number of living children with current partner’ and ‘having children less than 12 years old living with them’ are variables that attempt to represent the life cycle of individuals. ‘Age difference between partners’, ‘marital status’ and ‘having other unions before the current one’ are variables classified as socio-

¹² Assuming that those cases with injuries and/or frequent episodes of violence represent a more severe pattern of violence.

¹³ It is assumed that in most of the cases these injuries were suffered by the woman. Injuries could include bruises, scratches, cuts, wounds, burns, sprains, dislocations, hemorrhages, fractures and loss of a limb.

¹⁴ A multinomial analysis is not considered because the small number of cases and because the main objective is to determine differences between violent and non-violent.

demographic characteristics of the relationship. Finally, 'educational level', 'occupation' and 'economic strata' are an attempt to capture the socio-economic status of respondents. Most of the variables are self-explanatory except some that represent the socio-economic status which need further explanation.¹⁵

The highest proportion of men interviewed are adults in a "mature" stage of the life cycle; i.e., they are in their forties, with two or more children and with more than 10 years living with their current partners. However, the proportion of those who are in a "young" and "middle" stage of their life cycle is also important. The mean age of the interviewees is 37.9 and the median is 37. Regarding the socio-demographic characteristics of the relationship, it is found that most men interviewed are married, older than their partners and their current union is the first one. Finally, as it was said before, ENSARE 98 focused mainly on employed persons living in urban areas with a middle-low socio-economic status. More than half are manual workers and a third have only been educated up to a primary level. Most of these characteristics are representative for most of male workers in urban areas in Mexico.

The table 6.1 also shows that some variables are significantly associated (Chi square test) with the use of violence, mainly those which exemplify the life cycle of respondents. 'Age', 'length of relationship' and 'having children less than 12 years of age living with them' are statistically significantly associated at the 0.05 level with IPV. Results indicate that the highest proportion of men involved in recent IPV is for those who are in their early stage of the life cycle (over 20% among men aged less than 25 years old) then it seems that the proportion of cases gradually decreases with men in older stages.

Considering the variables representing the relationship characteristics, it was found that there is a significant association between 'marital status' and IPV and a borderline significant association between 'age difference between partners' and IPV ($p=.059$). According to the descriptive analysis those who are cohabiting rather than those who are married and those who are younger than (or same age as) their partners rather than those

¹⁵ Educational level is divided in three categories. 'Primary' includes those with no education to those who finished the primary. Of those who are represented in 'Primary' only 7.5% had no education at all, 34.2% did not finish primary and the rest had primary completed. The category 'High - school' includes all of those who attended at least one year of high - school to those who finished it. 'Degree' is represented in the same way as 'High - school'. The 'economic strata' is a standard variable that was designed considering the educational level of all members of the household, the household characteristics, and the employment situation of the head of the household.

who are older, are more likely to report violence in past 12 months. The results indicate that the proportion of men involved in IPV is higher in those who had other unions before the current one than those respondents who did not have prior unions, though the association is not statistically significant.

The relation between socio-economic status and IPV has received widespread attention; however, there is no conclusive agreement as to whether low socio-economic status increases the risk of IPV (see Chapter 2). In this stage of analysis the results show that the proportion of men involved in IPV is less in those with the highest educational levels, in those belonging to the highest economic strata and in those who work in non-manual activities. However, none of these variables was found to be statistically significant at 0.05 level. Even, it seems that there are no differences in the proportions of men involved in IPV between those who belong to low class (9.3%) and those who belong to middle class (9.1%) and between those who studied to primary level (8.2%) and those who studied at high-school (10.8%). Actually, in the case of the educational level ($p=.069$), the differentials are not even in the direction expected.

Table 6.1 Percent distribution of male respondents by socio-economic and demographic factors and percentage of these men involved in IPV in the last 12 months, ENSARE 98.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>	<i>% men involved in IPV</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Life cycle characteristics</i>			
<i>Men's age**</i>			
Less than 25 years old	8.2	20.9	149
25 – 29	18.0	14.8	328
30 – 34	15.9	9.6	289
35 – 39	16.6	8.3	302
40 and +	41.3	4.2	753
<i>Length of relationship**</i>			
Less 5 years	27.1	14.7	493
6 - 10 years	19.3	12.6	351
11 and more years	53.1	4.8	967
Missing	0.5		[10]
<i>Number of living children with current partner</i>			
None	9.0	7.4	164
One	20.6	12.1	375
Two or more	70.4	8.3	1282
<i>Children less 12 years old living with them**</i>			
Yes	67.8	11.4	1235
No	32.1	4.0	584
Missing	0.1		[2]
<i>Relationship</i>			
<i>Age difference between partners*</i>			
She older than him or same age	30.4	13.7	553
He older than her	68.9	7.0	1253
Missing	0.7		[15]
<i>Marital status**</i>			
Cohabiting	12.7	15.1	231
Married	87.2	8.1	1589
Missing	0.1		[1]
<i>Other unions</i>			
Yes	9.9	13.2	181
No	89.5	8.6	1629
Missing	0.6		[11]
<i>Socio-economic status</i>			
<i>Educational level*</i>			
Primary	31.5	8.2	574
High – school	50.8	10.8	925
Degree	17.7	5.3	322
<i>Occupation</i>			
Manual workers	55.5	11.4	1011
Non-manual workers	41.0	6.5	747
Missing	3.5		[63]

<i>Economic strata</i>			
Low	59.3	9.3	1080
Middle	29.0	9.1	528
High	11.7	7.5	213
Total	100.0	9.0	1821

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

6.2.2 Multivariate analysis

Having described the overall association between socio-economic and demographic characteristics and IPV using descriptive statistics, a more detailed analysis was performed using multivariate logistic regression.

First, a bivariate logistic analysis was performed for each variable introduced in this study. The Wald test was used to determine the significance of each category. As was expected, the associations and the trends observed were very similar to those in the descriptive analysis presented above.¹⁶

The next stage was to build a multivariate logistic regression model. The variables were entered in all combinations into three sets of models each dealing with related variables: life cycle characteristics, relationship and socio-economic status. Then a first selection of variables was performed. For the first group 'length of relationship' and 'number of living children with current partner' were dropped. The variable 'length of relationship' was highly correlated with 'men's age', so it was necessary to drop one of them.¹⁷ It was decided to keep 'age' because in general, it is a very representative variable for the life cycle of the individuals, it is almost always included in socio-demographic research, and it has a stronger effect with IPV than length of relationship. 'Number of living children with current partner' was dropped because it did not present any significant association with

¹⁶ The results of this bivariate analysis (crude odds ratios and p-value) are shown for four variables in Table 6.2.

¹⁷ These variables are correlated in the obvious direction; those who are young have few years of relationship. There are few cases of men less than 30 years old who have more than 5 years of relationship with their current partners.

IPV and it was also correlated with the variable ‘children less than 12 years old living with them’.

For the second group of related variables, ‘other unions’ was dropped because it did not show any significance either before or after other factors were added. For the third group of variables, ‘occupation’ and ‘economic strata’ were dropped. The three variables representing this group were found to be highly correlated, so it was necessary to leave only one of them for the final model. ‘Educational level’ was kept because after combined was still the most significant of the three.

Prior to developing the final model a second selection of variables was performed. The strategy for this was the following: the variables chosen were entered into different models simultaneously trying to perform all the different combinations between them in order to explore their combined effects on IPV (forwards fitting model). For example, ‘age’ and ‘educational level’ were entered into a model simultaneously, then ‘age’ and ‘marital status’, then ‘age’, ‘educational level’ and ‘marital status’, and so on. The likelihood ratio test was used to determine whether a variable significantly improved the model, and therefore whether this variable should be included or not in the final model.

At the end of this stage of analysis the variable ‘age difference of the couple’ was dropped. The association between IPV and the variable ‘age difference of the couple’ no longer persisted when ‘age’ was included in the model, suggesting that this association is mainly caused by the age of respondents. Besides, the ‘age difference of the couple’ did not improve the model according to the likelihood ratio test.

The rest of the variables were included in the final model and all of them significantly improved the model according to the likelihood ratio test except ‘educational level’. However, it was important to include in the final model at least one variable of each of the three groups to represent each one of the topics studied in view of the fact that the three of them are relevant in relation to our hypotheses. So, the life cycle was represented by ‘age’ and ‘having children less than 12 years old living with them’, relationship characteristics by ‘marital status’, and socio-economic background by ‘educational level’.

The findings are shown in the Table 6.2. Crude and adjusted odds ratios, p value from the Wald Test and confidence intervals are presented. ‘Age’, ‘marital status’ and ‘having

children less than 12 years of age living with them' present similar patterns before (crude odds ratios) and after controlling for all the other factors (adjusted odds ratios). In the three variables the size of the effects are reduced after controlling for other variables but the positive significant associations persist. In the case of 'age', adjusted odds ratios show that men who are less than 25 years old have odds of being involved in IPV 4.5 times higher than men aged 40 and over. Men who are cohabiting – who represent less than 13% of the total men - have odds of being involved in IPV 1.6 times higher than those who are formally married and men who have children less 12 years old living with them have odds of being involved in IPV 2.5 times more than those who do not.

The crude ratios calculated for educational level show that men educated to high-school level are more prone to being involved in IPV than men educated to primary level. However, once the estimates were adjusted the patterns changed.¹⁸ Men educated at primary level have odds of being involved in IPV 2.0 times higher than those educated at degree level. For those with high-school the adjusted odds ratio is 1.65; however, the difference between them and those with degree was not significant. Finally, interaction was tested using the Likelihood ratio test for all the combination of variables. No significant interaction (.05 level) was found between any of them.¹⁹

In sum, the findings show that to be young, to have children less than 12 years old living with you, to be cohabiting and to have low educational level are predictors of men's involvement in recent IPV. In addition, results suggest that the association of age with IPV is particularly striking.

¹⁸ Age is the factor which modified the pattern. There are a high proportion of men less than 25 educated to high-school compared with the other age groups.

¹⁹ The likelihood ratio test p values for all combinations were higher than .15. However, the sample size was probably not large enough to detect small interaction effects.

Table 6.2 Logistic regression odds ratios of association between selected socio-economic and demographic factors and IPV in the last 12 months, ENSARE 98.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Men's age</i>						
40 and +	1.00			1.00		
35 – 39	2.07	0.015	1.17 - 3.66	1.63	0.083	0.93 - 2.86
30 – 34	2.42	0.019	1.17 - 5.00	1.85	0.045	1.02 - 3.38
25 – 29	3.96	0.004	1.65 - 9.52	3.02	0.005	1.45 - 6.33
Less than 25 years old	6.04	0.000	2.63 - 13.91	4.52	0.000	2.24 - 9.14
<i>Children less 12 years old living with them</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	3.09	0.001	1.63 - 5.84	2.46	0.006	1.33 - 4.54
<i>Marital status</i>						
Married	1.00			1.00		
Cohabiting	2.01	0.010	1.20 - 3.37	1.62	0.009	1.14 - 2.29
<i>Educational level</i>						
Degree	1.00			1.00		
High - school	2.14	0.035	1.06 - 4.31	1.65	0.196	0.76 - 3.58
Primary	1.59	0.163	0.82 - 3.09	2.04	0.039	1.04 - 3.99
* Adjusted for all other factors in the table						
N= 1821						

6.3 Violent experiences during childhood and IPV

6.3.1 Descriptive analysis

Two variables are considered for this analysis: ‘punishment by his parents’ and ‘perception of mistreatment’. The first one is included in order to detect whether parents of the respondent used beatings to punish him. It has two categories: using or not using beatings. The second variable is an attempt to capture whether the respondent thinks that he and/or his mother were mistreated when he was a child. This variable has four categories according to the answers of the respondents: none was mistreated, his mother was mistreated but he was not, he was mistreated but his mother was not, and both were mistreated. This variable therefore captures the current point of view of the respondents about their violent experiences when they were children.

Table 6.3 shows the distribution of both variables. It indicates that more than 55% of respondents were beaten by their parents. The distribution of the second variable shows that also more than 40% reported that they or their mothers were mistreated. It is observed that around 18% of the total respondents were victims and also witnesses of violence when they were children.²⁰

Table 6.3 Percent distribution of male respondents by factors representing violent experiences during childhood, ENSARE 98.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Punishment by his parents</i>		
No beatings	42.1	766
Using beatings	56.6	1031
Missing	1.3	[24]
<i>Perception of mistreatment</i>		
None was mistreated	53.7	978
Only his mother was mistreated	12.1	220
Only he was mistreated	12.4	226
He and his mother were mistreated	16.7	304
Missing	5.1	[93]
Total	100.0	1821

Table 6.4 shows the association between these two variables. As was expected, they are highly correlated. For example, around 85% of those who think they were mistreated were also punished by their parents using beatings. However, there is an important proportion of men who were beaten that do not think they were mistreated. They represent 31% of the total population. This result suggests that there is a high proportion of Mexican men that consider the use of beatings to be a legitimate way of punishing children. Therefore, this also suggests that in Mexico there is a high level of tolerance of the use of physical violence within the home. On the other hand, there are some men (n=80, 4% of the total) who have the perception that they were mistreated by their parents without beatings. This suggests that there are some people who consider other behaviours to be mistreatment also.

²⁰ The number of missing cases is a bit high. There are not specific methodological reasons explaining this situation.

Table 6.4 Percent distribution of male respondents by 'Perception of mistreatment' in relation to the 'punishment by his parents', ENSARE 98.

<i>Perception of mistreatment**</i>	<i>% distribution of men</i>		<i>Total</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Punishment by his parents</i>			
	<i>No beatings</i>	<i>Using beatings</i>		
None was mistreated	56.4	43.6	100.0	967
Only his mother was mistreated	48.0	52.0	100.0	214
Only he was mistreated	14.6	85.4	100.0	224
He and his mother were mistreated	15.5	84.5	100.0	302
Missing				[114]
Total	42.7	57.3	100.0	1821

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

Table 6.5 shows the association between these variables and some relevant socio-economic and demographic characteristics. It was found that 'perception of mistreatment' is statistically significantly associated with 'educational level' and 'occupation'. The proportion of those educated to degree level is highest in the category 'none was mistreated'; in contrast, the proportion of those educated only to primary level is highest in those who were mistreated. Concerning 'occupation', non-manual worker status is associated with 'none was mistreated' and manual workers with the rest of the categories. The variable 'economic strata' was not found to be significant. 'Punishment by his parents' was found to be associated only with men's age in the following direction: those who are older are more likely to have been beaten by their parents than those who are younger. The rest of the variables were not significantly associated. However, overall, it seems that low educational level, low economic strata and less qualified occupation are related to the experience of beatings in childhood. In Mexico, low socio-economic status appears to be associated with individuals who suffered violence in their childhood. In addition, analysis of the men's age variable suggests that the use of beatings to punish children is a practice that has been decreasing over the years.

Table 6.5. Percent distribution of male respondents by factors representing violent experiences during childhood by selected socio-economic and demographic factors,

ENSARE 98.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>				<i>Total</i>	<i>N</i>	
	<i>Witnessing and/or experiencing mistreatment</i>						
	<i>None was mistreated</i>	<i>Only his mother was mistreated</i>	<i>Only he was mistreated</i>	<i>He and his mother were mistreated</i>			
<i>Men's age</i>							
Less than 25 years old	59.9	16.3	9.5	14.3	100.0	147	
25 - 29	59.6	13.4	9.2	17.8	100.0	314	
30 - 34	57.1	12.6	9.6	20.7	100.0	270	
35 -39	58.9	10.5	13.9	16.7	100.0	293	
40 and +	53.7	12.5	16.5	17.3	100.0	704	
Missing						[93]	
<i>Educational level**</i>							
Primary	49.7	10.7	18.7	20.9	100.0	540	
High – school	57.1	15.0	10.0	17.9	100.0	878	
Degree	67.4	9.7	11.8	11.1	100.0	310	
Missing						[93]	
<i>Occupation**</i>							
Manual workers	52.6	13.9	14.3	19.2	100.0	962	
Non-manual workers	62.8	10.7	10.7	15.8	100.0	712	
Missing						[147]	
<i>Economic strata</i>							
Low	53.1	12.0	15.1	19.8	100.0	1021	
Middle	60.4	12.7	11.0	15.9	100.0	502	
High	64.9	16.1	7.8	11.2	100.0	205	
Missing						[93]	
Total	53.7	12.1	12.4	16.7	[5.1]	100.0	1821

	% distribution of men Punishment by his parents		Total	N
	No beatings	Using beatings		
<i>Men's age**</i>				
Less than 25 years old	57.0	43.0	100.0	149
25 – 29	51.6	48.4	100.0	318
30 – 34	40.7	59.3	100.0	285
35 -39	41.1	58.9	100.0	302
40 and +	37.2	62.8	100.0	743
Missing				[24]
<i>Educational level</i>				
Primary	40.2	59.8	100.0	570
High - school	42.9	57.1	100.0	912
Degree	46.2	53.8	100.0	315
Missing				[24]
<i>Occupation</i>				
Manual workers	41.5	58.5	100.0	995
Non-manual workers	44.7	55.3	100.0	738
Missing				[88]
<i>Economic strata</i>				
Low	40.3	59.7	100.0	1074
Middle	45.2	54.8	100.0	515
High	48.1	51.9	100.0	208
Missing				[24]
Total	42.1	56.6	[1.3]	100.0
p-values derived from Chi square test:				
** p<.05				
* p<.10				

The first stage of the analysis of the association between having experienced violence in childhood and IPV is the examination of a bivariate relationship using two-way tables. Table 6.6 shows the results of this analysis. It was found that having received beatings by parents is not statistically significantly associated with the use of physical violence against the partner in adulthood. The percentage of men involved in IPV was very slightly higher in those who were beaten in childhood than in those who were not. On the other hand, 'perception of mistreatment' was statistically significantly associated with IPV at a borderline level ($p=.057$). Those most prone to being involved in violence against their partners are those who consider that they and their mothers were mistreated. In contrast, the least prone are those who think that neither they nor their mothers were mistreated.

Table 6.6 Percentage of male respondents involved in IPV in the last 12 months by factors representing violent experiences during childhood, ENSARE 98.

	<i>% men involved in IPV</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Punishment by his parents</i>		
No beatings	8.0	766
Using beatings	9.7	1031
Missing		[24]
<i>Perception of mistreatment*</i>		
None was mistreated	7.1	978
Only his mother was mistreated	10.0	220
Only he was mistreated	11.3	226
He and his mother were mistreated	14.4	304
Missing		[93]
Total	9.0	1821

p-values derived from Chi square test:

**p<.05

* p<.10

6.3.2 Multivariate analysis

The next stage of analysis was to carry out a bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analysis. Because ‘punishment by his parents’ and ‘perception of mistreatment’ are highly correlated, it was decided to build two different models for each. For the multivariate analysis, the same variables that were considered for the socio-economic and demographic model were included as confounders.

Table 6.7 shows the crude and adjusted ratios for the association between IPV and ‘punishment by his parents’ and Table 6.8 the association between IPV and ‘perception of mistreatment’. The analysis indicates that ‘punishment by his parents’ is not a significant predictor of IPV. After controlling for confounders the size of the effect of this variable increases, however, this remains statistically not significant.

In the case of the variable ‘perception of mistreatment’, crude and adjusted odds ratios are in the same direction, however, the effect increases after controlling for confounders. The multivariate analysis shows that in those cases where only the mother was mistreated had odds of being involved in IPV 1.6 times higher than those who reported neither they nor

their mother were mistreated. However, the difference between them is not significant. In contrast, the adjusted ratio for those who themselves were mistreated was 2.0 and for those who reported that both they and their mothers were mistreated was 2.4. In both cases the association was statistically significant.

The effect of ‘perception of mistreatment’ in the model was tested using the Likelihood Ratio Test. The results indicate that this variable improves the model significantly ($p=.000$), even if the variable ‘punishment by his parents’ is also included. This last variable also has a significant effect in the model ($p=.02$), however, it has no effect ($p=.98$) when the variable ‘perception of mistreatment’ is included. The effect of interaction between independent variables was also tested but no evidence of interaction was found.

Table 6.7 Logistic regression odds ratios of association between ‘punishment by his parents’ and IPV in the last 12 months, ENSARE 98.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Punishment by his parents</i>						
No beatings	1.00			1.00		
Using beatings	1.23	0.484	0.67 - 2.26	1.42	0.257	0.76 - 2.67
Missing	[1.00]			[1.22]		

* Adjusted for age, educational level, marital status and children less 12 years old living with them
N = 1821

Table 6.8 Logistic regression odds ratios of association between ‘perception of mistreatment’ and IPV in the last 12 months, ENSARE 98.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Perception of mistreatment</i>						
None was mistreated	1.00			1.00		
Only his mother was mistreated	1.45	0.392	0.60 - 3.52	1.57	0.288	0.67 - 3.67
Only he was mistreated	1.67	0.201	0.75 - 3.74	2.00	0.048	1.01 - 3.98
He and his mother were mistreated	2.20	0.006	1.28 - 3.76	2.41	0.005	1.35 - 4.31
Missing	[0.53]			[0.64]		

* Adjusted for age, educational level, marital status and children less 12 years old living with them
N = 1821

In sum, the findings presented in this section confirm the association between a man’s experience of violence in the family during childhood and his own violence against his partner in adulthood. However, there are different levels of association which depend on particular features of the childhood experience and how this experience was lived by individuals. Results suggest that to be mistreated in childhood is a stronger predictor of

intergenerational transmission of violence than to be only a witness to mistreatment of the mother. However, to be both mistreated and witness to mistreatment is the strongest predictor of IPV in this topic. In addition, results suggest that the perception of mistreatment is more related to IPV than only the violent events themselves. Qualitative findings provide some possible explanations of these situations (as described in Chapter 9).

6.4 Dimensions of relationship dynamics and IPV

6.4.1 Descriptive analysis

ENSARE 98 provides information about the dynamics of the current heterosexual relationship. Twelve variables, divided in four topic groups, were chosen for the analysis. The groups are: decision-making, sexuality, economic control and planning and caring for children. These topics are theoretically important for the analysis of IPV according to the conceptual framework for this study.²¹

The ‘decision-making’ questions were an attempt to capture who makes the main decisions within the couple about three issues: the household expenses, how to spend free time, and the children’s upbringing. Each issue corresponds to one variable. Each one of these variables has three categories: he, she or both of them make these decisions.

The topic group ‘sexuality’ is represented by four variables: ‘initiative in having sexual intercourse’, ‘reaction to sex refusal’, ‘having sex before living together’, and ‘having sex with other women during the current union’. The first one shows who takes the initiative in the sexual relationship within the couple. The categories of this variable are: ‘he’, ‘she’ or ‘both’. The second variable represents the reaction of men when their partners refuse to have sex. This variable is divided into three categories: ‘he becomes annoyed’, ‘he does not become annoyed’ and ‘she never refuses to have sex with him’. ‘Having sex before living together’ is a variable that considers two aspects: a) if the respondent had sexual intercourse with his current partner before living together and b) his opinion about whether women should or should not have premarital sexual relationships. The variable attempts to measure man’s point of view about women’s premarital sex and the coherence of his belief

²¹ Some of the variables included are not necessarily predictors of IPV, as the direction of the causations could be not clear. However, they are included because it is also important to explore what events or situations are in some way associated with IPV.

with his behaviour. So, it is divided in four categories: 'he disapproves of women's premarital sexual relationships but he had sex with his current partner before living together', 'he disapproves and he did not have sex', 'he approves and he had sex', and 'he approves but he did not have sex'. The last variable of this group shows if the respondent has had sexual intercourse with other women during the current union.

Two variables belong to the group 'economic control': if the man's partner is employed and who is the main breadwinner for feeding the children. Both variables explore the contribution of women to the household economy. The variable aims to examine if female participation in the labour force affects the possible involvement in IPV.

The last group 'planning and caring for children' is represented by the following variables: 'partner pregnant at the moment of the union', 'planning first child', and 'waking up at night to look after the first child'. The first two are related to the context around the pregnancy; the intention is to observe if there is an association between IPV and pregnancy before the union and IPV and unplanned pregnancy at any point in the union. The third variable is related to the participation of the respondent in the care of his first baby. It is assumed that those men who participate in roles that have been traditionally designated to women have a more positive attitude toward gender equal relationships than those who do not. The purpose is to examine if this situation is associated with IPV.

Table 6.9 presents the percent distribution of men and the percentage of those who were involved in IPV by the variables mentioned above. Also, the test of significance of Chi-squared is used to show which are significantly associated with IPV.

'Decision-making': Overall, it was found that most men said that decisions are shared between them and their partners. However, it seems that there are more women than men in charge of the decisions of the household expenses and the children's upbringing. In contrast, there are more men than women making decisions about the use of free time, though there are not many differences between both proportions. This was the only variable of this group significantly associated with IPV. In all three variables, the trends show that couples who share decisions are less prone to being involved in violent relationships and couples where the woman makes the decision are more prone to being involved than the rest in both cases.

‘Sexuality’: The percentage distribution shows that there are few women who take the initiative in having sexual relations with their partners and most of them never refuse to have sex with them. Both variables, ‘initiative in having sex’ and ‘reaction to sex refusal’, were found to be significantly associated with IPV. In the first one, those who share the initiative are less likely to be involved in IPV, whereas, in those few couples where it is the woman who takes the initiative, the proportion of IPV is high. In the second variable, IPV was found to be more common among those men who report being annoyed when their partners refuse to have sexual relations with them and less common when she never refuses.

The descriptive analysis of the variable ‘having sex before living together’ shows that more than half of men interviewed disapprove of women having sex before the union. However, of those who disapprove, one in three had had sex with their current partner before living together. This category resulted in the highest proportion of men involved in IPV (15.1%). In contrast, those who disapprove, and did not have sexual relationships with their partners before marriage, are less prone to be involved in IPV (3.6%). This variable was also found significantly associated with IPV.

The variable ‘having sex with other women during the current union’ was the only one of the ‘sexuality’ group that did not present a statistically significant association with IPV, though the proportion of men involved in IPV is higher in those who have had sex with other partners during the current union than in those who have not.

‘Economic control’: 30% of men declared that their partners work outside the home. It was found that this group is more likely to be involved in IPV than those whose partners do not work. A borderline significant association was found between this variable and IPV. The variable ‘main breadwinner for feeding children’ was asked only for those who had children less than 12 years old living with them. In most of the cases men are the main breadwinners. In those cases where women participate in the role of breadwinner the levels of IPV are higher than in those where she does not participate. This variable was found significantly associated with IPV.

‘Planning and caring for children’: Both, ‘partner pregnant at the moment of the union’ and ‘planning first child’ were found to be associated with IPV. Those whose partners were pregnant at the moment of the union - 15.7% of the total – are more likely to be involved in

IPV than those whose partners were not. And those who desired their first child at another time - 28.3% of the total – are more likely to be involved in IPV than those who desired them in that moment. ‘Waking up at night to look after first child’ was not found to be statistically significantly associated, though the highest proportion of IPV was found in those who never woke up at night to look after their first child.

Table 6.9 Percent distribution of male respondents by factors representing relationship dynamics and percentage of these men involved in IPV in the last 12 months, ENSARE 98.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>	<i>% men involved in IPV</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Decision-making</i>			
<i>Decision-making on household expenses</i>			
She	36.5	9.7	665
He	24.8	9.5	451
Both	38.2	7.9	696
Missing	0.5		[9]
<i>Decision-making on free time**</i>			
She	19.0	12.7	345
He	23.0	10.8	419
Both	55.4	6.6	1009
Missing	2.6		[48]
<i>Decision-making on children^a</i>			
She	22.0	10.1	400
He	11.3	9.3	206
Both	59.2	8.7	1078
Missing	7.5		[137]
<i>Sexuality</i>			
<i>Initiative in having sex**</i>			
She	3.1	36.3	57
He	44.7	10.2	813
Both	49.2	6.6	896
Missing	3.0		[55]
<i>Reaction to sex refusal**</i>			
He becomes annoyed	26.7	18.0	487
He doesn't become annoyed	27.5	8.5	501
She never refuses	45.8	4.0	833
<i>Having sex before living together**</i>			
He disapproves and he had sex	19.3	15.1	352
He approves and he had sex	24.8	12.4	452
He approves and he didn't have sex	17.8	7.4	324
He disapproves and he didn't have sex	37.1	3.6	675
Missing	1.0		[18]

<i>Sex with other women during the current union</i>			
Yes	23.4	12.4	425
No	75.6	7.9	1377
Missing	1.0		[19]
<i>Economic control</i>			
<i>Partner's work status*</i>			
She works	29.8	11.0	543
She does not work	70.1	8.2	1277
Missing	0.1		[1]
<i>Main breadwinner for feeding children**^b</i>			
She or both	13.1	18.4	238
He	54.4	9.7	990
Missing	32.5		[593]
<i>Planning and caring for children</i>			
<i>Partner pregnant at the moment of the union**</i>			
Yes	15.7	15.4	287
No	84.2	7.2	1533
Missing	0.1		[1]
<i>Planning first child**^c</i>			
He didn't want his first child at that moment	28.3	11.6	515
He wanted his first child at that moment	54.3	6.7	989
Missing	17.4		[317]
<i>Waking up at night to look after first child^f</i>			
Never	11.7	11.5	213
Sometimes	52.5	8.3	956
Many times	18.5	6.6	337
Missing	17.3		[315]
Total			1821

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

a Only for those who have had children

b Only for those who have children less 12 living with him

c Only for those who have their first child with their current partner

6.4.2 Multivariate analysis

Having carried out the descriptive analysis, the multiple variables capturing relationship dynamics were entered into the model simultaneously in different combinations in order to

explore their effects controlling for other variables. The first step was to combine the variables by groups and to select variables for the final model.

In the 'decision-making' group, the three variables showed high correlation between them. It was necessary to select only one. Decision about free time was selected because this was the one that was significantly associated with IPV before and after controlling for the other variables of this group.

In the 'sexuality' group, the variables 'initiative in having sex' and 'having sex with other women during the current union' were dropped. The association between the former and IPV no longer persisted once 'reaction to sex refusal' was entered into the model. Most men who said that both took the initiative also mentioned that she never refused to have sex. 'Having sex with other women...' persisted in not showing significant association with IPV after the other variables were added; in fact, its effect was reduced.

In the third group 'economic control', the variables 'partner's work status' and 'main breadwinner' also showed high correlation as both were showing the same thing in the model.²² So, it was necessary to drop one of them. It was decided to keep 'partner's work status' because it is a variable available for all participants, whereas 'main breadwinner' was only asked to those who had children less than 12 years old living with them, therefore it has a large number of missing cases (32.5%).

In the last group, 'planning and caring for children', only 'partner pregnant at the moment of the union' was selected. 'Planning first child' did not retain its significant association with partner violence after 'partner pregnant...' was entered.²³ 'Waking up at night to look after first child' remained as showing no significant association.

So, after this first stage of analysis five variables were selected: 'decision-making on free time', 'reaction to sex refusal', 'having sex before living together', 'partner's work status', and 'partner pregnant at the moment of the union'. The next step was to enter these five variables in all the different combinations. The association between IPV and all the variables persisted, except for the case of 'partner pregnant at moment of union'. This

²² In 97% of the cases men are the main breadwinners when their partners do not work. In those whose partners work this percentage is 41%, the rest is 'she' or 'both'.

²³ There is an evident association between those whose partner was pregnant at the moment of the union and those who did not want his first child at that moment.

variable did not retain its association with IPV when ‘having sex before living together’ was included into the model suggesting that its effect is explained by the event of having premarital sexual intercourse. Also, this variable did not significantly improve the model according to the log likelihood ratio test. So, it was decided to drop it. The variable ‘partner’s work status’ did not significantly improve the model either. However, it was decided to keep it because it is a meaningful variable according the conceptual framework of the study and apparently is not directly associated with the rest of the variables.

The next stage was to estimate the odds ratios for the four variables, adjusting for confounders.²⁴ The final stage was the exploration of interaction between the variables. A significant interaction effect was found between ‘decision-making on free time’ and ‘partner’s work status’. So, it was decided to combine the categories of both variables for their analysis to describe the effect on IPV. No evidence was found for other interactions.

Table 6.10 presents crude and adjusted odds ratios of IPV for the final model, the confidence intervals and the p values from the Wald Test. The categories of the variable ‘decision-making free time’ are presented for each employment status of the partner separately because of the interaction between these variables. In the bivariate analysis it was shown that those who mentioned that their partners make the decision are more prone to be involved in IPV than those who mentioned that they make the decision. In the multivariate analysis the trends change when the partner works. The highest odds ratio obtained is when he makes the decisions and she works (3.61 crude odds ratio, 3.06 adjusted odds ratio). In the descriptive analysis it was also observed that when both partners share the decision the respondent is less likely to report IPV than the rest. This pattern does not change in the multivariate analysis, though the odds ratio of the combination ‘both take the decision and she works’ and the one of ‘he takes the decision and she does not work’ are very similar (1.16 versus 1.15 adjusted odds ratios).

In the case of ‘reaction to sex refusal’ the size of the effects are reduced after the control for other variables. However, the trends did not change and the significance of ‘he becomes annoyed’ persisted. The odds ratio for this category is much higher than the odds ratios of the rest of the categories of this variable. And the lower odds ratios are for those men whose partners never refuse. For example, those men who became annoyed when

²⁴ The variables for the socio-demographic model used as confounders were: ‘age’, ‘educational level’, ‘marital status’ and ‘having children less 12 years old living with them’.

their partners refused to have sexual relations with them are almost 5 times more prone to report IPV than those men whose partners never refuse to have sexual relations.

For the variable 'having sex before living together' the highest crude and adjusted odds ratios were observed in those who disapprove of premarital sexual relations for women but who had sex with their partners before marriage, though the size of the effect was reduced after controlling for confounders. The least prone to becoming involved in IPV of this group are those who disapprove of premarital sexual relations and they were congruent with this idea, i.e., they did not have sex before union with their current partners.

In sum, results indicate that the couples that are more likely to be involved in violent relationships are those where: women make the decisions within the couple, women work, men are annoyed when their partners refusal to have sex with them, and men disapprove of women's premarital sexual relationships but they had premarital sex with their current partners. The first two variables relate to dynamics regarding the dispute for the control of the relationship (gender dynamics). In this case, it seems that a difference between the violent and non-violent is that in violent couples there is more likely to be an active participation of women in these arenas.

The other two variables capture the necessity of Mexican men to control the sexuality of their partners. Domestic violence seems to be more likely when the behaviour of their partners is not normative as expected. Two of these expectations were that the partner must not refuse to have sexual intercourse and she also must not have sexual intercourse before marriage. Results indicate that couples where women fulfil these expectancies are less prone to be involved in IPV than couples where women do not fulfil these expectancies.

Table 6.10 Logistic regression odds ratios of association between selected factors representing relationship dynamics and IPV in the last 12 months, ENSARE 98.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Decision on free time and partner's work status</i>						
Both, She does not work	1.00			1.00		
Both, She works	1.10	0.775	0.56 - 2.13	1.16	0.644	0.61 - 2.22
He, She does not work	1.17	0.644	0.59 - 2.31	1.15	0.732	0.50 - 2.67
He, She works	3.61	0.000	2.16 - 6.04	3.06	0.000	1.78 - 5.25
She, She does not work	2.07	0.031	1.08 - 3.97	2.03	0.042	1.03 - 3.98
She, She works	2.31	0.049	1.00 - 5.31	2.63	0.006	1.36 - 5.09
Missing	[3.26]			[6.60]		
<i>Reaction to sex refusal</i>						
She never refuses	1.00			1.00		
He does not becomes annoyed	2.23	0.204	0.63 - 7.94	2.10	0.193	0.67 - 6.57
He becomes annoyed	5.26	0.000	2.69 - 10.27	4.91	0.000	2.49 - 9.69
<i>Having sex before living together</i>						
He disapproves and he didn't have sex	1.00			1.00		
He approves and he didn't have sex	2.23	0.074	0.92 - 5.44	2.31	0.051	1.00 - 5.34
He approves and he had sex	2.96	0.001	1.59 - 5.50	2.03	0.003	1.32 - 3.14
He disapproves and he had sex	3.95	0.000	2.29 - 6.81	2.55	0.000	1.68 - 3.87
Missing	[0.37]			[0.57]		

* Adjusted for age, educational level, marital status, children less 12 years old living with them and all other factors in the table

N = 1821

6.5 Combination of variables

This section presents the results of a multivariate logistic regression model that includes all the variables analysed in the previous three sections. The intention behind performing this model was to examine all variables controlling for all other possible factors that could be operating as confounders. All the variables were entered one by one creating different models.²⁵

Table 6.11 shows the results of the final model. The adjusted odds ratios of the socio-demographic factors presented in this table are similar to those observed in Table 6.2. This means that the variables representing the violent experiences during childhood and the

²⁵ The variable 'punishment by parents' was not included because it presented high correlation with 'perception of mistreatment'. As mentioned above, the latter variable was more relevant for the analysis of IPV than the former one.

relationship dynamics do not highly affect the effect of the socio-demographic factors on IPV. However, some effects are slightly reduced.

‘Perception of mistreatment’ shows a similar situation as the variables representing the socio-demographic characteristics; i.e., their odds ratios do not present significant changes after the variables representing the relationship dynamics are entered into the model. In other words, the adjusted odds ratios of this variable presented in Table 6.11 are very similar to those observed in Table 6.8 which suggests that a man who suffered from mistreatment during childhood and who was also witness to mistreatment against his mother is more at risk to become violent against his partner than the rest of men who have different experiences, independent of the type of relationship he has with his partner.

Finally, the same situation of ‘no changes’ occurred to the variables representing the relationship dynamics. The odd ratios did not show large changes after ‘perception of mistreatment’ was included into the model and the effect of the variables was only slightly reduced. This suggests that ‘perception of mistreatment’ is not a confounder of the relationship dynamics’ variables; i.e. the relationship between relationship dynamics’ variables to IPV does not depend on any other factors.

The size of the adjusted odds ratios of all the variables included in this ‘overall’ model suggests that men who are young, whose partners refuse to have sex with them, whose partners work, and those who disapproved premarital sex but had it with their current partners, are the ones who have the highest odd of being violent against their partners.

Table 6.11 Logistic regression odds ratios of IPV in the last 12 months. 'Overall' model, ENSARE 98.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Men's age</i>						
40 and +	1.00			1.00		
35 - 39	2.07	0.015	1.17 - 3.66	1.72	0.125	0.85 - 3.48
30 - 34	2.42	0.019	1.17 - 5.00	1.87	0.098	0.88 - 3.94
25 - 29	3.96	0.004	1.65 - 9.52	3.07	0.018	1.23 - 7.65
Less than 25 years old	6.04	0.000	2.63 - 13.91	6.30	0.000	2.62 - 15.15
<i>Children less 12 years old living with them</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	3.09	0.001	1.63 - 5.84	2.23	0.022	1.14 - 4.38
<i>Marital status</i>						
Married	1.00			1.00		
Cohabiting	2.01	0.010	1.20 - 3.37	1.65	0.008	1.15 - 2.37
<i>Educational level</i>						
Degree	1.00			1.00		
High - school	2.14	0.035	1.06 - 4.31	1.65	0.256	0.68 - 4.02
Primary	1.59	0.163	0.82 - 3.09	1.85	0.090	0.90 - 3.78
<i>Perception of mistreatment</i>						
None was mistreated	1.00			1.00		
Only his mother was mistreated	1.45	0.392	0.60 - 3.52	1.58	0.229	0.74 - 3.37
Only he was mistreated	1.67	0.201	0.75 - 3.74	2.10	0.032	1.07 - 4.11
He and his mother were mistreated	2.20	0.006	1.28 - 3.76	2.18	0.004	1.31 - 3.63
Missing	[0.53]			[0.75]		
<i>Decision free time and partner work</i>						
Both, No	1.00			1.00		
Both, Yes	1.10	0.775	0.56 - 2.13	1.14	0.638	0.64 - 2.06
He, No	1.17	0.644	0.59 - 2.31	1.12	0.793	0.47 - 2.63
He, Yes	3.61	0.000	2.16 - 6.04	3.10	0.000	1.97 - 4.89
She, No	2.07	0.031	1.08 - 3.97	1.92	0.065	0.96 - 3.83
She, Yes	2.31	0.049	1.00 - 5.31	2.61	0.008	1.33 - 5.15
Missing	[3.26]			[6.83]		
<i>Reaction to sex refusal</i>						
She never refuses	1.00			1.00		
He does not become annoyed	2.23	0.204	0.63 - 7.94	2.15	0.181	0.68 - 6.78
He becomes annoyed	5.26	0.000	2.69 - 10.27	4.87	0.000	2.38 - 9.98
<i>Having sex before living together</i>						
He disapproves and he didn't have sex	1.00			1.00		
He approves and he didn't have sex	2.23	0.074	0.92 - 5.44	2.26	0.068	0.94 - 5.43
He approves and he had sex	2.96	0.001	1.59 - 5.50	1.95	0.005	1.26 - 3.03
He disapproves and he had sex	3.95	0.000	2.29 - 6.81	2.41	0.000	1.54 - 3.75
Missing	[0.37]			[0.47]		

* Adjusted for all other factors in the table

N= 1821

6.6 Severe cases. Descriptive analysis

We turn now to explore the existence of differences between those involved in “moderate” physical violence and those involved in “severe” cases of violence (the difference between “moderate” and “severe” was described in section 6.1). All the variables examined in this chapter were analysed and significant differences were only found in the following: ‘punishment by his parents’, ‘perception of mistreatment’, ‘reaction to sex refusal’ and ‘partner’s work status’.

Table 6.12 shows the percent distribution of men involved in IPV according to the “level” of violence by the characteristics mentioned above. Results indicate that those who were punished by their parents using beatings and those who feel that they or their mothers were mistreated during their childhoods are more likely to be involved in “severe” domestic violence against their partners than the rest. Also, those who mentioned that they become annoyed when their partners refuse to have sex with them and those whose partners work have high proportions of men involved in “severe” IPV. In all of these categories the proportions of all IPV perpetrators who are involved in “severe” violence is more than 70%.

These findings suggest that those who experienced violence during childhood are more prone to commit “severe” violence against their partners than those who did not experience this situation. In addition, events related to the sexual and economic control are situations associated with “severe” cases.

Table 6.12 Percent distribution of male respondents involved in IPV in the last 12 months in relation to the level of “severity” of violence by selected factors, ENSARE 98.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>			<i>N</i>
	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Severe</i>	<i>Total</i>	
<i>Punishment by his parents</i>				
No beatings	60.4	39.6	100.0	56
Using beatings	27.9	72.1	100.0	84
Missing				[24]
<i>Perception of mistreatment</i>				
None was mistreated	61.2	38.8	100.0	61
He or his mother were mistreated	25.6	74.4	100.0	78
Missing				[25]
<i>Reaction to sex refusal</i>				
He becomes annoyed	26.9	73.1	100.0	77
He doesn't become annoyed	56.6	43.4	100.0	37
She doesn't refuse	57.2	42.8	100.0	27
Missing				[23]
<i>Partner's work status</i>				
Yes	20.4	79.6	100.0	50
No	51.7	48.3	100.0	91
Missing				[23]
Total	40.0	60.0	100.0	164

6.7 Summary

This chapter presents a quantitative analysis of the National survey of reproductive health (1998). Bivariate and multivariate analyses were performed with the aim of exploring the associations between a range of variables and IPV.

The first important finding was that high levels of physical aggression were reported in the survey by men. These levels were similar to those obtained from the female answers in the same survey and from other Mexican studies based on female answers as well.

For the analysis of factors associated with IPV, the variables analysed were organised in three main topic-groups: socio-economic and demographic characteristics, violent experiences during childhood, and relationship dynamics. These topics were chosen based

on the conceptual framework presented in the previous chapter. Each topic-group was also divided into subtopics. At the end, all variables were divided in topics and subtopics with the aim to develop different models allowing a systematic examination of the variables.

Findings suggest that the most significant socio-economic and demographic characteristics associated with IPV are related to the life cycle of the individual. It was found that those who are young, who have young children, and who are at the beginning of the relationship are the most at risk of being violent towards their female partners. Living in-cohabitation and having a very low educational level were also found to be related to IPV (this last variable is only at a borderline level).

Regarding the violent experiences during childhood, it was found that around half of male Mexicans had experienced violence during their childhood in their family of origin. It was interesting to observe that there are some men who were beaten by their parents but do not consider that they received mistreatment. This suggests that there is a high acceptance of the use of violence to discipline children in the Mexican context. According to the findings of this analysis, it seems that this acceptance is higher in people from low socio-economic status than in the rest of the population. Controlling for other variables, it was found that the perception of mistreatment by the individual is more important than the experience of violent events alone for a future use of violence during adulthood against the partner. Also, it seems that being beaten during childhood by parents is a stronger predictor of IPV than just having witnessed violence in the family.

Regarding the relationship dynamics, the findings suggest that the control of women's sexuality and the participation of women in the dispute of control in the relationship are spaces in which the development of violent conflicts arises very often. The variables representing the sexuality aspect that were most statistically significantly associated with IPV were the reaction of men when their partners refuse to have sex and 'having sex before living together'. In the case of those who represent the dispute of the control in the relationship, the most significant were the decision-making on how to spend free time and the participation of the female partner in the labour force.

Finally, it was found that of those who have been involved in violence against their partners more than 50% have committed 'severe' aggression. Based on a descriptive analysis it was found that the violence experienced during childhood, the reaction to sex

refusal, and the participation of women in the labour force are the strongest predictors of 'severe' violence.

In sum, important factors were found associated with intimate partner violence according to the analysis of a national survey. This analysis has allowed an examination of the phenomenon at the national level. Qualitative work is used to give explanations of these results. In the next chapter findings of the second component are presented in which more detailed quantitative information is analysed. This will allow the analysis of other aspects concerned with IPV as well as further exploration of factors which have already been analysed here.

Chapter 7

Analysing Factory-based survey

The second component of this research is the factory-based survey. The quantitative data provided by this source are analysed in this chapter. This analysis allows the examination of the association between IPV and new variables that were not considered by ENSARE 98, mainly those that belong to the community level, and some new issues corresponding to violent experiences suffered during childhood. Also, it will be possible to confirm some of the results observed in the previous section. In general, the topics and variables analysed in this chapter were selected according to the conceptual framework developed for this study.

The chapter is divided into seven sections. The first one presents estimations of the levels of intimate partner violence according to the survey. It also describes some characteristics of the circumstances in which violence occurs. The next four sections present a bivariate and multivariate analysis of variables that represent important aspects for the understanding of IPV. The first of these sections refers to socio-economic and demographic factors of the individuals, the second to the violent experiences during childhood, the next one to variables representing dimensions of the relationship dynamics, and the last of these sections to variables describing the community. Section six presents the analysis of a logistic regression model in which all different variables were included in order to observe which of these variables are considered most associated with partner violence. The last section is a summary of the whole chapter.

7.1 Levels and characteristics of intimate partner violence

Data obtained from this survey indicate that 12.2% of the 500 male factory workers reported that they had been involved in physical violence against their partners in the last 12 months (61 cases). This estimate is quite similar to the one found from ENSARE 98 (9.0%). For this survey, individuals also were asked if they had been ever involved in IPV

during the current relationship.²⁶ The proportion of men that had ever been involved in physically violent events against their current partner is 33.8% (169 respondents).²⁷

With the information collected by the factory-based survey it is possible to provide a description of some characteristics of the violent incidents. Characteristics of the first violent event were asked to all 'ever violent' men. For this first event it was asked: when it occurred, if the partner was pregnant, if they had children, who initiated the fight and the main reason for the conflict. Of those who had ever been involved in IPV, 8.2% said that the first violent event was before living together, 39.2% during the first year of living together, and the rest afterwards. According to these results, almost half of the men initiated the violence at the beginning of the relationship. This suggests that couples are more at risk of being in conflicts ending in violence at this stage of the relationship. 38.6% of those who had ever been violent said that this situation occurred only once.

In one in four cases, the partner was pregnant at the moment of the first physically violent situation, and one in two cases, the couple had not had any child. This confirms that the beginning of the relationship is relevant for IPV. Regarding who initiated the fight, 35.7% respondents said that their partners initiated the conflict. 29.2% considered that they did it, and the rest said that both of them initiated. This suggests that most men think that their partners were mainly "responsible" for the situation. Finally, one in four cases said that the main reason for the fight was jealousy (or infidelity). The next most important reasons mentioned were: decision-making about free time and conflicts related to the families of origin.

²⁶ The findings presented in this section will be mainly for violent situations in the last 12 months: 1) to be consistent with ENSARE 98's analysis; and 2) to observe the current characteristics (situation or events) of those involved in violence at a specific point. To analyse if there are differences between 'ever violent' and 'never violent' another analysis was performed in which the outcome was to have been ever involved or have not in IPV against the current partner. However, the findings of this analysis are mentioned only if they were found relevant to the understanding of IPV; i.e., if the analysis comparing 'current violent' (in the last 12 months) with 'never violent' importantly differs from the analysis comparing 'ever violent' with 'never violent'.

²⁷ This also includes those who were violent in the last 12 months.

7.2 Socio-economic and demographic factors and IPV

7.2.1 Descriptive analysis

Ten variables were chosen to analyse the socio-economic and demographic characteristics related to IPV. These variables were classified in 3 groups: life cycle, relationship and socio-economic status. These are the same groups as those used for the socio-economic and demographic section in the previous chapter. The variables and their categories were selected after preliminary descriptive analysis of the data and to be similar to the analysis of ENSARE 98.

'Men's age', 'length of relationship', 'number of living children with current partner' and 'number of children less than 12 years old living with them' were selected to represent the life cycle of individuals. 'Age difference between partners', 'marital status', and 'having children with another partner' are variables classified as socio-demographic characteristics of the relationship. 'Educational level', 'occupation' and 'educational difference between partners' are an attempt to capture the socio-economic status of respondents.²⁸

Table 7.1 presents the distribution of these variables. The mean age of these men is 30.8 years and the median is 30. Overall, these men are younger than those analysed in ENSARE 98. Almost half the respondents have been in union with their current partners less than 5 years and have at least two young children. Regarding the socio-demographic characteristics of the relationship, it is found that almost half the respondents are between 1 to 5 years older than their partners, more than 75% are married, and 1 in 10 has living children with another partner.

About the socio-economic status, it was observed that more than 75% are educated to high-school level. Most of them are manual workers in a middle level job. Overall, these men have similar socio-economic status to the male population interviewed in ENSARE 98.

²⁸ Most variables are conceptually the same as the ones used for the analysis of ENSARE 98. For the relationship group 'having children with another partner' is used instead of 'other unions' because the former was found more relevant for the analysis of IPV using the information from the factory-based survey. The variable 'occupation' has different categories to the variable used for ENSARE 98. In this case, three categories were used: manual workers were divided in 'low level' and 'middle level', and non-manual workers were considered 'high level'. The job position's rank (according to the factories' status) was used to differentiate between low and middle level. The variable 'educational difference partners' does not represent the socio-economic status of individuals. It is a variable more related with gender dynamics. However, it was included in this group because it is a variable extremely associated with the educational level of both man and woman.

Finally, half the respondents have the same educational level as their partners, 31.4% are more educated than them, and in 18.8% of cases women have a higher educational level than their partner.

Table 7.1 also shows the proportion of men involved in IPV by these variables and the associated Chi-squared tests. All the variables present a similar pattern to those found in ENSARE 98. For example, the youngest group presents the highest proportion of violent men and the proportion gradually decreases in older age-groups. However, unlike ENSARE 98, none of the variables of this group was found to have a statistically significant association with IPV according to the Chi square test, potentially due to the small sample size.

Only two of the ten variables selected for this analysis were found statistically significantly associated with IPV: 'marital status' and 'children with another partner', both of them representing the relationship group. Findings were similar to those for ENSARE 98. Those who are cohabiting and who have children with other partners have the highest proportion of men involved in IPV. Considering "age difference between partners", it was found that those who are less than 5 years older than their partners have almost the same proportion of violent men as those who are the same age or younger than them. In contrast, those who are at least 6 years older than their partners present a low proportion of violent men, though this variable was not statistically significantly associated with IPV.

Regarding socio-economic status, results show an unexpected trend, maybe due to the small sample size as well. Those with the lowest educational level and lowest occupational level have the lowest proportion of violent men. For example, those who studied only to primary level have a very low proportion of violent men (5%). However, neither of these two variables resulted in a statistically significant association with IPV. The variable 'educational difference between partners' shows that among men who have the same or higher educational level than their partners a higher proportion are violent than those who have less education than their partners, though here again the association was not found to be statistically significant.

Table 7.1 Percent distribution of male respondents by socio-economic and demographic factors and percentage of these men involved in IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>	<i>% men involved in IPV</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Life cycle characteristics</i>			
<i>Men's age</i>			
20 - 24	19.2	16.7	96
25 - 29	30.2	13.3	151
30 - 34	25.4	11.8	127
35 - 40	25.2	7.9	126
<i>Length of relationship</i>			
Less 5 years	46.9	13.3	234
6 - 10 years	25.8	15.5	129
11 and more years	27.2	7.4	136
Missing	0.1		[1]
<i>Number of living children with current partner</i>			
None	7.8	12.8	39
One	37.4	13.9	187
Two or more	54.8	10.9	274
<i>Number of children less 12 years old living with them</i>			
None	12.6	9.5	63
One	42.2	12.8	211
Two or more	45.2	12.4	226
<i>Relationship</i>			
<i>Age difference between partners</i>			
She older than him or same age	37.8	13.2	189
He older than her between 1 and 5 years	48.8	12.7	244
He older than her 6 or more years	13.4	7.5	67
<i>Marital status**</i>			
Cohabiting	22.4	17.9	112
Married	77.6	10.6	388
<i>Children with another partner**</i>			
Yes	10.8	24.1	54
No	89.2	10.8	446
<i>Socio-economic status</i>			
<i>Educational level</i>			
Primary	12.6	4.8	63
High – school	77.6	13.7	388
Degree	9.8	10.2	49
<i>Occupation</i>			
Low level	22.6	12.4	113
Middle level	66.6	11.4	333
High level	10.8	16.7	54

<i>Educational difference between partners</i>			
He more educated than she	31.4	15.3	157
Same educational level	49.4	12.1	247
She more educated than he	18.8	7.4	94
Missing	0.4		[2]
Total	100.0	12.2	500

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

7.2.2 Multivariate analysis

Following the descriptive analysis, a bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analysis was performed. For multivariate analysis, the variables were entered in all combinations into three sets of models and a first selection of variables was performed.²⁹

Life cycle group model: bivariate analysis showed that ‘men’s age’ was the only variable in this group associated with IPV. The rest of the variables did not show association with IPV when they were entered into the model individually. After entering combinations of variables, ‘men’s age’ was the variable that continues presenting association with IPV. Besides, the other three variables showed high correlation with ‘men’s age’. So, it was decided to drop them from the final model.

Relationship group model: bivariate analysis showed that ‘marital status’ and ‘having children with another partner’ were associated with IPV. After combination only ‘having children with another partner’ retained its effect. The effect of ‘marital status’ on IPV is greatly reduced when ‘having children with another partner’ was entered into the model.³⁰ ‘Age difference between partners’ did not present association with IPV either before or after combination. It was decided to keep ‘children with another partner’ and ‘marital status’. The latter was kept because in the analysis of ENSARE 98 this variable was strongly associated with IPV.

²⁹ The same strategy used for ENSARE 98.

³⁰ The effect is reduced because the percentage of men who have had children with another partner is higher in those who are cohabiting (22.3%) than those who are married (7.5%).

Socio-economic status group model: only 'educational difference between partners' presented an association with IPV at a borderline level. So, this variable was kept for the next stage of modelling. However, this variable does not represent the socio-economic status of individuals. Therefore, it was considered necessary to keep one of the two variables that represent socio-economic status: occupation or educational level. The association with IPV of both of them is very weak. The former was kept because 'educational level' was highly correlated with 'educational difference between partners'.

At this stage of analysis five variables were chosen: 'men's age', 'marital status', 'children with another partner', 'educational difference between partners' and 'occupation'. The next step was to enter all the variables into all different combinations between them. Adjusted odds ratios and p values from the Wald test were calculated. Also, the log likelihood ratio test was performed to assess the significance of each variable for the model. The last step was to perform likelihood ratio tests for the effect of interaction. In this case, no significant interaction (at .05 level) was found between any of the variables, possibly reflecting the small number of cases in the sample.

Table 7.2 presents the results of the model. Crude and adjusted odds ratios, p value from the Wald Test, and confidence intervals are presented. Having entered all the different variables, 'men's age', 'having children with another partner' and 'educational difference between partners' retained their positive association with IPV. Actually, these variables increased the size of their effects after controlling for the effect on IPV of other variables. In contrast, 'marital status' lost its effect. This occurred mainly when 'having children with another partner' was included into the model and the effect did not increase when other variables were entered. 'Occupation' remained without association with IPV after controlling for other variables. The likelihood ratio test showed that 'children with another partner' and 'educational difference between partners' improved significantly the goodness of fit of the model at .05 level and "men's age" at .10 level.

Adjusted odds ratios showed that youngest men less than 25 years have odds 2.85 higher of being violent against their partners than men aged 35 – 40 years old. Like the findings from ENSARE 98, these results suggest that the risk of being involved in IPV is reduced when age increases. 'Having children with another partner' appears to be the variable most strongly related with IPV, those who have children with another partner have odds 3.07 higher than those who do not have children. However, those who have children with

another partner represent only 10.8% of the population. In the case of 'educational difference between partners', adjusted odds ratios show that the couples less involved in IPV are those where the woman is more educated than her male partner. In contrast, those men who are more educated than their partners are more at risk of being involved in violence.

Table 7.2 Logistic regression odds ratios of association between selected socio-economic and demographic factors and IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Men's age</i>						
35 – 40	1.00			1.00		
30 – 34	1.55	0.305	0.67 - 3.60	1.66	0.251	0.70 - 3.97
25 – 29	1.77	0.161	0.80 - 3.93	2.28	0.058	0.97 - 5.34
Less than 25 years old	2.32	0.050	1.00 - 5.37	2.85	0.022	1.17 - 6.97
<i>Marital status</i>						
Married	1.00			1.00		
Cohabiting	1.84	0.040	1.03 - 3.29	1.34	0.358	0.72 - 2.52
<i>Children with another partner</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	2.63	0.006	1.32 - 5.25	3.07	0.004	1.44 - 6.57
<i>Educational difference between partners</i>						
She more educated than he	1.00			1.00		
Same educational level	1.72	0.217	0.73 - 4.06	1.78	0.197	0.74 - 4.28
He more educated than she	2.24	0.073	0.93 - 5.43	2.44	0.055	0.98 - 6.06
<i>Occupation</i>						
High level	1.00			1.00		
Middle level	0.64	0.276	0.29 - 1.42	0.67	0.342	0.30 - 1.53
Low level	0.71	0.455	0.29 - 1.75	0.67	0.416	0.26 - 1.74

* Adjusted for all other factors in the table

N= 500

Another model using 'ever violent' as the outcome was also performed. The strategy followed was the same used for the model presented above. The main difference found between the analysis using 'current violent' and 'ever violent' as the outcome was that 'marital status' retained its effect after combining variables; in contrast, 'having children with another partner' was not significant either before or after combination. As mentioned above, it was found that 'marital status' was associated with 'having children with another partner'. However, it seems that this situation is not important for the analysis of 'ever violent' because 'having children with another partner' is not significant in this case. I

consider that 'having children with another partner' loses its significant association with 'ever violent' because the small number of cases that this variable represents. So, results using 'ever violent' as an outcome suggest that marital status is also an important predictor of intimate partner violence.

In sum, findings show that men who are young, who are cohabiting, who have had children with other partners, and who have a higher educational level than their partners are most at risk of committing physical aggression against their partners.

7.3 Violent experiences during childhood and IPV

7.3.1 Descriptive analysis

This section is focused on the analysis of the information on violent experiences during childhood provided by the factory-based survey. First, physical violence by parents experienced during childhood is analysed. In this case, a variable called 'violent experiences' was constructed. The purpose was to create a variable with the same categories as the 'perception of mistreatment' variable used in the analysis of ENSARE 98. Therefore, the variable 'violent experiences' has four categories: 'no violence', 'only his mother was beaten', 'only he was beaten', and 'he and his mother were beaten'. The difference between this variable and 'perception of mistreatment' is that the former attempts to capture the events that the respondent experienced and the latter one attempts to capture a current perception about the events experienced.

Table 7.3 shows the distribution of men and the percentage of those that were involved in IPV in the last 12 months according to this variable. The Chi-square test is used to show if the variable is statistically significantly associated with IPV. One quarter of respondents mentioned that they did not experience any type of physical violence, even lower than in ENSARE 98 (around 40%). Almost half of respondents said that only they were beaten. Only 3% mentioned that they only witnessed violence by the father towards the mother and almost one quarter said that they both experienced violence as a victim and as a witness.

According to the Chi square statistical test, this variable is statistically significantly associated with IPV at a borderline level. Findings indicate that the lowest proportion of

men involved in IPV is among those who did not suffer any violence during their childhood. Contrary to expectations, the highest proportion was among those who were only witnesses of violence and not among those who were both victim and witness. In this case, I consider that the low number of cases in the category ‘only his mother was beaten’ (n=14) is the reason of this unexpected trend.

Table 7.3 Percent distribution of male respondents by violent experiences during childhood in the family of birth in relation to the type of violence experienced and percentage of these men involved in IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>	<i>% men involved in IPV</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Violent experiences*</i>			
No violence	24.2	5.8	121
Only his mother was beaten	2.8	21.4	14
Only he was beaten	44.8	13.8	224
He and his mother were beaten	22.8	15.8	114
Missing	5.4		[27]
Total	100.0	12.2	500

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

Because findings are affected by the low number of cases in one of the categories, another variable representing violent experiences was constructed. This new variable is categorised according to the level of violence experienced by the individual during his childhood and it is divided in three categories: ‘no violence’, ‘low violence’, and ‘severe violence’. The first category is the same as in the other variable, i.e., it represents those respondents who did not suffer any kind of physical violence. Specifically, this means that these respondents were not punished by their parents using beatings and also that they were not witness to fights with physical violence between their parents. The second category characterises those individuals who were beaten by their parents only a few times and they were not a witness to violence. According to findings from ENSARE 98 and qualitative work, punishment of children by use of beatings is a common practice in Mexico. But findings also suggest that the moderate use of beatings against children is a tolerated practice, considered ‘normal’ and even necessary, for the education of children. So, this category attempts to represent those who were victims of ‘tolerated’ violence. Finally, the third category represents those who were victims of severe violence and/or witnesses of beatings against their mothers. This category gives the opportunity to analyse those who suffered

serious violence, which is not ‘tolerated’ by the society according to qualitative findings. The purpose is to examine whether the seriousness of the violence experienced during childhood is associated with higher risk of becoming violent towards the intimate partner in adulthood.

Table 7.4 shows the distribution of men and the percentage of those who were involved in IPV in the last 12 months according to the variable described. It presents a statistically significant association with IPV at .05 level according to the Chi square statistical test. In the table it can be observed that almost 30% of respondents experienced severe violence and they were the group with the highest percentage of men who committed violence against their partners (17.2%).

Table 7.4 Percent distribution of male respondents by violent experiences during childhood in the family of birth in relation to the level of violence experienced and percentage of these men involved in IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>	<i>% men involved in IPV</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Violent experiences**</i>			
No violence	24.2	5.8	121
Low violence	41.4	13.0	207
Severe violence	29.0	17.2	145
Missing	5.4		[27]
Total	100.0	12.2	500

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

This variable was also analysed considering ‘ever violent’ as the outcome. Childhood experiences are events that occurred in the past, so they are not current aspects that could determine if a person is involved or not in a current violent event against the partner. Childhood experiences are events that could determine if a man becomes violent, independently of when the violence occurred. The results of the descriptive analysis of ‘ever violent’ were as expected, i.e., those who did not suffer violence during childhood presented the lowest percentage of men involved in IPV (19.0%). Almost 35% of those who suffered low violence have ever committed violence against their partners, compared to almost 50% for those who suffered severe violence.

A different aspect is also considered for the analysis of the violent experiences during childhood. This is the participation in fights against other children. This variable is an attempt to analyse the perception of individuals about their participation in fights in comparison with the behaviour of other children. It has two categories: 'he fought less or same as other children' and 'he fought more than other children'. This variable allows us to explore if those who were more involved in a violent environment with peers are also more involved in IPV during their adulthood. Table 7.5 presents the percent distribution, the percentage of those who were involved in IPV in the last 12 months and the Chi-squared test for this variable. The distribution shows that 15.2% of respondents answered that they fought more than other children and almost 20% of this group were involved in IPV. In contrast, only 10.8% of those who said that they participated less or the same as other children in fights during childhood were involved in IPV. The variable was found to be significantly statistically associated with IPV according to the Chi-squared test.

Table 7.5 Percent distribution of male respondents by their participation in fights against other children and percentage of these men involved in IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>	<i>% men involved in IPV</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Participation in fights against other children**</i>			
Less or same as other children	84.8	10.8	424
More than other children	15.2	19.7	76
Total	100.0	12.2	500

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

'Ever violent' as the outcome was also analysed for this variable. The trend was the same as for the 'current violent' outcome, i.e., those who considered they fought more than other children during childhood were more prone to commit violence against their partners than those who considered they fought less or same as other children. In this case, around 50% of respondents who fought more than other children were ever involved in IPV. This percentage is around 30% for those who fought less or the same.

7.3.2 Multivariate analysis

A bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analysis was performed. The model includes the last two variables analysed in the descriptive analysis: violent experiences

according to the level of violence and the participation in fights against other children. Both variables were included in the same model and the socio-economic and demographic variables analysed in the last section were used as confounders. The Wald test was used to observe the significance of the odds ratios and the likelihood ratio test to determine if the variable improves the model significantly. Likelihood ratio tests were also used to test interaction between all the variables. In this case no interaction was found.

Table 7.6 presents the resultant model of the association between both variables and IPV in the last 12 months. Bivariate analysis shows the same patterns found in the descriptive analysis. For example, those who suffered severe violent experiences during childhood have 3.4 times higher odds than those who did not suffer any kind of violence. Regarding participation in fights against other children those who participated in more fights than other children have 2.2 times higher odds of than those who participated less or same as other children.

After adjusting for other factors the trends of both variables were the same, however, the effect in both cases was reduced. The effect of 'participation in fights against other children' was clearly reduced when 'violent experiences' was entered into the model. This suggests that 'violent experiences' operates as a confounder of 'participation in fights against other children' in the following way: those who participated in fights more than other children were also more likely to have suffered severe violence in their family of birth. After adjustment for confounding, the effect of 'violent experiences' was reduced, but the significance was kept for those who suffered severe violence at a .05 level and for those who suffered low violence at a borderline level. According to the likelihood ratio test the variable improves the model at a .05 level.

Table 7.6 Logistic regression odds ratios of association between selected factors representing violent experiences during childhood and IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Violent experiences</i>						
No violence	1.00			1.00		
Low violence	2.44	0.043	1.03 - 5.80	2.13	0.096	0.88 - 5.17
Severe violence	3.39	0.006	1.41 - 8.15	2.86	0.024	1.15 - 7.14
Missing	[1.30]			[0.97]		

Participation in fights against other children

Less or same as other children	1.00			1.00		
More than other children	2.02	0.032	1.06 - 3.84	1.63	0.151	0.84 - 3.20

* Adjusted for age, marital status, children with another partner, occupation, educational difference between partners and for all other factors in the table

N = 500

Another model using ‘ever violent’ as the outcome was also performed. In this case, the results confirmed that suffering severe violence during childhood is an important predictor of IPV. After adjusting for confounding, those who suffered low violence showed odds ratio of 1.95 and those who suffered severe violence of 3.09. The variable also improved the model at a .05 level according to the likelihood ratio test. The variable ‘participation in fights against other children’ also had a reduced effect after confounding, however, in this case it kept the significance. Those who participate in fights more than other children presented odds ratio of 1.87 compared to a baseline of those who participate less or same as other children.

In sum, findings in this section suggest that violent experiences during childhood within the family of birth are important for the understanding of IPV. Specifically, the level of violence experienced in the household is an important predictor of the level of risk of becoming violent against the partner in adulthood. Those who suffered severe or ‘not tolerated’ violence are the most at risk of being involved in IPV.

7.4 Dimensions of relationship dynamics and IPV

7.4.1 Descriptive analysis

The factory-based survey includes information about some aspects related to the relationship dynamics within the couple. This section will focus on the analysis of this information, and follow the same procedure as in previous chapters. The variables chosen for this section were divided into five topic groups: decision-making, sexuality, economic control, gender expectations, and communication between partners.

The decision-making group of questions are an attempt to capture who takes the main decisions within the couple. In this case, only two issues can be addressed with the information provided by the survey: decision on the household expenses and on caring for children. Each variable has three categories: 'he', 'she' and 'both'.³¹

The sexuality group includes different questions about sexual issues that could relate to aspects of conflict. Five variables are analysed: 'decision-making on sexual intercourse', 'satisfaction with sexual life with his partner', 'his perception about the physical aspect of his partner', 'his perception of his level of jealousy' and 'extramarital sex'. The first variable is an attempt to capture who makes the main decisions within the couple about when to have sexual intercourse. This variable also has three categories: 'he', 'she' and 'both'. The variable 'satisfaction with his sexual life with his partner' has two categories: 'he feels satisfied with his sexual life with his partner' and 'he does not'. The variable 'his perception about the physical aspect of his partner' is an attempt to capture if he is satisfied with the appearance of his partner. The question on which this variable was based was: "Do you think that the physical aspect of your partner is...good? reasonable? or bad?" Only two men answered 'bad', so it was convenient to put together reasonable and bad in the same category. So, the variable has two categories: 'good' and 'reasonable or bad'. The fourth variable shows the individual's perception about his level of jealousy. The categories of this variable are: 'very jealous', 'reasonably jealous' and 'not jealous'. The last variable measures if the respondent has had sexual intercourse with other women

³¹ Unlike ENSARE 98, decision-making on how to spend free time was not asked in the survey, though in retrospect would have been useful to ask a question about this issue in the factory-based survey.

during the current union. This was the only variable that was also represented in ENSARE 98.

The economic control group is represented only by one variable: 'partner's work status', with two categories: 'she works' and 'she does not work'. There are two other groups in this section: gender expectations and communication between partners. The first one is an attempt to capture different issues related to the relationship's gender dynamic that could be associated with IPV. This group is represented by three variables: 'he feels she wants to dominate him', 'her capacity doing household duties' and 'strong hierarchical gender beliefs'. The first one is divided in two categories: 'yes' and 'no'. This variable tries to observe if the individual feels that his partner intends to have the control of the relationship. The second variable is related with a conventional gender role of women that has been frequently associated with fights within couples: household duties. The variable has two categories: 'he thinks she is good doing household duties' and 'he thinks she is not'. The third variable 'strong hierarchical gender beliefs' was built using two questions. The first one asked respondents if they thought that men must be the unique authority within the household. The second asked them if they considered that men should not participate in household duties because they could be named *mandilones*. In Mexico, *mandilón* is a common term in Mexico used mainly by men in a pejorative way to classify men who are 'dominated by their partners'. *Mandilón* comes from the word *mandil* that in English means "apron". So, *mandilón*, symbolically refers to those who use the apron; i.e., those who are participating in female roles. In both questions, the possible answers were 'yes' or 'no'. If a man answered 'yes' to either of the two questions, he was categorised as a man with strong hierarchical gender beliefs. So, the variable has only two categories: 'he has strong hierararchical gender beliefs' and 'he does not'.³²

The last group communication between partners, is represented by only one variable: 'he and his partner talk to each other about things that occurred during the day' and the categories are: 'very often' and 'sometimes or never'. This captures the perception of the respondent about his daily communication with his partner.

³² I decided to combine the two variables because there were few respondents to answer 'no' to either of the two questions.

Table 7.7 shows the percent distribution of men and the percentage of those who were involved in IPV in the last 12 months by all the variables included in this section. Also, the chi-squared test is used to show which are statistically significantly associated with IPV.³³

Decision-making group: The patterns were found to be similar in both variables. More than 60% of men said that these decisions are made by both, the respondent and his partner. Similar to the findings from ENSARE 98, there are more women than men with the responsibility for these decisions suggesting that in Mexico this is a space controlled mainly by women. None of these variables resulted in a significant association with IPV according to the Chi square test. Actually, there is no difference in the proportion of men involved in IPV between those whose partner makes the decision and those who share it. The highest proportion of domestic violence was found in the few cases in which men said that they make the decisions.

Sexuality group: More than 90% of respondents said that the decision about when to have sexual activity is taken by both, he and his partner. The highest proportion of men involved in IPV was among those who said that their partners make the decision, though this group represents only 4% of the interviewed men. Considering the variable 'satisfaction with sexual life' more than 95% of respondents said that they feel satisfied. The proportion of these men involved in IPV was 11.1%, whereas for those who do not feel satisfied this proportion was 38.1%. This variable was found significantly statistically associated with IPV; however, there are very few men who do not feel satisfied. Analysing the next variable, it is observed that 80% of men have a good perception of the physical aspect of their partners. This group had a lower proportion of men involved in IPV than those who have a reasonable or bad perception, though the difference between both groups was not statistically significant. In response to the question on jealousy, 18% of interviewees said that they are 'very jealous' and almost 60% reported being 'reasonably jealous'. In this case, the highest proportion of violent men is found in those who are most jealous and the lowest proportion in those who consider themselves to be not jealous. This variable was statistically significantly associated with IPV. The last variable of the sexuality group, 'extramarital sex' also presented a significant association with IPV. The trend was the same as was found in the analysis for ENSARE 98, those who have had sex with other

³³ The main findings presented in this section are from the analysis performed using 'current violent' as outcome. The variables of this section represent current characteristics of the individual and his relationship that could be associated with current involvement in IPV.

partners during the current union (around 30% of respondents) are more likely to be involved in IPV than those who have not had sex.

Economic control group: 26% of men declared that their partners work outside the home. As with ENSARE 98, it was found that this group has a higher proportion of violent men than those whose partners do not work. But in this case, the difference between these categories was not significant.

Gender expectations group: 18.2% of men thought that their wives wanted to dominate them. The proportion of men involved in IPV in this category was high at 27.5%. In the variable 'her capacity doing household duties' it was found that almost 16% of respondents said that they consider that their partners are not good in these activities. Also, this group presented a higher proportion of violent men than those who said that their partners are good. Findings of the third variable show that around 12% of men have strong hierarchical gender beliefs. This group also has a higher proportion of men involved in IPV than the rest of the respondents. The first two variables were found significantly statistically associated with IPV at .05 level and the third one at a borderline level.

'Communication between partners': Almost 70% of respondents answered that they talk a lot with their partners about things that occurred during the day. For this category, the proportion of violent men was around 10% whereas in the group with low communication this proportion was 17.3%. The variable was statistically significantly associated with IPV.

Table 7.7 Percent distribution of male respondents by factors representing relationship dynamics and percentage of these men involved in IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	% distribution of men	% men involved in IPV	N
Decision-making			
<i>Decision-making household expenses</i>			
She	21.2	10.4	106
He	9.6	20.8	48
Both	69.2	11.6	346
<i>Decision-making caring for children</i>			
She	27.2	11.0	136
He	2.4	25.0	12
Both	63.4	11.7	317
Missing	7.0		[35]
Sexuality			
<i>Decision-making sexual intercourse</i>			
She	4.0	20.0	20
He	5.0	16.0	25
Both	91.0	11.6	455
<i>Satisfaction with sexual life with his partner**</i>			
He is satisfied	95.6	11.1	478
He is not satisfied	4.2	38.1	21
Missing	0.2		[1]
<i>His perception about the physical appearance of his partner</i>			
Good	81.4	11.8	407
Reasonable or bad	18.6	14.0	93
<i>Jealousy**</i>			
Very jealous	18.2	22.0	91
Reasonably jealous	59.8	11.4	299
Not jealous	22.0	6.4	110
<i>Extramarital sex**</i>			
Yes	30.6	20.9	153
No	69.4	8.4	347
Economic control			
<i>Partner's work status</i>			
She works	26.0	13.8	130
She does not work	74.0	11.6	370
Gender expectancies			
<i>He feels she wants to dominate him**</i>			
Yes	18.2	27.5	91
No	81.8	8.8	409

<i>Her capacity doing household duties**</i>			
She is good	84.0	10.0	420
She is not good	15.8	24.1	79
Missing	0.2		[1]
<i>Strong hierarchical gender beliefs*</i>			
Yes	12.4	19.4	62
No	87.6	11.2	438
<i>Communication between partners</i>			
<i>He and his partner talk about day's events**</i>			
Very often	67.6	9.8	338
Sometimes or never	32.4	17.3	162
Total	100.0	12.2	500

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

7.4.2 Multivariate analysis

Having performed the descriptive analysis, a multivariate logistic regression model was carried out in order to explore the effects of the variables controlling for other variables. The first stage of this analysis was to combine the variables into groups and to make a selection of those which are considered important for the final model.

Decision-making group: None of the two variables were statistically significantly associated with IPV either before or after the combination between them. However, I kept at least one variable of each group. The purpose is that each group is represented at least for one variable for the final analysis. In this case, 'decision-making on household expenses' was kept because its effect was higher than "decision-making on caring for children".

Sexuality group: The analysis showed that the same variables that were significant in the descriptive analysis (according to Chi square test) were also significant in the bivivariate analysis (according to the Wald test): 'satisfaction with sexual life', 'jealousy' and 'extramarital sex'. After performing all different combinations between the five variables of the sexuality group, these three variables retained their significance. The other two variables 'decision-making on sexual intercourse' and 'his perception about the physical

appearance of his partner' did not improve their effect. So it was decided to drop both and to keep the rest.

Economic control group: Bivariate analysis showed that the variable 'partner's work status' is not statistically significantly associated with IPV according to the Wald test. However, the variable was kept because it is the only one representing this group. This variable is important in the theoretical framework used for this analysis and also may confound other factors.

Gender expectations group: Bivariate analysis showed that 'he feels she wants to dominate him' and 'her capacity doing household duties' were statistically significantly associated with IPV at .05 level and 'strong hierarchical gender beliefs' at a borderline level. After combination of these three variables, the first two remained significantly associated with IPV. The effect of the third one is reduced when 'he feels she wants to dominate him' was entered into the model and it is not significant any more. So, it was dropped.

Communication group: Bivariate analysis confirms that the variable representing this group is associated with IPV and it was therefore kept.

To recapitulate, the following eight variables are kept: 'decision-making on household expenses', 'satisfaction with sexual life', 'jealousy', 'extramarital sex', 'partner's work status', 'he feels she wants to dominate him', 'his perception of her capacity in the household duties' and 'he and his partner talk'. Next, all these variables were entered into the same model in all possible different combinations. Likelihood ratio tests were used to decide if each variable improved the goodness of fit of the model, and therefore whether these variables should or should not be included in the final model.

After combination of the eight variables only 'jealousy', 'extramarital sex', and 'he feels she wants to dominate him' retained their significance. 'Decision-making on household expenses' did not improve its effect after combination, so it remained not significantly associated with domestic violence. The same situation was observed with 'partner's work status'.

The variable 'satisfaction of his sexual life' lost its effect when 'he feels she wants to dominate him' and 'her capacity doing household duties' were entered into the model. This

is mainly because there are few cases who said that they are not sexually satisfied with their current partners and most of 50% of these cases also mentioned that they consider that their partners want to dominate them and that their partners are not good in the household duties.

‘He and his partner talk’ lost significance when ‘extramarital sex’ and ‘he feels she wants to dominate him’ were entered into the model. As expected, those who have little or no communication with their partners are more involved in extramarital sexual relationships than those who have good communication. Also, half of those who feel that their partners want to dominate them do not have good communication with their partners. In contrast, less than 30% of those who do not feel that their partners want to dominate them do not have good communication.

In the case of ‘his perception of her capacity in the household duties’ this variable lost its significance when ‘he feels she wants to dominate him’ was entered into the model. Almost 40% of those who think that their partners are not good doing household duties also consider that their partners want to dominate them.

In general, ‘he feels she wants to dominate him’ is a variable that reduces the effects of other variables because it has strong effect in IPV. This suggests that the non-fulfilment of household duties by women, the dissatisfaction of sexual life and the lack of communication are situations wherein men feel that women challenge their dominion of the relationship. Apparently these feelings of domination provoke annoyance in these men that sometimes results in IPV.

Only ‘jealousy’, ‘extramarital sex’ and ‘he feels she wants to dominate him’ were statistically significantly associated to IPV according to the likelihood ratio test. Only these three variables were chosen for the final model. Also, test of interaction was performed and no interaction was found maybe because the small number of cases analysed. The next stage was to estimate the adjusted odds ratios for the three variables.³⁴ Table 7.8 presents crude and adjusted odds ratios for the association between the independent variables with IPV, the confidence intervals, and the p values from the Wald Test.

³⁴ The effect was adjusted by confounders and by all other factors selected for the final model. ‘Men’s age’, ‘marital status’, ‘having children with another parents’, ‘occupation’, and ‘educational differences between partners’ were again used as confounders.

The size of the effect of the jealousy variable was reduced after combining. No specific variable reduced the effect, it was the combination of all of them. Nevertheless, the positive significant association between 'very jealous' and IPV was retained. Also, the trends do not change after combining. Adjusted odds ratios showed that those who are very jealous have odds 3.06 times higher of being violent than those who are not jealous at all. According to the likelihood ratio test, this variable is associated with IPV at a borderline level.

Bivariate analysis showed that those who had extramarital sex are more prone to being involved in IPV than those who did not have. The trends were the same when all variables were entered into the model and the size of the effect increased. Men who have had sex with other women have odds 3.3 times higher than those who have not had. The variable significantly improves the model according to the likelihood ratio test.

Crude and adjusted odds ratios were very similar for 'he feels she wants to dominate him'. Men who feel that their partners want to dominate them have odds almost 4 times higher of being involved in IPV than those who do not feel that their partners want to dominate them. The variable also improved the model according to the likelihood ratio test.

Table 7.8 Logistic regression odds ratios of association between selected factors representing relationship dynamics and IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Jealousy</i>						
Not jealous	1.00			1.00		
Reasonably jealous	1.89	0.140	0.81 - 4.39	1.59	0.305	0.66 - 3.87
Very jealous	4.14	0.002	1.67 - 10.32	3.06	0.025	1.15 - 8.11
<i>Extramarital sex</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	2.90	0.000	1.68 - 5.00	3.30	0.000	1.80 - 6.06
<i>He feels she wants to dominate him</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	3.92	0.000	2.21 - 6.96	3.93	0.000	2.07 - 7.48

* Adjusted for age, marital status, children with another partner, occupation, educational differences between partners and for all other factors in the table

N = 500

The analysis considering 'ever violent' as the outcome was also performed. The findings were very similar to the ones presented above. In sum, findings show that couples that are more likely to be involved in IPV are those where: men are very jealous, men have had sex with other women, and men feel that their partners want to dominate them. In common with the analysis performed for ENSARE 98, there are two main topics that appear to be importantly associated with domestic violence: the control of women's sexuality and the dispute over the control of the relationship.

In the case of the control of sexuality, according to participants the main reason for having a conflict with the partner is related to jealousy. In many cases men's jealousy is a factor that reflects the perceived necessity of men to control the sexuality of their partners. In the case of the control of the relationship, according to the Mexican norms, men should be the authority in their households. It seems that men could become violent when they feel that they are 'threatened' by their partners and risk losing this role. These issues and their relation to IPV are deeper analysed in the qualitative chapters (8 and 9).

The relationship between IPV and the variable 'he feels she wants to dominate him' explicitly illustrates that men who feel challenged by their partners for control of the relationship tend to respond with violence to this 'threat'. This suggests that the use of violence by men could depend on women's active or passive attitude. The variable 'extramarital sex' could be interpreted as an example of the challenge of the dominion of men in the relationship. A masculine gender construction is the active participation of men in sexual relationships. This can provoke the participation of men in sexual relationships with other partners. Some women could assume a submissive attitude when they realise that their male partners are having extramarital sex. However, there are also women who openly demand faithfulness from their partners. This demand could produce that men feel challenged in their total control of the relationship.

7.5 The influence of the community and IPV

7.5.1 Descriptive analysis

According to the conceptual framework used for this study, an important issue to be analysed is the role that the community surrounding the couple plays in the violence

between them. The Factory-based survey provides some information about this topic that will be analysed in this section.³⁵

Two main components of the community were addressed: family of origin and peers. Three variables are analysed from the family of origin group: 'household composition', 'support from his family', and 'conflicts against parents-in-law'. The first variable is an attempt to observe whether those who live with parents or with parents-in-law are more or less likely to be involved in IPV than those who live alone. The variable is divided into three categories: 'couple living with his parents', 'couple living with her parents', 'couple living alone'.³⁶ The second variable is based on the question asked to men about whether they consider that they have current support from his parents and his siblings. This is an attempt to analyse whether a lack of social support for men contributes to violent physical behaviour against their partners. The variable was divided in two categories: 'he feels he has support from all members of his family' and 'he feels he does not have support from all members of his family'. The last variable analysed for this group makes reference to the problems between the respondent and his parents-in-law.³⁷ The variable has only two categories: 'yes' and 'no'.

The peers group is represented by four variables: 'support from his peers', 'peers violence', 'his social life with peers' and 'partner's social life with her peers'. The first variable describes whether the individual feels he has support from his friends. It has two categories: 'yes' or 'no'. This variable also will try to analyse if those men who feel they lack support are more prone to being involved in IPV. The variable 'peers violence' is an attempt to analyse if having peers who have fought against other men recently is a predictor of being violent. Also this variable has the categories 'yes' and 'no'. The third variable is similar to the first one but it asked if he feels that his social life with peers is good or not. It is an attempt to analyse the well-being of the individual in relation to his social life and whether this affects the conflicts in his relationship or not. Two categories represent this variable: 'he has a good life' and 'he does not'. Finally, the last variable is related to the partner's social life. Respondents were asked how they consider the social life of their partners. The categories are also 'good social life' and 'not good social life'. This variable is an attempt to analyse whether her social life could be a determinant of

³⁵ ENSARE 98 did not collect data related to this topic.

³⁶ Only 4 cases were found in which they lived with both his parents and her parents. These cases were included in 'couple living with his parents'.

³⁷ Men were not asked about problems between their partners and their own parents.

violent conflicts within the relationship, even though this analysis is from the man's perspective.

Table 7.9 shows the percent distribution of men and the percentage of those who were involved in IPV by all these variables. The Chi-squared test is used to show which of these variables are statistically significantly associated with IPV.

Family of origin group: Findings show that half of the respondents live only with their partners. The other half is divided between those who live with their parents and those who live with their parents-in-law. This last group of men presented the lowest percentage of men involved in IPV. This suggests that this kind of extended family could be a form of prevention of IPV. However, this variable was not statistically significantly associated with IPV according to the Chi square test. Three quarters of respondents said that they feel they have support of all members of their families. It seems that there is no difference in the proportion of men involved in IPV between this group and those that said that they do not have support. The only variable in the family of origin group associated with IPV according to the Chi square test was 'conflicts against parents-in-law'. In this case, almost 24% of men that have conflicts with their parents-in-law were also involved in IPV. However, this group of men represent only 11% of the total sample.

Peers group: Results for the variable 'support from his friends' show that almost 40% of men do not think they have support from their friends. Almost 14% of these men have been involved in IPV. The variable was not statistically significantly associated with IPV. The variable 'peers violence' was the only one of the peers group that resulted in a statistically significant association with IPV at .05 level. 20% of those who have peers who have fought against other men (that represent 23% of the total) have also been involved in IPV, whereas the percentage of those who have not was 9.4%. The last two variables 'his social life with friends' and 'partner's social life with female friends' both resulted in an association with IPV at a borderline level. In both cases, not having good social life was more linked with violent men than having a good life.

Table 7.9 Percent distribution of male respondents by factors representing the community and percentage of these men involved in IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>% distribution of men</i>	<i>% men involved in IPV</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Family of origin</i>			
<i>Household composition</i>			
Living with parents	30.0	13.3	150
Living with parents in-law	19.2	9.4	96
Living alone	50.8	12.6	254
<i>Support from his family</i>			
Yes	76.2	11.8	381
No	23.8	13.4	119
<i>Conflicts against parents-in-law**</i>			
Yes	11.0	23.6	55
No	85.2	10.6	426
Missing	3.8		[19]
<i>Peers</i>			
<i>Support from his friends</i>			
Yes	61.2	11.4	306
No	38.0	13.7	190
Missing	0.8		4
<i>Peers violence**</i>			
Yes	23.0	20.0	115
No	76.2	9.4	381
Missing	0.8		[4]
<i>His social life with friends*</i>			
Good	71.0	10.4	355
Not good	29.0	16.6	145
<i>Partner's social life with her peers*</i>			
Good	62.0	10.3	310
Not good	37.8	15.3	189
Missing	0.2		[1]
Total	100.0	12.2	500

p-values derived from Chi square test:

** p<.05

* p<.10

7.5.2 Multivariate analysis

Next, a bivariate and multivariate logistic regression analysis was performed. The strategy was the same as in the other sections. First, a combination of variables from the family of

origin group was included. Bivariate analysis showed that the only significant variable associated with IPV was 'conflicts against parents-in-law'. The multivariate analysis showed the same pattern. Also, this variable was the only one that statistically significantly improved the model according to the likelihood ratio test. Therefore, only "conflicts against parents-in-law" was kept for the final model.

Results of the bivariate analysis performed for the group of peers showed that 'peers violence' was the only statistically significant variable associated with IPV. The variable 'his social life with peers' was significant at a borderline level. After the effect of the other variables was controlled 'peers violence' retained its significance. The variable 'his social life with peers' reduces its effect and it does not show significance any more. The other variables 'support of friends' and 'her life with friends' were not associated with IPV either before or after combination. Only 'peers violence' was kept for the final model.

Table 7.10 presents the results of the final model that includes the two variables that were chosen: 'conflicts against parents-in-law' and 'peers violence'. Also confounders were entered into the model.³⁸ Bivariate analysis showed that those who have conflicts against their parents-in-law are more at risk of being involved in domestic violence. After controlling for other variables, the odds ratio did not change. The adjusted odds ratio was 1.66 for those who have conflicts against their parents-in-law. The variable was a significant addition to the model at a borderline level.

The bivariate analysis performed for the variable 'peers violence' showed that those whose peers had fought were more prone to be involved in IPV than those whose peers had not. The trend and the positive association of this variable with IPV did not change after all other variables were entered into the model, though the effect of the variable was a little reduced. Multivariate analysis showed that those whose peers had fought have odds 2.14 times higher of being violent against their partners than those whose peers had not.

³⁸ The same confounders used for previous analysis.

Table 7.10 Logistic regression odds ratios of association between selected factors representing the community and IPV in the last 12 months, Factory-based survey.

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Conflicts against parents-in-law</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	1.66	0.032	1.05 – 2.64	1.66	0.057	0.98 - 2.78
<i>Peers violence</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	2.40	0.003	1.35 – 4.24	2.14	0.013	1.18 - 3.91

* Adjusted for age, marital status, children with another partner, occupation, educational difference between partners and for all other factors in the table

N = 500

The analysis considering ‘ever violent’ as the outcome was also performed. The findings were very similar as those presented above.

In sum, findings suggest that living with members of the family of origin of women could prevent men’s violent behaviour against their partners. However, having conflicts against parents-in-law is strongly associated with the use of violence against the partner. Also, findings suggest that having violent peers is an important predictor of IPV. These two variables were the only ones at the community level that were found associated with IPV in the multivariate analysis.

However, the direction of the association between these two variables and IPV is not evident. For example, in the first case, it may be that violence against the partner is the causal factor in which a man has conflicts with their parents-in-law, even though the literature and qualitative findings suggest that most of the cases are the opposite. The case of having violent peers is similar. Apparently, men could be influenced by their peers to commit IPV, however, the opposite could occur. Because he commits violence against his partner and maybe against other people, he could be considered as part of the violent peers. More discussion about this issue is presented in Chapter 10.

7.6 Combination of variables

A multivariate logistic regression model that includes all the variables presented in the previous sections was performed. As in the analysis of ENSARE 98, this model aims to explore the effect of each variable on IPV controlling for all other variables. All the variables were entered one by one in order to observe their variation. The results of the final model are presented in Table 7.11.

'Marital status' is a variable that lost its statistically significant effect on IPV when 'children with another partner' was entered into the model (subsection 7.2.2). The effect decreased more when the rest of variables were entered. A similar situation occurred to the variable 'participation in fights against other children'. This variable lost effect when 'violent experiences' was included (subsection 7.3.2) and this effect did not improve when other variables were entered. 'Occupation' did not show association with IPV before controlling. This variable remained without association after controlling for all the different variables included in this model. In sum, these three variables did not change their condition in this 'overall' model.

The variables 'children with another partner', 'educational differences between partners', and 'conflicts against parents-in-law' showed a decrease in the size of their effect on IPV in this model. This occurred mainly when 'she wants to dominate him' was included. This suggests that this variable was a confounder of the others in the analysis of partner violence. Most violent men who said that they had children with another partner, who are more educated than their partners, and who have conflicts against their parents-in-law they also feel that their partners want to dominate them. 'Children with another partner' was also affected when 'extramarital sex' was entered into the model. As expected, these two variables are associated.

The variables 'violent experiences', 'jealousy', and 'peers violence' also showed a decrease in effect on IPV in the 'overall' model comparing with the other models presented above. In these cases, there was not a specific confounder that directly affected these variables. The effect was reduced when all variables were entered together in the final model.

At the end 'men's age', 'extramarital sex', and 'he feels she wants to dominate him' were the variables that kept their positive association with IPV after all other variables were included. In the case of 'men's age' Table 7.11 shows that those youngest have an adjusted odds ratio of 3.43 compared to base of the oldest (group 35-40). The trends did not change after confounding by all variables. In the case of the variable 'extramarital sex' those who have had sexual relationships with other partners during their current relationship present 3.30 higher odds than those who have not had. In the variable 'he feels she wants to dominate him' those who said 'yes' have 3.41 higher odds than those who said 'no'. Actually, the variables 'extramarital sex' and 'he feels she wants to dominate him' are the variables that significantly improved the goodness of fit of the model at .05 level according to the likelihood ratio test. 'Men's age', 'children with another partner' and 'peers violence' did so at a borderline level.

In sum, according to the results of this 'overall' model wherein all variables were included, those men who are young, who feel that their partners want to dominate them, and who have violent peers have the highest odds of being violent against their partners. Also, to have children with another partner and to have extramarital sexual relationships are predictors of IPV. However, the latter may also present the 'cause and effect syndrome'; i.e., partner violence could be the factor that explains extramarital sex behaviour or both are determined by other factors.

**Table 7.11 Logistic regression odds ratios of IPV in the last 12 months.
'Overall' model, Factory-based survey.**

	<i>Crude Odds ratio</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds ratio*</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>95% confidence interval</i>
<i>Men's age</i>						
35 - 40	1.00			1.00		
30 - 34	1.55	0.305	0.67 - 3.60	1.75	0.261	0.66 - 4.65
25 - 29	1.77	0.161	0.80 - 3.93	2.36	0.068	0.94 - 5.93
Less than 25 years old	2.32	0.050	1.00 - 5.37	3.43	0.018	1.23 - 9.58
<i>Marital status</i>						
Married	1.00			1.00		
Cohabiting	1.84	0.040	1.03 - 3.29	1.03	0.943	0.51 - 2.06
<i>Children with another partner</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	2.63	0.006	1.32 - 5.25	2.12	0.081	0.91 - 4.95
<i>Educational difference between partners</i>						
She more educated than he	1.00			1.00		
Same educational level	1.72	0.217	0.73 - 4.06	1.55	0.357	0.61 - 3.96
He more educated than she	2.24	0.073	0.93 - 5.43	2.17	0.117	0.82 - 5.70
<i>Occupation</i>						
High level	1.00			1.00		
Middle level	0.64	0.276	0.29 - 1.42	0.93	0.889	0.34 - 2.54
Low level	0.71	0.455	0.29 - 1.75	1.01	0.986	0.33 - 3.09
<i>Violent experiences</i>						
No violence	1.00			1.00		
Low violence	2.44	0.043	1.03 - 5.80	2.49	0.072	0.92 - 6.70
Severe violence	3.39	0.006	1.41 - 8.15	2.70	0.053	0.99 - 7.39
Missing	[1.30]			[0.93]		
<i>Participation in fights against other children</i>						
Less or same as other children	1.00			1.00		
More than other children	2.02	0.032	1.06 - 3.84	1.30	0.493	0.62 - 2.72
<i>Jealousy</i>						
Not jealous	1.00			1.00		
Reasonably jealous	1.89	0.140	0.81 - 4.39	1.43	0.445	0.57 - 3.54
Very jealous	4.14	0.002	1.67 - 10.32	2.17	0.139	0.78 - 6.03
<i>Extramarital sex</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	2.90	0.000	1.68 - 5.00	3.30	0.000	1.76 - 6.18
<i>He feels she wants to dominate him</i>						
No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	3.92	0.000	2.21 - 6.96	3.41	0.000	1.75 - 6.66

Conflicts against parents-in-law

No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	1.66	0.032	1.05 - 2.64	1.41	0.236	0.80 - 2.49

Peers violence

No	1.00			1.00		
Yes	2.40	0.003	1.35 - 4.24	1.88	0.054	0.99 - 3.56

* Adjusted for all other factors in the table

N= 500

7.7 Summary

This chapter presents the findings of the quantitative analysis of the information provided by the second component of the research: the factory-based survey. Cross-tables, and bivariate and multivariate logistic regression models were used for the analysis of these data. The primary focus was on identifying significant associations of IPV.

The levels of prevalence of partner violence found in this survey were similar to those found in ENSARE 98. Around 12% admitted to having been involved in physical IPV against their current partner in the last 12 months and more than 30% ever in their lives. Most of this violence occurred in the first phase of the relationship. The reason most mentioned by respondents as the main cause of the violence was jealousy.

As in the previous chapter, the variables studied were divided in the following topic groups: socio-economic and demographic characteristics, violent experiences during childhood, and relationship dynamics. In this chapter another topic was added for the analysis: the community. The topics and the variables analysed were selected according to the conceptual framework developed for this study. The procedure for the analysis was the same as used for the analysis of ENSARE 98.

According to the findings, the most important socio-economic and demographic variable for the understanding of IPV was men's age. Young men are at most at risk to commit violence against their partners. This confirmed the findings provided by ENSARE 98. Having children with another partner was another variable that was found statistically significantly associated with IPV.

Violence experienced in the household during childhood was found to be a predictor of IPV. It was observed that the type of violence experienced by a man is a significant predictor of being involved in partner violence during adulthood. Particularly important is the severity of violence experienced during childhood. Apparently, the level of violence experienced is determinant in the perpetration of violence during adulthood, even after controlling of any other factors.

Some dimensions of the relationship dynamics were also analysed. The variables 'having extramarital sex' and 'he feels she wants to dominate him' were the ones who were found most associated with violence within couple. The dispute of the control of the relationship seems to be an important aspect for the generation of violence against the female partner.

Finally, analysing dimensions of the "community" it was found that the participation of peers in fights against other men was an important predictor of IPV. This finding suggests that being involved in a violent environment could encourage violence against women by their partners. Evidently, the influence of male peers could be an important factor for committing violence against the partner, however, both factors (violent peers and IPV) may influence each other.

In sum, diverse elements have been found to be associated with IPV. Some of them were also analysed in the previous chapter and their importance was confirmed here. This is the case of variables related to the life cycle of individuals and the violent experiences during childhood. These elements are part of the individual level of the conceptual framework used for this analysis.

Two general aspects of the interaction of the couple have been found associated with IPV according to the analysis of the two surveys: the control of women's sexuality and men's struggle for dominion within the relationship. Finally, it seems that some factors representing the community could be also important for the understanding of IPV.

In the next two chapters the qualitative information is analysed. The qualitative work will be helpful for contextualising and interpreting these quantitative results and also for providing new findings regarding determinants of the physical violence against women by their male partners.

For example, qualitative work provides an insight of why age is strongly associated with IPV. Also, it was useful for contextualising the factors belonging to the violent experiences during childhood and the relationship dynamics that were found significant to IPV. The qualitative findings explore in more detail the role of the community – and particularly of the family – in the violent couples. Finally, the qualitative work offers a more in-depth insight and description of the circumstances surrounding the violent and non-violent behaviour within the couple.

Chapter 8

The Macrosocial Context

This chapter contextualises the macrosocial environment of the study population. It describes the norms, laws, customs and values that permeate Mexican society and influence the use of violence against female partners. The data used in this chapter mainly come from the in-depth interviews with violent and non-violent men conducted during the fieldwork. However, additional data, obtained through a documentary study based on visits to governmental Mexican institutions (official documents and public records), in-depth interviews with service providers, and participant observations, are included in the analysis.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the main theoretical approaches that have been used to explain family violence at a societal level are the Culture of Violence Theory and Patriarchal/Feminist Theory. This chapter analyses dimensions of the social structure which are addressed by these theories: the culture of violence prevailing in Mexico; the gender norms and male domination predominant in Mexican society; and the social condemnation of the use of violence against women. Each section of this chapter corresponds to one of these dimensions.

8.1 Culture of violence in Mexico

According to the Culture of Violence Theory, the societal acceptance of violence is associated with the use of violence in the home (see chapter 2). In Mexico, violent conduct is common and it is used frequently as a way to resolve conflicts. This section presents a description of the socio-cultural violent context which characterises Mexican society.

8.1.1 Violent communities

A common characteristic reported by the men interviewed in this study, both those who did and those who did not use violence against their partners, was that the communities in which they grew up were violent environments.

Neighbourhoods of middle-low to low social class in Mexico are characterised by economic instability, lack of opportunities and social insecurity. Both violent and non-violent participants reported that they had lived in neighbourhoods of *mala muerte*.³⁹ According to their own accounts, gangs, drugs, prostitution, assaults, rapes, and street fights are some of the characteristics that define these neighbourhoods. Because they have lived in this kind of environment since childhood, they have grown accustomed to this violent context. Violent situations are part of daily life. In their reports it was quite common to find violent situations referred to as “normal”. It is normal to fight in the streets or at parties, normal to be assaulted, normal to have friends involved in drugs – as consumers or dealers - normal to belong to a gang which fights against the gangs from the surrounding neighbourhoods. The following quote reflects how ordinary violence had become for some of the individuals, and in some circumstances it had even been elevated to the status of entertainment:

You know [to the interviewer], a party that does not end up in a fight is not a real party.

[Informant NV3]

There was a high level of brutality in the violence recounted by these men. Frequent punches, thrown objects, and assaults with weapons were reported as ordinary acts. Injuries such as bruises, and wounds to the mouth or nose were described as normal. But violence could reach more serious and extreme levels. For example, some respondents experienced the death of a close friend caused by violence. The following quote provides an example of this situation that was experienced by four of the respondents:

I had two friends. Both of them were killed in fights between gangs. I was in one of the fights when one of my friends was killed. I saw how he died. It was because all of us were fighting, there were punches but my friend was stabbed.

[Informant NV14]

³⁹ The literal English translation of the term *mala muerte* is bad death. In Mexico, bad death means a death which is not quiet, essentially a violent death. The term is used as an adjective to describe the neighbourhoods where the risk of being a victim of a crime is high.

These traumatic experiences generate sorrow and stress in those who live through them. They also lead these individuals to develop high levels of tolerance to violence in its severest forms.

Most of the violence described above occurs within an urban context. However, some reports illustrating characteristics of rural violence were found in the accounts of individuals who had spent their childhood and adolescence in rural areas. For example, the use of weapons by ordinary people has long been traditional conduct in rural communities.⁴⁰ Machetes are in relatively common usage. Normally, the machete is used as a work tool and this justifies why almost every household has one. However, the machete is not only used for working. These weapons also find a role in protection, the “settling of scores”, and fights for land. Even more commonly, the machete is used for discipline, i.e., for the “education” of children and women. This pattern will be described in the following sections. Although the machete is the weapon most commonly used by the community, it is not the only one. The use of guns is also widespread.

My father has a gun in the ‘rancho’, I mean, in the town everybody has weapons within their household.

[Informant V5]

The seriousness of violence in rural areas is reflected in some of the experiences of the respondents. Three of the seven participants with a rural background reported that their parents were directly injured at the hands of aggressors. In two cases the violence had severe consequences:

My father was shot when I was little. The bullet got his spine. He couldn’t walk anymore.

[Informant V15]

My father was beaten very badly. He had a lot of scars. I think that’s why he became mad.

[Informant NV15]

⁴⁰ All respondents live in urban areas in Mexico City. However, several of them (5 violent and 3 non-violent) were born and spent their childhood in rural areas. Socio-cultural differences between urban and rural respondents are described in chapter 2. A list of different characteristics of all respondents is presented in Appendix VI.

Another participant mentioned that he was the one who was directly attacked. Again, the incident involved weapons:

So, this man was annoyed with me and one day he met me in the town and he cut me with the machete. I went home looking for the gun...

[Informant V5]

In both urban and rural contexts many Mexicans from the lower-middle to low socio-economic classes, belong to communities where violent events are part of normal life. As a survival mechanism they have to adapt to the violent conditions that are the norm in their society. This narrative is an example of such adaptation:

No, in fact I was not a fighter, really, I was frightened of being hit. Really I was frightened even to go to school... There were even times when I said: So, why are we going to fight, mate? Let's see, either you're going to hit me, or I'm going to hit you. We are only going to hurt ourselves and what are we going to win? But, I changed and got to a stage when I became more aggressive, very aggressive. But I was not a fighter, but you get to a place where if they are pulling you down well, the time comes when you are aggressive.

[Informant V1]

Informant V1, in keeping with many other male individuals, decided to change his peaceful behaviour which left him vulnerable to being a victim. He found violence to be the most efficient defence strategy (or perhaps the only one he knew). In the end, this change of attitude was an act of seeking justice. During his narrative, Informant V1 mentioned that he did not want to be an aggressor. He, and many of the others, condemn those who are aggressive, those who are involved in drugs, those who belong to the gangs, and those who are thieves.⁴¹ He does not want to be identified as belonging to one of those groups. However, in a violent environment it is not difficult to join these criminal cliques. Therefore, it is necessary to find a way to escape this temptation. He, along with his parents and many other Mexicans, consider the best preventive method to be a “good” education given by the family from a young age. But in most cases the word “good” is interpreted as meaning rigid, and much of the time this “rigid” education entails the use of violence.

⁴¹ None of the informants identify themselves as belonging to these categories. In contrast, they consider themselves to live honest lives, principally because they are workers who have got steady jobs. A limitation of focusing only on factory workers is that it is not possible to access those men who identify themselves as members of illicit groups – men who may also be the most violent within their households. However, the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours of the study population regarding these issues, are representative of those of most of society.

8.1.2 *A la 'malagueña' pero te enderezas.*⁴² The use of physical violence to educate children

The use of physical violence in the punishment of children is a regular phenomenon in Mexico. The quantitative findings described in the last chapters showed that a high proportion of men reported that their parents used to beat them. In the qualitative interviews all the informants, whether violent or not, mentioned in their narratives that their parents used physical force in their upbringing.

According to the participants, because the hostility surrounding their communities, youths are at risk of becoming involved in criminal gangs, becoming drug addicts or dealers, or simply just being indolent. These attitudes and behaviours are condemned by most of society. Parents are concerned about these risks and they want to protect their children from them and lead them to follow the “good” path in life. Most of them believe that a rigid education is necessary for children in their family, even though this includes the use of violence. Ironically, they use violence to avert violence. The next quote reflects this concern:

I think parents in the past were more cruel. But I think in some ways it was better because nowadays there are those who spoil their children too much and then you end up with a drug addict or a crook or an alcoholic.

[Informant V15]

Violence against children is accepted behaviour in the middle-lower to lower class Mexican communities. It is not just tolerated, but in some situations is also considered a necessity. An obvious consequence of this tolerance is that individuals have come to regard the phenomenon as normal behaviour. In their narratives, several participants talked of the violence used against them by their parents as something natural that just happened because it was necessary for their discipline.

He [his father] beat me only 4 or 5 times and it was only spanks and slaps. It was because I broke part of the crib.

[Informant NV11]

⁴² *Malagueña* is an expression that comes from the word *Mala* that in English means bad (in this context the word hard is more precise). The translation of *Enderezas* is to straighten. There is not a direct English translation for the whole term but it conveys the idea that “if your parents are really hard on you, you can sort yourself out”.

You know, when you don't obey there are always scolding and hits... My mother sometimes scolded me or hit me, she said: why didn't you do your homework? But it was just the normal way.

[Informant V3]

The quotes above illustrate that simple incidents can warrant a slap. Violence against children is so usual that for some men this behaviour is just one of many other kinds of punishment. There are even reports where individuals mentioned that, from their perspective, physical violence was not the most severe type of punishment they could receive.

She punished me with the most painful for me. She didn't allow me to go out or to watch TV. Yes, I mean, where it most hurt.

[Informant NV8]

It was the most painful that he didn't give us any money. Because the money was important for going to the cinema or going out the neighbourhood. Yes, it was more painful than the hits, it was more painful, the money.

[Informant V14]

All of in-depth respondents received physical violence as a form of punishment during their childhood. However, for some of the respondents, the use of physical violence was deemed to be of similar magnitude, or even less serious than other kinds of punishments such as the prohibition of watching TV. This physical violence that appears to be completely tolerated usually includes only slaps, spankings and occasional hits with the belt.⁴³

Although the physical punishment received by the respondents mostly referred to events such as these, other events were also mentioned in their narratives. Some of these events involved more severe violence that could have serious consequences for the health of the respondents.

⁴³ In the next chapter an explanation of which kinds of events are accepted by the society and which are not is given.

Interviewer:

So, tell me what was the worst that you remember?

Informant V13:

Well, the worst I remember was once when it was raining and I said that we should go because we had to cross a river. And he [his father] said 'don't you know that we have to finish the work that we have to do?' Until we finished we had to work hard, until it was already getting dark. But because on that day it was raining, you can imagine what it was like to cross a river, it was wide and the current was strong.

Interviewer:

But was that as a punishment?

Informant V13:

Yes, because we didn't work quickly during the day. According to him we were playing. So, because we didn't work quickly, we finished late. So that was the punishment that he gave us, that we had to finish and river continued to rise

Interviewer:

So really you wanted to leave earlier?

Informant V13:

Yes, we were thinking about the river that was going to continue to rise.

Interviewer:

And did he also cross it?

Informant V13:

Yes, but he knew how to swim, and well, we also knew how to swim, but I was only about 11 years old.

Interviewer:

Tell me the worst you remember.

Informant NV15:

Once I had already finished my homework and I left home to play football. My parents were looking for me because they wanted to order me to do another job. So, my father went to look for me, but he had the intention to hit me. I knew he had the intention so I started running and he was running around me. He didn't reach me but when he was close to me he took his machete and he hurt my hand. It was not too much but I was bleeding. That's the one I remember most.

Interviewer:

How old were you?

Informant NV15:

I was around eight.

The two quotes correspond to informants who lived in rural areas during childhood. In some of the interviews, respondents emphasised the differences between the violence in rural and urban areas. According to the participants, people in rural communities are more prone than urban dwellers to using violence to educate children. This suggests that corporal punishment in rural communities is more accepted than it is in urban ones.

People are more tolerant here in the city. People are more tolerant and they punish [their children] less [than in rural].

[Informant V12]

Okay, my father was a little strict. You know that in little towns it is a different story... There they really really control us. In fact, yes in little towns it is as if we are better brought up than here [the city], just like they say: even if your parents are really hard on you, you can sort yourself out and here [the city] you can't... there [in the town] you had to do the chores and if you didn't you got a good beating [from your parents]. There they are used to the machete, they hit with the blunt edge. So we knew it was better to do as we were told.

[Informant V13]

In the last narrative, Informant V13 also confirms the belief that a rigid education is necessary for the good development of the individual. This strict upbringing is not found to the same degree in the big city. Most of the respondents with a rural background suggest that this lack of severity during childhood is one of the main reasons that people from the big cities become involved in problems of addiction or violence later on. However, Informant V13 shows a contradictory position. At the same time that he approves the use of physical violence, he also condemns it saying that he has hard feelings towards his father because he used to beat him. Furthermore, he says that he does not educate his children in the same way that he was educated; he says he prefers to talk with them.

This contradiction reflects another phenomenon that was found in the narratives: social change. It seems that the beliefs of the Mexican population, about violence against children, are evolving. In recent years, different sectors have made extensive efforts to combat the mistreatment of children. For example, there have been several campaigns in favour of the rights of the child. In the first quote presented in this section Informant V15 says: *I think the parents in the past were more cruel...* Informant NV7 suggested during the interview that I should ask these questions (about the education of children) to elderly people because, in the past, they were stricter and more “closed minded” about family issues. The implication here is that it is now seen as “closed minded” to harbour the view that it is the necessary to maintain a rigid and hierarchical social structure in the family, using violence to keep order.

Two patterns emerge from the above observations, to characterise the attitudes, behaviours and beliefs of the individuals regarding the use of physical violence against children. First, the hierarchal pattern mainly represented by rural communities and elderly people is one in which the use of violence is more tolerated. Second, the egalitarian pattern represented

more by urban communities and young people is one in which the use of violence is condemned. Apparently, this differentiation of contexts is also observed in relation to norms and conduct about violence in general, including violence against women.

8.2 Gender norms and male domination

Patriarchal/Feminist Theory is the most widely mentioned of the macrosocial theories in relation to domestic violence (see chapter 2). The central premise of this perspective is that gender inequity is responsible for partner violence. The predominance of a patriarchal gender system in the society is fundamental in the explanation of violent abuse in heterosexual unions. This section attempts to contextualise the society under study in terms of the predominant gender social structure.

8.2.1 The gender order

In Mexico, as in almost any other society, the socio-cultural dominant gender system is the one that represents the structural domination of women by men. Many authors have used the term 'patriarchal' to describe this kind of system.⁴⁴ The patriarchal culture is reflected in the traditional norms, values and behaviours of Mexicans in which men have more privileges than women. However, this does not mean that women are the only ones who are adversely affected by this system. Mexican men live the gender dynamic with tension. It is not always easy being cast in the dominant role, especially when fulfilment of the role is difficult or when the system is in the process of change.⁴⁵

According to Connell (2000), the analysis of gender – either at individual, relationship or societal level - has to include at least four aspects: power relations, production relations, emotional relations and symbolism. Power relations refer to the main axis of power in a society, production relations to the gender divisions of labour, emotional relations (or cathexis) to the practices that shape and realise desire, and symbolism to the presentation of gender through symbolic images. This classification has been considered convenient to

⁴⁴ This term has been widely used and accepted by the scientific community. However, Rubin, who first introduced the term the sociology of gender, considers that the term refers only to one type of masculine domination (Vendrell, 2002). It is not the intention to enter into this debate on the use of this term. For practical reasons, it will be used in this research to represent, in a general sense, this dominant gender system.

⁴⁵ Next section and Chapter 9 will explore this issue in-depth.

organise the description of the gender order predominant in Mexico because it includes the main categories in which individuals interact.

In terms of power relations, women have traditionally had low levels of participation in the political, financial, military, and socio-cultural sectors. For example, Mexico has never had a woman president and very few women have been governors of a city-state. Men have had principal control of the institutions that regulate the society.

However, despite the fact that gender inequality is still evident, in recent years Mexico has experienced a process of social change in which women are increasingly participating in public life. At present, many women have been incorporated into positions of power in the private and public sector. For example, 30% of the high-ranking officials of the current government are now women. In the period 2000 – 2006, 25% of the Mexican parliament was represented by women, as compared to only 6% between 1964 and 1970 (INEGI, 2004a). A little more than 50 years ago women were not allowed to vote in Mexico. Nowadays, more women than men are registered on the electoral poll. In relation to other countries, Mexico is ranked fiftieth in the world on the Gender-related Development Index developed by UNDP, and 34th on the Gender Empowerment Measure (UNDP, 2004).

A particular characteristic of the economic system in Mexico is that it is based on a marked gender division. As with many other capitalist systems, the production sphere is directly related with the masculine and domestic labour with the feminine. Therefore, men have the main control in production and this is fundamental in maintaining power at both a micro and macro level. The role of main breadwinner is defined as a male role and it is one that forms an extremely important and distinguishing part of the male identity. However, the most important gender change in recent decades has been the feminisation of the labour force. Mexico has witnessed an important increase in the proportion of workers who are female.⁴⁶ At first this incorporation was not motivated by socio-cultural changes regarding societal beliefs about female roles. It was mainly motivated by the transformation of the economic structure in Latin America forced by the modernisation paradigm, and by the need to increase the household income to alleviate the poverty situation.

⁴⁶ At present, 30% of all workers are women. In the fifties this proportion was less than 15% (DGE, 1953; INEGI, 2001).

In Mexico, despite the important participation of women in economic relations, the gender division persists in the labour market. As a consequence, discrimination against women is still evident. For example, women experience more difficulties than men do in becoming qualified employees, female workers are paid less than male workers for the same work, and women are often thrown out of their jobs when they become pregnant. But probably the most significant feature of the gender division is that there has been no change whatsoever in the social norms that situate men as the main providers and women as those responsible for the care of the children.⁴⁷

In terms of emotional relations, masculinity has traditionally been associated with the control of emotions, strength, being active, and violent, while feminine characteristics include the expression of emotions, weakness, passivity, and being submissive. This classification is not necessarily representative of all members of the society, but in Mexico, social norms differentiate male and female in these traditional terms. Nowadays, Mexican culture still assigns women to the role of the emotional and men to the role of the rational.

Emotional relations, like power and production relations, have also been subject to social change in Mexican society. Women are participating more in “rational” decisions – in the public and private sphere - and they have more autonomy over themselves and less dependence on men. Conversely, it seems that men are more participative within the household. However, emotional gender relations are still heavily influenced by strong traditional norms. Particularly interesting is the case of sexuality. Sexual conduct in Mexico has its root in the traditional Catholic moral in which female sexuality is strongly associated with fertility within the marriage. According to Szasz (1998), the current norms condemn sexual pleasure for women. Sexual relations should be carried out only with reproductive aims and women must be passively participative. In contrast, men are allowed to be more active sexually. Moreover, an important way for men to demonstrate their “virility” is through sexual exploits with several women.

The act of penetration is especially important in Mexican culture. Important value is given to the man who penetrates women, or even other men, and never lets himself be penetrated (Prieur, 1996). On the other side, there is an important cult attached to the virginity of women. A positive value is given to women who remain virgins until marriage, and a

⁴⁷ For further information about gender division and labour force in Mexico refer to the work of Brígida García.

negative to those who do not. In general, those who have a passive sexual role are regarded more highly than those who have an active role, but this role is primarily determined by the premarital virginity status. As a result, the norm is to classify women as good or bad, according to their sexual behaviour (Szasz, 1997). The paradox is evident. The society encourages men to have active sexual behaviour whereas it forbids women to have it. This position provokes confusion and conflicts between men and women. Sometimes these conflicts turn into violent situations.

Besides the cult of virginity, in Mexican society there is also an important cult attached to maternity. For a male in particular, his mother represents his worthiness. So, virginity and maternity are the worthiest attributes that a Mexican woman can have.⁴⁸ These two cultural dimensions of the emotional relations of gender are central to an understanding of violent relationships from a socio-cultural perspective. For example, a woman who does not fulfil the role of 'virgin' and/or does not get along well with her mother-in-law is vulnerable to suffer the consequences of an angry reaction by her male partner. Specific cases representing these situations are shown in the next chapter.

In the case of the symbolism, language, dress, and body culture are some of the elements that make up the symbolic gender division. For example, in the case of language the pronoun "they" in English is used to refer to a group of either men or women. In Spanish "ellos" is used for men and "ellas" for women. However, when there is a group of men and women the male term "ellos" is used, even if the group comprises several women and only one man. In Mexico a politic of change has emerged over the last few years that promotes the use of both "ellos" and "ellas" when alluding to a mixed group.

There are other symbolic images that form the imaginary ideas of what each gender represents. Some of them are presented through the media. A strong sportsman and an exotic and sensual woman are common images on every Mexican TV channel. The former is a symbol of triumph, an aggressive hero who is able to face any difficult challenge (Connell, 2000). The latter is a symbol of desire, the "bad" woman who is only "good" for having sex. Both images, are based only in the imaginary realm, however, they strongly reinforce gender constructions.

⁴⁸ In Mexico the most important religious cult is to The Virgin of Guadalupe – it is even more important than the following of Jesus Christ -. The Virgin of Guadalupe is mother and virgin at the same time. The Virgin of Guadalupe continues to be a strong emblem for Mexican culture.

Power relations, production relations, emotional relations and symbolism are some of the dominant structures that emerge as almost “natural” in the study of gender (Connell, 2000). This section has briefly described these structures at societal level. But, how are these structures experienced by male actors? The next section addresses this question.

8.2.2 Being a man in Mexico

This section is divided into two parts. The first of these describes how men, both violent and non-violent, learn from childhood the traditional roles that configure their masculine identity and distinguish it from the feminine identity. Since the family of origin is the institution in which these roles are primarily constructed, this description is based on the narratives of the informants about their relationship with their parents. The second section attempts to explore the gender ideology of the respondents in terms of the structures proposed by Connell (2000).

Most of the parents of respondents were born in the forties or early fifties. They are part of a past generation, mostly of low socio-economic status, and most of them have hierarchical gender attitudes and behaviours. In consequence, most of the respondents grew up in families governed by a patriarchal system. In these families, the male figure, mainly represented by the father, is the authority who deserves respect and obedience. The female figure, mainly represented by the mother, tends to be supportive, affective, understanding, and kind.

Interviewer:

Do you think that one of them, one of the two of them loved you more?

Informant V14:

Well, I thought that my mother loved me more, because she conspired to protect us when my father would arrive. With my father it was a question of if we didn't do as he said right away, he would punish us harshly immediately... he was a little stricter and we felt that the one who loved us [him and his brothers], well, more was our mother.

Interviewer:

Listen, and for example when you were little, were you scared of your mother?

Informant V14:

No, she was where we sought protection when we saw our father angry... but we were not scared of our mother. It was our father that inspired, not terror but respect, in us. More than anything else, I regarded him as having more authority.

Interviewer:

How strict was your father?

Informant NV11:

He was one of those people who liked everyone to be at the table when it was time to eat... he didn't like anybody to be goofing around. He liked everyone to get up early and to be very clean. He didn't like us to be in the street or hanging around with our friends.

Interviewer:

And your mother, how strict was she?

Informant NV11:

No, well, my mother was very kind-hearted.

Informant V14 prefers to use the term “respect” instead of “terror” to refer to the feeling he had towards his father. However, some of the participants explicitly mention being frightened of their father. Extremely few cases refer to their mother in these terms.

Interviewer:

And for example, were you frightened of your mother?

Informant NV3:

No, never.

Interviewer:

And of your father?

Informant NV3:

Yes, I have always been frightened of my father. I was frightened of my father when I was little. We [he and his siblings] were shaking with fear when he got home, mainly when he came in drunk. We were shaking with fear, honestly. It was a bad time.

In the cases when there is an absence of the father another figure plays the male role. The uncle, the grandfather, or the stepfather are the ones who represent the authority within the household. In a few cases, for example when there is not any other male figure in the household, the mother takes the role of the head. However, usually her authority is less strict and more flexible.

Most respondents mentioned having a better relationship with their mother than with their father. Some of them even said that they had a real preference for their mothers. This situation is seen as “natural”: *I was more attached to my mother, well, the mothers are the mothers.* The little time that children spend with their fathers is considered to be one of the main reasons that men are more attached to their mothers than their fathers.

Obviously you have a better relationship with the mother. Well, in my case I had a better relationship with my mother because I spent the rest of the day with her [after school] and with my father I spent only a few hours because he got home from work late.

[Informant V10]

In this way, men also learn that the male role is to work, any number of hours per day. It is important to be a good economic provider for the household, even though this might mean losing a close relationship with the children. As a consequence, an extremely close relationship with the mother is constructed. The mother-son relationship, sometimes referred to as an “Oedipus complex”, is probably the most affectionate of all relationships between individuals in Mexico.

The construction of the male identity is frequently taught directly by the fathers during childhood.

I remember he [his father] told me about the girls: you son of a bitch, you will have a lot of girls, you will be good, you must be good like your brothers. In the way he spoke to me he motivated me as a man. And I feel that from man to man you feel more motivation.

[Informant V10]

BOX 8.1

Informant V5 represents the most extreme case of a man with strong traditional patriarchal gender conduct. He proudly describes how his father showed him the way to become an “authentic” man. According to Informant V5 his father was a strong man, hard worker, and had a lot of energy. He told him stories about when he had to work hard in the construction of a road, 12 hours a day in a temperature of more than 35 °C. Informant V5 asked his father about how he could bear the heat and the father answered: *the sun was made for men, the shade was made for women*. His father also told him about his sexual exploits, about how he had sex with a lot of women, even after he was together with Informant V5’s mother. Informant V5 recounted the time he saw his father kicking out his mother because he had brought home another woman. In his narrative informant V5 also told of when he had sex in front of the house when he was around 13 years old. His siblings saw him and went to tell to his father, to which the father proudly responded: *this boy will be like me*.

Childhood is the period during which individuals begin to construct their gender identities. In most cases, these identities are based on patriarchal beliefs. However, according to the men’s narratives apparently nowadays the social situation is not the same as it was in the past. Young men were educated to follow the traditional pattern of masculinity but the new

gender order that it is forming in Mexico now forces them to reconceptualise their beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. In some cases, as in the case of Informant V5, this traditional education is so strong that the reconceptualisation does not occur. However, in most Mexican men living in urban areas a transformation of ideas of how man must behave has been observed. In consequence, they suffer confusion about identity.

Interviewer:

Why do you say that your father was machista? What did he do?

Informant NV6:

He would say to me, so, you, son of a bitch, why are you washing your clothes? Because my mother told me to. No, son of a bitch, you fucking shouldn't wash your clothes. That is what women are for and who knows what else. Oh, okay, so that there wouldn't be a fight, but I didn't think about it that way. I think that if I wash my own clothes I won't turn into a faggot or I won't be a chick just for washing my clothes.

Next, I will describe the current gender representations of the informants in terms of power relations, production relations, and emotional relations. For the description I have classified men into three groups: hierarchical, transitional, and egalitarian. The hierarchical are represented by those with strong patriarchal conduct. For example, the image of 'macho' could be representative of this dimension. The transitional are also patriarchal but are more flexible or open to accepting new gender notions. Finally, the egalitarian are those with more egalitarian gender conduct. The section addressing power relations mainly focuses on the participants' narratives about the gender division of control and power within their own households. The description of production relations refers principally to the men's attitudes about the participation of women (particularly their partners) in the labour force and their own participation in household duties. The discussion of emotional relations is divided in two: a) the involvement of men in traditional female domains such as the expression of emotions, attachment to their children, among others; and b) women's sexuality. The symbolism is excluded because there was insufficient information for the analysis of this dimension. Table 8.1 shows the classifications for each participant. This classification was based on the entire interview for each participant. Quotes are used to show common patterns in each category.⁴⁹

In this classification it is not assumed that there is necessarily a unidirectional movement from the hierarchical to the egalitarian. This trend could hold contradictory values and

⁴⁹ Violence is a dimension of these structures. It is not considered in this section because its analysis will be presented separately.

behaviours in the different realities of each individual. However, the classification is a way to organise the information of the characteristics of each informant in order of these dimensions. This facilitates the analysis of this section.

Table 8.1. Classification of violent and non-violent male participants in the qualitative phase by their gender representations in terms of power, production, emotional and sexual relations

Violent Informants	Power relations	Production relations	Emotional relations	Sexual relations
Informant V1	Transitional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant V2	Transitional	Transitional	Transitional	Egalitarian
Informant V3	Transitional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant V4	Hierarchical	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant V5	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Hierarchical
Informant V6	Transitional	Egalitarian	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant V7	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Hierarchical
Informant V8	Transitional	Transitional	Transitional	Hierarchical
Informant V9	Transitional	Hierarchical	Egalitarian	Hierarchical
Informant V10	Transitional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant V11	Hierarchical	Transitional	Hierarchical	Transitional
Informant V12	Transitional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant V13	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Transitional	Hierarchical
Informant V14	Transitional	Hierarchical	Transitional	Transitional
Informant V15	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Transitional
Non-violent informants	Power relations	Production relations	Emotional relations	Sexual relations
Informant NV1	Transitional	Transitional	Transitional	Hierarchical
Informant NV2	Egalitarian	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant NV3	Transitional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant NV4	Egalitarian	Transitional	Egalitarian	Egalitarian
Informant NV5	Hierarchical	Hierarchical	Egalitarian	Hierarchical
Informant NV6	Egalitarian	Transitional	Egalitarian	Egalitarian
Informant NV7	Transitional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant NV8	Hierarchical	Transitional	Transitional	Transitional
Informant NV9	Egalitarian	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional
Informant NV10	Transitional	Transitional	Transitional	Hierarchical
Informant NV11	Transitional	Egalitarian	Transitional	Transitional
Informant NV12	Egalitarian	Transitional	Egalitarian	Egalitarian
Informant NV13	Egalitarian	Transitional	Egalitarian	Egalitarian
Informant NV14	Egalitarian	Transitional	Egalitarian	Hierarchical
Informant NV15	Transitional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Hierarchical

The narrative of Informant NV8 is an example of a hierarchical power relationship within the household.

She[his partner] told the boy [his son], when I am here I am the one that is in charge but when your father arrives he is the one in charge... And she is the one in charge when she is here in the house, when I arrive I am the one in charge. She gives me the place that is mine as father, as the man of the house.
[Informant NV8]

The quote shows that Informant NV8 and his partner agree that he is the one who is the head of the household. He obtains this position essentially because he is a man. In the next quote Informant NV7 shows more flexibility in his position:

So, [the man] is the family's means of support, but that does not mean he has to be the one who is in charge, the one who says: you know what? That is the way it is. Maybe he is the boss. For some things anyway, right? Someone has to make the decisions. Well, whenever we make a decision we always discuss it and we are in agreement about what we do.
[Informant NV7]

He accepts that the man has the responsibility of being the head of the family. However, he shows ambiguity about whether men must be the head just because they are men. He accepts that he makes decisions together with his partner, even though he is the boss in the relationship. Figuratively speaking, the 'power hierarchical' could be seen as an absolute monarchy and the 'power transitional' as a parliamentary monarchy. Following through with this analogy, those classified as 'power egalitarian' - those who talk of an egalitarian relationship and men and women having the same rights to be the head of the household – are the democracy. This pattern was found in the least number of narratives.

Regarding production relations, some informants mentioned that they had definite objections to the idea of their partners working:

I have never let her work. Only the duties of the household, that's it. Do you [his partner] know what? You keep my clothes clean, my room clean, everything clean. You work only in the household duties. I think if I didn't love her I would let her work. I would keep her working hard, but I would not. I think I love her, what do you think?
[Informant V13]

In his own words, Informant V13 asserts his right to decide if she works or not, denying her the autonomy to decide this issue by herself. Also, he associates production with emotions, suggesting that his affection for her is demonstrated by his fulfilment of the role of breadwinner. Also, this quote hints at idea that for some women to work is a demeaning

hardship. This is an example of hierarchical production relations. But the hierarchical production relation is also evident when men strongly refuse to participate in household duties.

Interviewer:

What do you mean they wanted to boss you around?

Informant V5:

Well, I had to wash the dishes, make the bed, to mop, those sorts of things. I never did it. I told her: in that case, what do I have a wife for? That is why I have, tell me if you aren't up to it and we can split up and that would be for the best, it would be sorted... so, I am not one of those men who help women. I was brought up a different way, I was not brought up to be in the kitchen. [I told her:] You think that my ideas are outdated, and fuck, for me the idea that I would help you, well that is why I have you. My father would say that is why one should look for a woman who will take care of everything in the home.

In contrast, 'production transitional' men participate in the household duties but always consider them to be primarily the woman's responsibility. It is common for the man to use the phrase *I help her...* when referring to his participation. Production transitional men consider that women have the right to work outside of the household, but view their main responsibility as being towards the household, especially when the children are little. In the narratives, it was common to find that the partners of informants used to work but left their jobs when they became pregnant.

BOX 8.2

The wife of Informant NV9 used to work as a tailor before she was married. She continued working after they got married. He said he did not have any problem with her working. He actually considered it to be good because there was more money for the house. However, following social tradition, she left her job when they had their first child. She did not want to stop working but they agreed that it was better that she looked after the child, at least in the first few years - afterwards she could go back to work. The first child died and they had another two. When the children were no longer babies she decided to return to her job. But she became pregnant again. Informant NV9 said: *it was a baby planned by me not by her. I wanted to have another baby, she didn't because she didn't want to suffer again in a pregnancy and because she wanted to continue working.* She left her job again. Nowadays, he says she is happy looking after her third little baby.

'Production egalitarian' was not a commonly observed pattern. However in a few cases the men did consider that household duties and the labour force should be equal for both men and women.⁵⁰

Interviewer:

What do you think about women who have little children and work because they want to do it?

Informant NV12:

I don't criticise them. I think it is necessary to look after the children. Either the man or the woman works and the other one looks after the children.

As mentioned above, emotional relations are divided in two: the involvement of men in emotional conduct traditionally associated with women and the sexuality of women. The first of these was the only one of the dimensions studied in which 'egalitarian' was the most common pattern. As a consequence of the social change in gender relations, men have had more opportunity to express feelings and emotions. Apparently, they have found paternity to be the most adequate space to exercise this conduct.

The girl (his daughter, 5 years old) follows me all the time. I get home and I am cuddling her all the time. For example, I get home, I sit down behind her and I tell her everything about what has happened during the day
[Informant NV15]

However, there are some that continue having difficulties expressing affection towards their children (hierarchical pattern):

When she [his daughter] was born I didn't like to cuddle her. I saw others [men] who were with their babies all the time. It is the same at present, I don't like to cuddle my daughters. I see others that become mad with their babies, showing their babies to everybody and carrying their babies everywhere. I don't like that. I told her [to his partner]: you are the mother you look after your children. I have not been involved in cuddling them.
[Informant V15]

Women's sexuality is particularly important within emotional relations. In their narratives, most men show an enormous need to control women's sexuality. In general, they condemn

⁵⁰ It is important to mention that only five cases were found in which the partner works outside of the household. The low participation of women in the labour force in this sample could be a result of all of the informants having a formal job. This situation could determine the men's positions about production relations, and explain why there are very few informants following the production modern pattern.

women who are sexually active and they give positive value to those who are sexually passive. For some of them, the sexual attitude and experience of the woman was a decisive factor in the decision of whether or not to get married.

I remember how I compared her with they way other girls kissed. One of my previous girlfriends, the very first one, was like a dragon – she gave KISSES! Well, my wife didn't, my wife was naive. I guess one can tell, when it came to kissing my wife was very naive. And I thought: I'm sure this one has never had a boyfriend. Afterwards I asked her: have you ever had a boyfriend? No, not until now. So, I was even more stuck on the idea that she had to be my wife. And I think that was the biggest reason that I decided to marry her.

[Informant V14]

Among some men, there is a traditional belief that women by “nature” are potentially sexual active. Apparently, men feel at a disadvantage, because they think that women have the capacity to partake in sexual activity with any man and they do not have the same with any woman.

Well, everybody knows that women are more horny than men.

[Informant NV11]

So, I said to my wife: do you know what honey? Men will go as far as you let them. And didn't she say: men are sluts. Are you kidding? To be honest you [women] are way more sluttish than men, the truth is that women know way more than men.

[Informant NV2]

The control of women's sexuality is particularly critical before marriage. Premarital sexual relations in women are condemned by traditional gender norms. A woman who remains a virgin until marriage is seen as being well educated, having received a good moral education from her parents. Virginity is also an important factor in deciding whether or not to marry a woman. In some narratives men explicitly mentioned that they would have changed their minds if they discovered that their partners had had sexual relationships with other men before them. Some of the participants even mentioned that they decided not to have sexual relationships with their girlfriends because they did not want to cause problems in their lives. They did not want to *amolarla*, which basically means to “fuck” her. As part of the patriarchal gender roles that a man has to play, for a Mexican man the virginity of his partner could imply a kind of feeling of ownership of the woman's body. That is crucial for him to maintain his honour as a man in front of the society.

The extreme case of the traditional conduct of men regarding women's sexuality is presented in the narrative of Informant V5 when he explains to his partner why he is able to have many sexual partners and she just one.

So if afterwards she said to me: you went about with that one, that one and that one. And I say to her, but you know what? Do you want me to give you the right answer: women, women are only worth their first man, not many. When you live with the man that you have lived with you are only worth that first time, because if you leave him other men will use you like a tissue – to use once and then throw away. Like they classify you as easy, very easy. And a man, a man who is 50 years old can get married again. Think about, women only once, if it lasts with that man and, if not, she is fucked because men will use her like a tissue. Well that fucking bitch sleeping around. This fucking bitch rolls over like a dog and if she fucks two men, who else will come along?

[Informant V5]

Social gender changes have also influenced women's sexual behaviours and the norms have become more flexible. Some men have been affected by this transitional period that can be lived with tensions and contradictions. For example, they mention that nowadays it is difficult to find a "virgin":

What man doesn't want his girlfriend or wife to be a virgin? Although it is very rare nowadays to find a girl who is a virgin, it is rare. So I say that it would be good for me if she is a virgin but I don't see that it is wrong if she isn't. It is silly to ask (woman) for virginity when you (man) are not virgin any more.

[Informant V10]

This discourse of "equality" that was found in the last part of the above quote is a common pattern among those considered to be in the transitional category. The notion of equity among men and women is present in the narratives of these men. However, it is difficult for them to accept the idea of women having an active sexual role. Therefore, to maintain the equity they prefer to assume a passive role.

For me, having had sexual relations before is almost like I failed her. Yes, because I went ahead of her, instead of us both having an equal relationship, like having lost our virginity at the same time. I almost feel guilty.

[Informant V14]

I will end this discussion of the emotional sexual relations with an obvious concern. What happened with those men who decided to live with a woman who had had sexual relationships with other men? A few informants accepted that their partners fit this pattern.

Some of them were classified in the egalitarian category because they faced the situation with indifference or lack of concern. However, particularly interesting is the case of Informant V6, a man who shows confusion over this issue. On the one hand he accepted a “non-virgin” partner; on the other hand he admits that this is difficult for him – he even feels the need to justify her behaviour.⁵¹ This situation also produced a crisis in his relationship:

Interviewer:

So for example, had she previously had sexual relations?

Informant V6:

Yes

Interviewer:

And what do you think about the fact that it wasn't her first time with you?

Informant V6:

Well, it took some effort for me to assimilate it.

Interviewer:

What did you think? What did you feel?

Informant V6:

Well, I felt badly, I thought well, that well, with the women for whom I was the first I could have married them. Well, I don't know maybe she enjoyed it a lot. I could say I felt jealous, but after all the time we have been together, it has never been something I could hold against her.

Interviewer:

So, you say it took some effort for you but now it doesn't, or what happened?

Informant V6:

Well, probably I haven't gotten over it completely, but I try to get over it, and it doesn't affect me as much anymore, because, after all we are all human, and maybe she made a mistake... Sometimes I ask her, did you enjoy it or stupid things like that. Afterwards I tell that they are stupid things, because really we are all human, right?

In this section I have presented an analysis of how Mexican men live the gender relation within different structures. There is diversity in the behaviours of Mexican men; in other words, men live their masculinity and their gender relations in heterogeneous ways. However, within this heterogeneity there are some patterns that emerged. Men of diverse backgrounds are represented in all three of the patterns described. However, the findings suggest that both those who are violent against their partners and those who have a rural background are more commonly represented by the hierarchal pattern than those who are not violent and those who have a urban background.

⁵¹ As observed in Table 8.1 Informant V5 was classified as transitional in the emotional sexual relations dimension.

8.2.3 Use of violence as part of masculine behaviour.

In Mexico, as in many other cultures, violence is part of the construction of the male identity. This section analyses the respondents' experiences and perceptions of violence as recounted from various stages of their lives.⁵²

Boys learn during childhood to associate men with violence. It is within the parental household that they begin to identify violence as male conduct. Most of the time, the first contact that they have with violence is through their fathers – (or the other male figures who look after them). For example, the punishment involving physical violence that these men received when they were little was more severe when it was administered by their fathers than by their mothers. As described above, the men grew up in households with a patriarchal structure where their fathers were the authority and the ones who had the right to impose sanctions. And in most cases, these sanctions had to be accepted. Mothers also perpetrate violence against their children, sometimes with greater frequency than the fathers. However, fathers are stricter and more violent when they punish their children.

Sometimes she [his mother] only hit us once, that was enough. My mother wasn't manchada [abusive], she didn't mistreat us by beating us. Probably 2 or 3 canings were meant as a lesson, they were probably hard. She wasn't really that strict, she wasn't that cruel... My father was very aggressive and 'hey, son of a bitch'. He was a real pig-headed. I don't remember him hitting me a lot but I remember him really hitting my brother hard⁵³

[Informant V1]

Both, father and mother agree that when the fault deserves a serious punishment, the father should be in charge of administering it. It was common to find accounts of situations that occurred in childhood when the informants' mothers had reported their bad behaviour to their fathers. Ironically, in some cases, the same mothers who informed on their children and demanded strong action from the fathers, also tried to intervene against the severe punishment and protect their children.

⁵² The violent experiences with their partners are not analysed in this section.

⁵³ The word *manchado(a)* will be explained in-depth in the next chapter. But in general it means abusive.

Informant V9:

My mother was more involved in our lives and anytime we did something wrong she was right there: do this, don't fail at school. And when there were bigger problems she would tell my father: do you know what? the boy doesn't understand and then my father would tell us off and hit us when we misbehaved.

Interviewer:

But did your mother ever spank you?

Informant V9:

Yes, my mother did.

Interviewer:

Who spanked harder?

Informant V9:

My father.

Interviewer:

And after your father hit you what did your mother used to say?

Informant V9:

Well, she would say: there, you see, I told you to do what I said. And then she would say to my father: you are very manchado with your children, you really hit your children hard. You shouldn't hit them like that. It is fine to hit them but not like that.

These experiences illustrate how men may first begin identifying themselves with the use of violence and power. This identification was confirmed in cases where informants witnessed violence between their parents, because in the narratives where this situation was found the father was the main aggressor.⁵⁴

In some cases, the use of violence as a characteristic of the male identity is also part of the education that fathers give directly to their sons.

My father likes to row, and on top of that because he knows how to box, it is worse. I am completely the opposite, I am like my mother. Really, my father is very aggressive. I also have a brother who really likes to row. I remember that my father used to say to me: if you don't defend yourself, then I am going to give you a beating on top of the one that you already got. So because of that I tried to defend myself more or less.

[Informant V6]

In his narrative, Informant V6 says that he tried to defend himself against aggression from other men. Fights between men are part of everyday life for Mexican men, especially during childhood and adolescence. All of the respondents had experience of at least one fight during the course of their lives. The severity of these fights varies. The most frequent

⁵⁴ The informants' experiences of violence between themselves and their partners is analysed in the next chapter.

is the *tiro*, the literal English translation of which is “shot”. Among Mexican males it is common to say *me eché un tiro* - “I threw a shot”. The *tiro* is a quick body fight where normally none of the participants are seriously hurt. However, the severity of these fights could reach high levels. Some of the participants, “ordinary” men, admitted the use of weapons.

BOX 8.3

Informant V13 was attending a high-school in the Metropolitan area of Mexico City: Neza. He, along with most other Mexicans, identifies this area as dangerous. He said that there were gangs surrounding the area and from time to time one of these gangs used to bother him and his fellow students (both male and female). One day members of this gang tried to sexually abuse a female student who was one of his good friends. According to him, *nothing serious happened* that time. However they tried again, more than once. At the third attempt they took her clothes off. He and his male colleagues realised what was happening and went to fight against the men in the gang. They were beaten up, however they managed to rescue her. He was fed up of the abuse from these guys. He got a gun and went to face them. As they were going to beat him up, he shot one of them and he ran away. He never went back to the school.

According to the findings, a three-tiered classification of men involved in disputes with other men is suggested: a) the *gandalla*, the one who is the main aggressor; b) the *dejado*, one who is offended but decides not to get involved in a fight against the *gandalla*; and c) one that *no se deja*, one who is offended and does decide to get involved in a fight against the *gandalla*. In Mexican slang *agandallarse* means to take advantage of someone. Most people in Mexican society do not consider it good conduct to be a *gandalla*. In their narratives, men mentioned that it was very common to meet *gandallas* in their communities... *they are everywhere*. *Gandallas* used to bother people and take advantage of everybody. None of the participants considered themselves to be a *gandalla*, a male characteristic often associated with the macho concept.⁵⁵ Those who take part in fights, express that their participation in the fights is for defence, i.e. that they *no se dejan*. They do not want to be a target for the *gandallas*. These men who *no se dejan* give the term of *dejados* to those who do not take part in the fights against the *gandallas*. However, the latter prefer to be identified as peaceable instead of *dejados*.

⁵⁵ Not having access to those who consider themselves *gandalla* is a consequence of the characteristics of the study population. Similar situation as those who belong to illicit groups. This was explained in a footnote in section 8.1.1.

What are the costs and benefits of getting involved in the fights, or of choosing not to participate? To be called *dejado* is a cost for those who do not get involved. *Dejado* is used in a pejorative way to indicate that a man is a “faggot”, “chicken” or in the best of cases a “fool”. His male identity is questioned because, according to the other men, the *dejado* does not have enough courage to participate in a violent event – in a sense he is adopting female conduct. The *dejado* prefers to be picked on than to be involved in a fight, and this puts him at risk of losing the respect of others. These men who do not want to be involved in fights admit that they are frightened of the *gandallas* and prefer to avoid them altogether. So, what are the benefits of choosing not to fight? Those who do not fight do not expose themselves to the risk of physical injuries – injuries that, in some situations such as those described in some of the narratives, can be fatal. They also avoid the legal confrontations that fighting often results in.

In contrast, those who *no dejarse* are viewed positively by other men, and even women. They gain the respect and admiration of others. In other words, the benefits of this stance are related with the reinforcement of male identity. Obviously, however, they suffer the costs of fighting that the *dejados* avoid.

Findings suggest that among both men who were and were not violent against their partners, there were men who were involved in fights against other men and men who avoided the fights; i.e., there was not found an evident relation between the use of violence against other men and the use of violence against the partner. However, the concepts of *gandalla*, *dejado* and *no dejarse* were found useful for understanding the social norms that either allow or condemn violence against women, in particular violence against an intimate partner. Further explanation of this is given in the next chapter.

8.3 Gender violence. Condemned or allowed? *Ni con el pétalo de una rosa*

Informant V5 and Informant NV6 were both educated under strong traditional patriarchal norms. According to their fathers, to be strong, have several women, and work hard were some of the attributes that they should have. As part of his patriarchal conduct, the father of Informant V5 used to beat his partner, Informant V5's mother. This was common behaviour among men in his community. The father of Informant NV6 never beat his wife, Informant NV6's mother. In Informant NV6's words: *Actually, my father was quite*

machista, however that doesn't mean he was abusing my mother. My father said to me: the day when you beat a woman you are not a real man. Both, my father and my mother told us [him and his brothers]: that to beat a woman would be the worst a man could do. Informant V5's father lived his whole life in rural low social class communities where the beating of women was permitted. Informant NV6's father lived his whole life in an urban middle-lower class area of Mexico City where the use of violence against women was socially condemned. Among urban men there is a popular saying: *A las mujeres no se les toca ni con el pétalo de una rosa.*⁵⁶ When I asked the non-violent informants why they had never beaten their partners some of them responded with this saying. This indicates that among them there is an extreme disapproval of this kind of act. This disapproval may extend to the proximate community surrounding the individual as well.

Next, I will discuss why I found that violence against women is socially condemned in the urban setting – the type of setting on which this research is focused – and in what situations this conduct was found to be allowed. Findings suggest that the social unacceptability of violence against women is related to the idea of *agandallarse*. In other words, the norms dictate that, when a man attacks a woman it is abuse because he is physically stronger than she is. The fight is unbalanced, and the community knows that in most cases he will win the battle. As was mentioned before, the idea of abuse is reprehensible. In practical terms, violence against a female partner is even more strongly condemned when she suffers injuries, when violence is not used as the “last resort”, and when there is no “serious” provocation.

However, is violence against women entirely condemned in the urban setting? The answer appears to be ‘no’. I suggest that there are two general situations in which violence against the female partner might be considered acceptable: a) for purposes of discipline and b) as defence. The first situation, discipline, is associated with the right to punish that is bestowed on figures of authority in patriarchal regimes. As was mentioned in section 8.2, men are conferred the position of authority in the gender system that predominates in Mexico. In some situations men use their “right” and punish those members of the household who they deem to deserve it, those who have not “behaved well”. As is sometimes the case with the punishment of children, some men use physical violence to punish their partners because it is socially accepted as a legitimate form of reprimand.

⁵⁶ The phrase translates literally as: “A woman must not be touched, not even with the petal of a rose”.

BOX 8.4

Informant V13 used to beat his wife when he came home drunk. He said that she complained about him being drunk. Her complaints made him angry and he beat her. He did not think that her behaviour warranted physical punishment, and he blamed his reaction on the alcohol. He considered his behaviour to be incorrect. However, he said: *strong, really strong hits no. I tried not to hit her face or break a bone.* In his narrative, Informant V13 also revealed that he had had a girlfriend before he married his current partner. He discovered that she was unfaithful and he slapped her round the face. In this instance he did not consider his behaviour to be incorrect.

The second case is associated with the idea of *no dejarse*. Men who feel that they have been offended will answer with an attack and this answer may sometimes involve violence. A man could be labelled a *dejado* if he does not respond to the offence. As mentioned above, the term *dejado* has a negative connotation when used by one man to refer to another. It is even worse for a man when he is identified as a *dejado* by a woman. The benefits of *no dejarse* in this context are similar to the ones I described for when a man reacts to the attack of another man: respect and power, in other words, the reinforcement of the male identity.

On one hand, the costs could be somewhat less in the case of fights against women – there is little risk of losing the fight or being physically hurt. But on the other hand, violence against a female partner can have significant costs as well. Societal condemnation of this phenomenon is reflected in social sanctions, laws, policies and services. Two informants mentioned that their partners went to the police station to take legal action because of the beatings they received. Fear of the law was mentioned by some informants as one of the reasons that they had never beaten (or no longer beat) their partners.

The documentary study that was carried out in Mexico during the first phase of the fieldwork (see Chapter 4) showed that in this country, legislation on violence against women began in the 1980s. Since this decade, there have been some important advances such as: a) the modification of the Civil and Penal Mexican Legislation in which domestic violence was recognised as a crime that must be dealt with by the General Justice Department and the police; b) the increment of sentence for aggressors of domestic violence; c) the acceptance of domestic violence and rape inside marriage as a crime that can be grounds for divorce; d) the statement that establishes that the members of a family

are responsible for avoiding violent conduct; e) the creation of the first official law in Mexico to specifically address family violence.

However, despite progress in the legislation sometimes different barriers are found by the victims when they make the decision to seek assistance. These barriers could be developed by the community. Therefore, the costs for those who commit the violence could be reduced. Informant V5 gives an example of a particular situation.

It had finished [the beating]. Shortly afterwards her uncle arrived. In front of me she didn't cry but as soon as she saw her uncle she started to cry. She said to him: Informant V5 hit me... [her uncle answers her] so you should have called the police. And she answered him: Informant V5 says I don't have any rights, when I told him that I was going to call the police he told me that he is in his own house, that he pays for everything and what was the problem? Ah, well if he pays for everything, then he is right [answered the uncle]
[Informant V5]

Another barrier that a victim could face when she seeks assistance is the situation regarding the delivery of services. According to service providers that were interviewed for this research they have to confront many difficulties in practice, particularly those who work directly with the victims. Both governmental centres and NGOs recognise that there is a lack of resources to carry out the programmes. For example, they are aware of the need for more staff in the assistance centres, more trained staff, and more security in the establishments.

8.4 Summary

According to various theories the following dimensions are extremely significant for the understanding of intimate partner violence: the culture of violence, the gender norms and male domination, and the social condemnation of the use of violence against women. According to the conceptual framework developed for this research, these dimensions are important for understanding IPV. In the preceding discussion these dimensions were analysed for the Mexican context. Most of the analysis was based on the qualitative data gathered from the in-depth interviews with selected participants.

Firstly, the findings showed that Mexican people are immersed in a culture where the use of violence is common. People from middle low to low socio-economic status live in communities where the use of violence to resolve conflicts is generally accepted, including violence which involves weapons. Sometimes this violence is extremely severe. Even, the use of violence to punish children is an accepted behaviour and this too can be very serious. The analysis suggests that the use of violence was more tolerated in the past than it is at present, and that it is also more tolerated among people with a rural background than it is in urban populations.

Secondly, a discussion about the gender order dominating Mexican culture was presented. Four dimensions were considered: power relations, production relations, emotional relations and symbolism. Hierarchical patriarchal norms continue to be part of Mexican society. In particular, the cult of women's virginity and to maternity are extremely important. However, findings suggest that a social change is occurring in gender relations in urban Mexico, whereby women and men have more equal relations. This situation confuses men's ideas about their male identity. Informants were classified into three different categories: the hierarchical, the transitional, and the egalitarian. A description of each category was presented in terms of the four dimensions mentioned above. In addition, an analysis was conducted of the use of violence as part of the male identity. This analysis suggested that violent men are more commonly represented by the hierarchal pattern than non-violent men.

Next, a discussion as to whether gender violence is condemned or permitted in the Mexican context was presented. Gender violence is more accepted in rural areas than in urban areas. In urban areas the use of violence against women is actually condemned, in part because abuse or *agandallarse* is not considered a correct behaviour. However, sometimes violence against the partner is authorised when it is seen to be for purposes of defence or discipline. The costs and benefits that could result from the decision to commit violence also seem to be an important element for the understanding of IPV, also suggesting that IPV is a calculated behaviour in most cases.

In sum, this chapter presents analyses of the dimensions at macro-social level that contextualise partner violence in Mexico. In the following chapter, the dimensions at individual, relationship, and family level are analysed. Emphasis is put on the differences between violent and non-violent men.

Chapter 9

Qualitative analysis of IPV at different levels

Having explored the macrosocial context that influences intimate partner violence, the current chapter focuses on the analysis of IPV at other conceptual levels: the individual, the relationship, the family and the conflict arena. The information analysed in this chapter is drawn from the in-depth interviews with both violent and non-violent men.⁵⁷ This information is used to interpret and contextualize some of the findings from the quantitative analysis and to explore new dimensions that are helpful for understanding IPV. Particular attention is paid to the respondents' patterns of beliefs and behaviours, and the main differences found between violent and non-violent men are highlighted.

The chapter is organised in three main sections. The first part comprises an analysis of violent experiences during childhood and their possible relation to IPV later on. Specific features of those experiences which are important in the learning process of becoming violent or not are described. In the second part, the relationship dynamics and the household relationships with other members of the family are analysed. The following specific dimensions are considered for this analysis: the importance of the beginning period of the union, the relative fulfilment of gender roles and the interaction skills of the couple, the dispute over power within the household, and the role of the family of origin of both the man and the woman. Finally, in the last part of this chapter, the specific circumstances surrounding violent events are described. Particular attention is given to the factors that motivate men to commit physical aggression, the conflict situations in which violent men have been involved but not resorted to physical violence, and the specific reasons cited by non-violent men for not using violence.

9.1 Violent experiences during childhood

This section analyses in detail the different kinds of violent experiences that were reported, and the part they play in the learning process of becoming violent or not against the partner

⁵⁷ Additional information gathered from other sources (participant observation, informal conversations and field notes) is used to complement the analysis.

in adulthood. The aim is to explore features of the intergenerational transmission of the violence paradigm within the Mexican context.

The section is divided in two: learning to use violence to resolve conflicts; and learning to use violence against women. The first one examines the informants' narratives about their parents' use of physical force against them during their childhood. The second one describes different ways in which the individual may learn about the use of violence against women within his family of origin.

9.1.1 Learning use of violence to resolve conflicts

As observed in the previous chapter, the use of physical violence against children is a common and accepted part of a child's education. All of the men interviewed experienced physical punishment during their childhood. However, some patterns were found to differ between violent and non-violent men.

The quantitative findings suggest that punishments involving hits were not strongly associated with intimate partner violence later on. However, the perception the individual had about the mistreatment he suffered at the hands of his parents during childhood was associated with IPV. The question then is, when does a man feel that the punishment he received was mistreatment? Based on the narratives I suggest that there are at least three factors associated with the development of this perception: a) the severity of the violence; b) the reason for using this violence; and c) whether or not this violence is committed by someone who fulfils the role of authority.

Of these three factors, the first seems to be the one in which violent and non-violent men differ most in their experiences. The severity of the violence received is related to what is or is not allowed by the society. In the stories, some particular events were found to be more socially acceptable than others as a way to educate children. Hits with the hand open – mainly spankings and slaps – and a few hits using a belt were identified as accepted forms of punishment. Some of the narratives included references to punches, kicks, the frequent use of a belt, the throwing of objects, and the use of weapons – a stick, a rope, the blunt edge of a machete – but in these cases the punishments were associated with the idea

of mistreatment. *Era bien 'manchado'* or *se le pasó la mano* are phrases that men use to describe the attitude of their fathers when using this kind of violence.

In Mexico, *era bien 'manchado'* means something like *He (or she) was very dirty*, and the phrase is associated with the idea of abuse. *'Manchado'* has a meaning similar to the concept of *gandalla* but it is less strong, and this may be the reason why *'manchado'* is more commonly used than *gandalla* to refer to the father. In English, *se le pasó la mano* means *he went too far*. Based on the findings, I suggest that the idea of mistreatment is also associated with the consequences of the aggression. If the use of violence resulted in physical injuries this may infer mistreatment, although bruises may carry less of a negative connotation than other types of injuries.

According to the interviews, violent men more commonly recounted stories in which the violence that parents used to punish them exceeded acceptable boundaries. Table 9.1 lists each informant and the most serious violence perpetrated on him during childhood by his parents.

Table 9.1. Violent and non-violent male participants in the qualitative phase by characteristics of violent experiences during childhood in the family of birth

Violent Informants	Most severe incidents	Frequency of the abuse	Main aggressor
Informant V1	Hitting using cables, sticks and belts Kicking	Very often	Father
Informant V2	Hitting using belts and shoes Punching	Often	Father
Informant V3	Hitting using any object	Very often	Mother
Informant V4	Hitting using sticks	Rare	Mother
Informant V5	Hitting using the blunt edge of the machete, sticks and belts	Very often	Father
Informant V6	Spanking	Rare	Mother
Informant V7	Throwing objects (stones, chisels)	Very often	Father
Informant V8	Hitting using cables and sticks	Very often	Father
Informant V9	Hitting using sticks, belts and shoes	Often	Father
Informant V10	Hitting using cables, sticks Throwing objects (stones, bottles, knives)	Very often	Father
Informant V11	Hitting using belts Punching Kicking	Very often	Father
Informant V12	Hitting using sticks and belts	Very often	Father
Informant V13	Hitting using cactus, the blunt edge of the machete Burning hands Forcing to cross a dangerous river	Very often	Father
Informant V14	Hitting using belts	Often	Father
Informant V15	Hitting using belts, sticks, mallets	Very often	Father

Non-violent informants	Most severe incidents	Frequency of the abuse	Main aggressor
Informant NV1	Hitting using belts	Rare	Father
Informant NV2	Spanking	Rare	Mother
Informant NV3	Hitting using sticks, cables, hoses	Very often	Father
	Punching		
	Throwing objects (typewriter)		
Informant NV4	Hitting using belts	Rare	Mother
Informant NV5	Hitting using cables and belts	Often	Grandfather
Informant NV6	Punching	Often	Father
Informant NV7	Spanking	Rare	Father
Informant NV8	Spanking	Rare	Father
Informant NV9	Hitting using sticks and belts	Very often	Stepfather
Informant NV10	Spanking	Often	Mother
Informant NV11	Spanking and slapping	Rare	Father
Informant NV12			
Informant NV13	Hitting using open hand	Rare	Father
Informant NV14	Hitting using belts	Often	Father
Informant NV15	Hitting using sticks	Very often	Father
	Cutting with the machete		

According to the findings, I suggest that the level of acceptance of violence is caused, among other things, by the level of punishment experienced by the individual during his childhood. In this case, those who suffered stronger punishment developed more acceptance of violence than those who suffered less punishment. In consequence, those who suffered strong punishment could tend to have more acceptance of violence against their partner. For example, a spanking or a slap could have different meaning for those who suffered strong physical punishment than for those who suffered low physical punishment during their childhoods. A man who has experience of strong beatings since childhood might classify a spanking or a slap as low-level violence. In contrast, for someone who suffered only occasional spankings, a spanking might be considered the worst imaginable kind of violence that could occur within the family. Continuing this line of argument, for a violent man who suffered strong violence, the use of slaps or spankings against a woman could even be considered normal behaviour. It is observed that violent men do not usually commit violence against their partners which is more serious than that which they suffered during their own childhood.

The second factor associated with the identification of a punishment as mistreatment is the reason behind the punishment. I suggest that when men perceive the reason for the use of violence to be inadequate, they consider themselves to be the victim of mistreatment. Some respondents said that their parents used to hit them very often without specific serious reasons. For example, Informant V7 told of the day during his adolescence when he

complained to his father about his aggression towards him and his siblings. He said to his father: *Why do you have this attitude with us? You don't care if you hurt someone, what is the point that I behave well and I try to be a good son?*

The last factor suggested is whether or not the person who commits the punishment is authorised to act in this way. As was mentioned in the last chapter authority is represented by the father and in some cases by the mother. Most respondents identified their parents as authorities who had the right to punish them. However, there were cases in which the father was not considered the authority because he had not fulfilled the role that confers this right. This was the case for Informant V3:

There were a few occasions when my father beat me. But he didn't do it very often because my mother didn't allow him. Because he didn't give me anything, he didn't look after me, he didn't buy me anything. So my mother said he didn't have the right to hit me.

[Informant V3]

Informant V3 considered his father's use of violence against him as mistreatment because he did not believe that he had the right to hit him. Sometimes a similar situation occurs when, in the absence of the father, the role of authority is taken by another male person in the family. In these cases, children may not recognise the other male as the authority who has the right to punish them, and the punishments are therefore considered to be abuse. It is important to stress that this is not a very common pattern. However, the idea of a person having the right to reprimand someone using physical violence also extends to the relationship of the couple. In these cases, according to gender norms, men have the 'right' to use violence against their female partners.

Another important issue that was found in the interviews was the perception of whether or not it was good that their parents used physical violence as part of the education. The pattern found was that most of those who have committed violence against their partners have a positive perception whereas most of those who have not committed IPV have a negative one. The following quotes provide examples of both points of view:

Interviewer:

Tell me the story about how you failed your subjects?

Informant V2:

I had low grades and on top of that I failed three subjects. Well, my father got angry because he told us that he hoped he wasn't losing sleep and working himself to the bone while we were wasting money. If we didn't take advantage of our studies, then it wasn't fair. And so, when I left secondary school he gave me two or three blows to the ribs.

Interviewer: *With his fists?*

Informant V2:

Yes

Interviewer:

Do you think your father was right or not?

Informant V2:

Yes, can you imagine failing three subjects because of laziness? So, yes, it was fair.

Interviewer:

And the other story about the tortillas, do you think that was fair?

Informant V2:

Yeah, it was really good, because of that I didn't fool around instead of doing what they asked of me anymore. I learned my lesson.

In contrast

Interviewer:

What do you think now about the fact that they used to punish you that way?

Informant NV3:

Well it is often said: I am the way I am because that is how my parents raised me. And I say no. I believe that if you were treated badly and it was wrong then you shouldn't do it. I am trying not to yell at my kids and not to hit them.

Informant V2 believes that he deserved the physical punishment because he was not well behaved, and this kind of punishment was necessary in order to change his behaviour for the better. In his narrative, Informant V2 admitted that he has beaten his own child. In contrast Informant NV3, who also was the victim of violence as a child, does not approve of the use of strong punishment. He prefers to educate his children without using any kind of violence. Of the non-violent respondents, three approved the use of physical punishment to educate children, but all of them agreed that this should be a last resort measure and not be very severe (e.g. soft spankings).

Quantitative findings suggest that being a victim of violence during childhood is a stronger predictor of IPV than being a witness of violence. The qualitative findings seem to confirm this hypothesis. Being a victim had a greater influence than did being a witness, on the

developing of violent behaviour against the partner. However, some interesting patterns were found in relation to whether or not a man had witnessed violence in childhood. The next section presents some of the main results.

9.1.2 Learning use of violence against women

How does a man learn whether or not the use of violence against women is entirely condemned? This section presents a description of some childhood experiences that were found to be important in the development of violent conduct against a female partner. Two specific situations are analysed: a) learning from the father: violence of the father against the mother and his daughters; b) learning from the sisters: fights between the boy and his sisters.

The central common factor in the two situations is the direct involvement of women living in the household in a physically violent episode. According to the narratives, I suggest that a man develops more tolerance towards the use of violence against women if he observed the participation of women in physically violent situations during his childhood. He learns that this phenomenon is not totally condemned and that it may be authorised in particular circumstances.

Learning from the father: violence of the father against the mother and against his daughters

In none of the narratives was it reported that a father had said to his son: “yes, you should beat women”. However, half of the respondents mentioned that their fathers used to beat their mothers when they were children.⁵⁸ None of the respondents were pleased that a situation like this had occurred. In fact, all of them condemned this kind of violence and they recounted it with sadness. However, I suggest that this experience is important in the process of learning that beating a woman may be an acceptable option for resolving conflicts. Their fathers did it, so in a sense it is an authorised behaviour.

⁵⁸ In all cases, the father was the main aggressor. Only in two cases was the mother involved but even then the father was the one who initiated the aggression.

In most cases the interviews revealed that the violence the respondents committed against their partners was similar or less severe than the violence that their fathers committed against their mothers. Apparently, domestic violence of the parents' generation was more severe than that experienced by people from the current generation or possibly respondents were less willing to admit to very severe acts themselves.

It seems that the attitude of the respondent's father is quite important in the development of violent behaviour against women during adulthood. A common pattern found among non-violent men was that the father had taught his son that he must not, under any circumstances, hit a woman. Based on the narratives I suggest that because the father is the ultimate authority, his beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are fundamental in the learning process of the child. It seems that the father's position regarding violence against women is one of the most important determinants of whether or not a man grows up to be violent.

Because, first of all, my father taught me that you should never hit a woman. He told me that, and yes, it has stayed with me.

[Informant NV11]

Violence perpetrated by the father against his daughters was also a phenomenon described in the stories. For example, the level of punishment administered to the sisters by the fathers was quite similar to that which boys suffered. In some narratives, men even recounted that their fathers were more violent against their sisters than they were against them. This violence was mainly a result of the transgression of the gender roles by women.

He [his father] was harder with my third sister, because she was a big troublemaker, she used to go out with a lot of guys.

[Informant V3]

They [his sisters] were beaten even harder. And it was more when they had boyfriends.

[Informant V5]

In contrast, a common pattern found among non-violent men was that their sisters did not suffer severe violence by their fathers, or at least less violence than they had suffered. In these cases, the fathers used to justify this disparity by explaining that women are more fragile than men. Hence they must not receive physical punishment, even though they have

committed a transgression of their roles. Apparently, the gender conventional roles that consider women more “weak” than men could originate IPV, however, in some situations they could also protect women from men’s attacks.

Learning from the sisters: fights between the boy and his sisters

A close female relative in the household is the sister. The involvement of sisters in violence is also relevant to the process of acquiring an acceptance of violence against women. Normally, sisters participated actively in fights against their brothers, and, in some cases they were even the ones who started the incidents.

I didn't want to carry the water, so my older sister said to me: what did you say? If you don't carry the water I am going to make you do it. I said to her: well, do want you want but I am not going to carry anything. And that day she started chasing me. She caught up with me as I tried to jump over a barrier and she caught me by the hair. That day she fucking dragged me by the hair.

[Informant V3]

The pattern found in the narratives was that physical fights between brothers and sisters were more common in the families of those who have committed violence against their partners than in the families of those who have not. Actually, for the most part, the parents of the non-violent men were firm in prohibiting violence between brothers and sisters.

Finally, it is important to consider what led some childhood victims and witnesses of severe violence to grow into men who are extremely opposed to the use of physical violence against their partners. How did they develop this non-violent behaviour? Four cases were identified that fit this pattern. One of the most important reasons they cited for not being violent was that they did not want to repeat the same situations they had experienced during their childhood. Violence against their mothers made them develop solidarity and sensitivity towards women. Most of them show a capacity to put themselves in the place of the victims. Unfortunately, these are the unusual cases.

In summary, experiences of violence during childhood are extremely important for the understanding of IPV. However, it is also necessary to analyse other dimensions because the only explanation of violent experiences during childhood is not enough for a broader

understanding of IPV. The next section explores another important dimension for IPV: the dynamic of the relationship

9.2 Relationship Dynamics

One of the most important dimensions in the understanding of intimate partner violence is the dynamic and characteristics of the relationship. In the conceptual framework used in this research, particular attention is given to the analysis of the interaction between partners because it is within the relationship that the violent events take place.

This section presents a description of aspects of the interaction that are relevant for IPV. The findings are presented in four main subsections. The first of these explores some conditions that make the interaction during the early years of the relationship more difficult. The second subsection presents an analysis of the relative fulfilment of gender roles for both the man and the woman. Particular attention is given to issues associated with women's sexuality. The third part examines the interaction of the couple, giving particular attention to power and control within the relationship. Finally, the last subsection analyses how household relationships with other members of the families of origin influence the interaction of the couple, and how this interaction is associated with conflicts that provoke violent situations.

9.2.1 Starting a new life

The quantitative analysis described in chapter 7 revealed that around half of all violent events between partners took place in the first year of the relationship. The early stage of the relationship is quite relevant for IPV, and therefore a separate analysis of this specific phase is required.

Marriage is one of the most important institutions in Mexican society. In general, it represents a phase of transition from adolescence to adulthood. It impacts greatly on an individual's life and on the development of gender values and norms in society. Marriage is a phenomenon that entails change, and changes sometimes lead to crisis, especially if

individuals find it difficult to adapt to the changes. Stress and conflicts within the couple result from these crises, and in some situations end in physical aggression.

I suggest that there are cultural norms surrounding the phenomenon of marriage in Mexico which make adaptation to this new stage of life difficult. For example, the Mexican tradition is that people get married at young ages. According to INEGI (1996), on average men get married at 23 years of age and women at 20. Quantitative findings from this and several other studies have shown that young couples are more prone to involvement in IPV. Lack of experience in dealing with problems, difficulties in settling down with a partner, and emotional intensity are just some of the factors that explain this phenomenon.

The community and social norms relating to the institution of marriage strongly influence individuals' decisions regarding marriage. In consequence, individuals show lack of autonomy in decisions regarding this central issue in their lives. Sometimes, the age at marriage is evidence of this situation. Also, in some narratives men showed that they were not completely sure if they wanted to marry their current partners, but that they did so for reasons associated with community social pressures. Pregnancy, physical attraction, and fear of "missing the boat" were motives found in the stories. According to the patterns found in the narratives, these reasons for marriage were more commonly found among violent men than non-violent men. In contrast, affection (or love) was more common among non-violent men, whereas few violent men married for this reason. This suggests that affection for the partner could be an important factor for preventing violent events.

BOX 9.1

Informant V15 said he was not very lucky with women from his town because he had no money. He thinks that all women like men with money. When he was older he went to the city, got a job and earned money, enough to buy land and to have better clothes in which to go to parties. He went back to the town, chose one of the most beautiful women and asked her if she wanted to go to live with him. She accepted. Afterwards he was not sure of his decision but it was too late for regrets.

Informant V5 was working as a security guard in a factory. He thought that one of the secretaries was gorgeous, so he courted her. After 15 days, they were living together. After one year they split up. At present he lives with his current partner and the story is similar. He says he has a lot of problems with her and wants to leave her.

Informant V13 fell deeply in love with his first formal girlfriend. However, for a variety of reasons they split up, and he was very depressed. A friend of his sister, who was younger than him, started to visit his house regularly and comfort him. *She was a good support for me* he said. They had sexual intercourse, *only a few times*, and she got pregnant. He said he had to fulfil his role of a good man, and they married. After 14 years he is still married to her, but he also has a mistress. He said that sometimes he thinks he still loves his first girlfriend.

The girlfriend of Informant V10 got pregnant. He described it as a scandal for her family. He said he was afraid of what her uncles, who were very aggressive, might do to him. Also, doctors from his health plan could not assist her during pregnancy because she was not his wife. He said that he loved her but did not want to get married yet. However he knew things would be much easier if they did, so they married.

Informant V7 felt that his family and his girlfriend were pressuring him to marry. He was undecided but one day he gave into their pressure. His family and her family prepared the wedding, while he remained unsure of what he wanted. He did not feel he could say anything because he did not want problems with either his or her family. He admitted that he did not like her very much, but he did not want to look bad. At the time of interview, they had spent 14 years in a difficult marriage.

The stories presented in Box 9.1 provide some examples of how societal pressures may influence individuals' decisions about marriage. Sometimes this social pressure may cause a couple to start living together in less than optimal conditions. The early years of marriage are not easy, and are even less so when individuals are not totally convinced that they want this big change in their lives. In many cases, this period is marked by stress and conflict.

Also, the early stage of marriage is characterised by greater expectations, and sometimes these expectations are not satisfied. Such situations may end in violence. The next subsection examines the relative fulfilment of these expectations, especially with regards to gender roles.

9.2.2 The fulfilment of gender roles

One of the most common causes of marital conflict is the failure on the part of both man and woman to fulfil expectations that the other has of them. These expectations normally arise from gender norms regarding the roles of men and women. This topic has been analysed mainly by authors who follow the Patriarchal/Feminist perspective (see Chapter 2), and they suggest that men justify the use of violence against their partners with claims that their partners did not fulfil their traditional gender roles. In the last chapter it was observed that both violent and non-violent men are characterised by traditional gender attitudes, but that the former group adheres to them more rigidly than the latter. So, marital dissatisfaction is more frequent among violent men when roles are not fulfilled. It is important to note that this dissatisfaction is not only experienced by men - women also show disappointment or anger when men do not fulfil their role.

Based on the narratives, I explore the most significant episodes in which gender roles are or are not satisfied by both men and women, and the impact this has on marital conflicts and IPV. Some of the gender dimensions are used to organise the analysis of this section. Particular attention is given to the first years of the interaction of the couple because this is the period with the highest level of expectations about the behaviour of the partner.

9.2.2.1 The case of her roles

Production relations

According to the gender order that predominates in Mexico, household duties are essentially tasks for women. In Chapter 8 it was mentioned that while some men also take part in these activities, most of them (whether violent or not), consider women to have prime responsibility in this domain. From the beginning of the relationship, men expect their partners to show ability in taking adequate care of the home and children, to cook well and have meals ready, and to focus attention on the men's needs.

Interviewer:

How has it been for you to live with someone?

Informant NV12:

Well, it has been really lovely because she supports me in everything.... Even though she still works, she arrives home from work and makes dinner and washes my clothes. She never neglects the house even though she works – so, I said to myself, I have to value her.

Informant NV12 shows that for him the realisation of household duties is very important in living together with a woman. He is pleased because his partner satisfied his expectations. However, the lack of fulfilment of this role can provoke anger in some men and result in conflicts.

Interviewer:

What has caused your arguments?

Informant NV11:

Because I see wrinkles in my shirt or my trousers.

Interviewer:

What do you say to her?

Informant NV11:

I say, look do you know what? You know that I don't like to wear my shirt when it has wrinkles and I like the crease of my trousers to be very straight. And then she would get mad. One day I felt really desperate and I said to her, what are you really stupid? Don't you know how to iron?

Interviewer:

And what did she say?

Informant NV11:

Well, she got angry. Another proud woman! She threw down the iron and went to her mother's. After about two hours she came back and said: my mother is going to teach me to iron properly. I said: Well, I hope you do it properly!

Interviewer:

What else makes you angry?

Informant NV11:

When she lets the house get messy, when she is dishevelled, when my daughter is dirty, those sorts of things.

In the last quote Informant NV11 was verbally aggressive against his partner because she did not know how to iron his clothes properly. Informant NV11 is classified as a non-violent man. However, for some men the failure to fulfil household duties can be a motive for physical aggression.

Interviewer:

So how was it that you came to push her?

Informant V9:

Why did I push her that time? Aha! Because she had spent the day with her friends, didn't come back until night time and the house was a mess, it was a tip. And so I said to her: do you know what? You are not going to change are you? You are exactly the same and have the same mess as always. And yes, we argued and yes, I pushed her and she got angry.

For men, the most important of the household duties was caring for children. Both, violent and non-violent men said that they get extremely upset when their partners neglect their children. For example, Informant NV2 said that the only time he shouted at his wife was when his baby was crying and she was cooking and did not do anything to calm the baby down. Informant V1 recounted the time when he became very upset and hit his partner because she moved his son from a warm to a cold place and he was worried the child would catch a cold. Informant NV11 said that he would hit his wife if something serious happened to his daughter (e.g. an accident) and the wife was at fault. That would be the only situation in which he would hit her. This was the only man among the non-violent group who said he would hit his wife. The rest of them said that they would not hit their partners under any circumstances.

In production relations, the participation of women in the labour force is also a factor associated with IPV. Even though this participation is increasing, the labour force is still considered a male sphere in Mexico. Therefore, it is a transgression of role when women work outside of the home. It was mentioned in Chapter 8 that in most cases the respondents' partner did not have a formal job. Few respondents mentioned that their partners had a formal job outside the home, and in these cases there was disagreement over the issue of control within the household. For example Informant V3 considered his partner to be very conceited. Informant V6 said he sometimes felt his partner wanted to dominate him. Participants did not directly associate these feelings with the fact that their partners worked. However, this issue may nevertheless be key for understanding marital conflicts. Informant V13 gives an example of this situation.

Interviewer:

Tell me, haven't you thought that she could work?

Informant V13:

It would only bring about more problems

Interviewer:

Why?

Informant V13:

Well she earned her own money... Because, if she thinks she can control me right now when she isn't making any money, it might be a lot worse if she earned her own money. That is why I don't let her work

BOX 9.2

Informant NV5 has been married twice. His first partner used to work before they got married. When they married he stopped her from working because he wanted her to just be in charge of the household duties. In the beginning she agreed but later she started to complain because she wanted to work outside the house rather than do household duties. According to him she used to say that *she was not the woman for that*. The situation resulted in a lot of conflict, and they got divorced. He married again. His second partner also used to work, and again he stopped her from working when they married. She agreed at the time, and has never complained since. He proudly mentioned that she had a good job but that they agreed it was better that she stayed at home. He says that they get along very well. He claims to be completely opposed to the use of physical violence against women, but admits that in some arguments with his first wife the idea of beating her did cross his mind. He has not had such thoughts with his second partner.

Emotional relations

All respondents, whether violent or not, appreciate it when women fulfil the traditional female emotional roles. The narratives show that those women who fulfil their roles and do not have strong conflicts with their male partners tend to be submissive, obedient, affective, modest, and hardworking. However, at present in Mexico there are more and more women who do not fulfil this role or only have some of these characteristics. In their narratives, some men mourned that their partners had strong personalities, were irritable or were sloppy about the way they dressed. Men were particularly upset by two characteristics. Firstly, men mentioned the fact that women constantly complain about various issues; many of which are basically related to the lack of fulfilment of roles by men. For example, women accuse men of spending too much money on expenses and going out with friends, among others. The second characteristic is about women being outgoing and having active social lives – even if this social life only includes other women.

The next quote is an example of the former issue:

It's just that when she is angry it is different, she isn't loving. I always want her to be submissive, loving and all that, but she doesn't. It was like that in the beginning but as her eyes were opened she started defending herself and complaining.

[Informant V11]

Informant V11 appreciates the traditional roles that his partner satisfies. However, in some way he admits that women have the right to present other attitudes that correspond to greater gender equity. In fact, Informant V11's partner is the only partner to openly complain because her husband does not take an active part in caring for their children.

The following quote is an example of the second issue of contention, the active social life:

There are times when she goes out to chat with the neighbour and abandons me. And there are times when I say to her: so what is the point of my being here? That is when I feel like I need some attention.

[Informant V12]

It was frequent to find that the partners of respondents did not go out very often with friends or that they had to ask for permission from their husbands to do so. Like Informant V12, some men complained that their partners went out with female friends or even just with their relatives. Conversely, men showed satisfaction when their partners did not follow this behaviour. More violent than non-violent men fit the pattern described above. This aspect is related to the next issue: sexual relations.

Sexual relations

Probably the most important transgression of traditional female roles related with IPV is that relating to sexuality. Quantitative findings showed that the variables concerning the control of women's sexuality are highly associated with IPV. For Mexican men, the control of women's sexuality is an extremely important part of their male identity. Therefore, men show strong dissatisfaction when the sexual behaviour of their partners

deviates from that which is expected. Sometimes this dissatisfaction leads to physical aggression.

In this subsection, three aspects of sexual relations that were found to be important for IPV are analysed: a) jealousy as a form of control; b) women's premarital sexual relationships; and c) sexual satisfaction of the man with his partner.

a) Jealousy as a form of control

According to quantitative data, of all the reasons for partner violence jealousy is the one most commonly mentioned by individuals. The in-depth interviews revealed that jealousy on the part of men towards women is a regular source of conflict principally in the first stage of the relationship (and even during dating). It is during this stage that both man and woman demand a lot of attention from each other and most of this attention focuses on sexuality.

In their narratives, men mentioned that their partners should behave like respectful mothers and wives being serious, modest and reserved in front of other men. In practical terms, a woman's transgression of these roles could take the form of having a male friend, or even using make up, wearing short skirts, or simply talking with a man in the street. The following quotes are some examples of these situations:

Once when she wore a miniskirt, I said to her: hey, why are you wearing that miniskirt? Can't you tell that we can see all of your legs? She said: So what should I wear? Well, put something on that covers more of you, something that goes down to your feet.

[Informant V14]

Unfortunately once when we were leaving her house, a breeze came along and lifted up her skirt, it was one of those loose ones. First she grabbed her purse and then she straightened her skirt. I was really worried, ay! I didn't want them to see her and so I got angry with her.

[Informant V1]

Interviewer:

Are you a jealous person?

Informant V4:

Well, sometimes, nowadays almost not at all, but I used to be.

Interviewer:

When were you jealous?

Informant V4:

Just when she made herself up, how could I not be?

Interviewer:

What did you tell her?

Informant V4:

Well, that I didn't like it when she made herself up like that, only when she was going out with me... but I only got mad... nothing happened.

In the narratives, a feeling of frustration was found among men who believed that their partners could be more sexually active than them, or at least that their partners were potentially more attractive to men than they were to women. In these cases, men feel disadvantaged and that they somehow have to confirm their male identity by controlling their partners.

The level of annoyance may be very high when a man feels that his partner is not fulfilling the passive sexual role. In fact, jealousy was found to be one of the reasons most associated with severe aggression. The story presented in Box 9.3 gives one of the most extreme examples.

BOX 9.3

Informant V10 mentioned that the only conflicts he had with his partner were when he was very jealous. This occurred mainly during their dating. For example, he used to sometimes meet her outside her school and at times he saw her talking with her male friends. He became very angry, thinking she was unfaithful. He felt nervous and thought he was going to lose her. He even said that his "madness" went too far because he imagined things that did not occur. Sometimes his anger ended in physical aggression, even in front of others (friends or relatives). He used to slap, bite, punch or kick her and occasionally this resulted in physical injuries. He criticised her attitude towards other men, although she used to tell him she was not behaving badly. However, her friends did not want to be around her anymore. In his narrative he described how her male friends said to her: *We don't want you close to us because your boyfriend is a fucking jealous man.* At present he admits that he was wrong and that he isolated her from her friends.

Most men, both violent and non-violent, were found to be jealous. However, a difference between the groups is that some non-violent men are more flexible in accepting the interaction of their partners with other men. Another difference is that partners of non-violent men are more likely to fulfil the expectations that the men have about their sexual behaviour.

b) Women's premarital sexual relationships

In the previous chapters, the importance Mexican men place on a woman's virginity has been shown. According to the narratives, most women from the non-violent group had not had sexual relationships with other men. Only two of the non-violent respondents admitted that their partners had had sexual relationships with other men before them. In one case the man was married for the second time and his second partner was a single mother. He said that the issue of her previous relationship was not important for him. The second case is of a man considered to be in the egalitarian pattern of the sexual relations (Chapter 8). In the violent group three men accepted that their partners had had sexual relationships with other men and three said that they did not know whether or not they had. Of these six men only one was not at all disgusted by the idea. He was also classified as egalitarian. The other five had all argued with their partners over the situation. In chapter 8 the case of Informant V6 was discussed - he tolerated the fact that his partner had had sexual intercourse before being with him, but he admitted that it still upset him. In some cases, more conventional men are not as tolerant as Informant V8:

Interviewer:

Why did you separate? [from his first wife]

Informant V8:

We have very big problems. I thought she was a virgin when we got married, but my ex-wife didn't tell me the truth and then she wasn't worth anything to me.

Interviewer:

What do you mean?

Informant V8:

She had been with somebody else, what would you do?

Interviewer:

Well, that is different for everybody.

Informant V8:

But I discovered the truth and there wasn't a solution, that is when all the problems with her began.

Interviewer:

How long had you been married?

Informant V8:

About a year... and then we had very serious problems and she preferred to go back to her village and not return to me.

Interviewer:

What were those problems about?

Informant V8:

Well, I was a bit drunk and I hit her about a little.

c) Sexual satisfaction of the man with his partner

Compared with the other two aspects of sexual relations described above, sexual satisfaction is the one least related with marital conflicts and therefore with IPV. However, some cases were identified where couples had problems because the man was not totally satisfied with his sex life with his partner. The most common problem is that the woman refuses to have sexual relations. This is a motive for aggression among the most patriarchal men like Informant V5 who encountered several such problems with his partner. For example:

When I had an accident with my hand I wanted to have sex with her, so she said no to me because my hand was injured. So I said: do you know what? My hand may be injured put there is nothing wrong with my dick. She said to me: but I have to look after you. So I said: no, its fine. Let's do it. I began to sweet talk her and she said: no, no, no, no. She tried to stop me. So didn't I say to her: don't threaten me and don't raise your hand to me because although my hand is hurt, I can still knock you flat. She said to me: okay then, show me. So, even though I was hurt, I pushed her so hard that she fell on the bed and it broke.

[Informant V5]

9.2.2.2 The case of his roles

Production relations

In Mexico, the most important role that a man has to fulfil is that of proficient economic provider for the household. Additionally, his partner must feel satisfied with the goods and money he gives her. Consequently, a man's failure in this role can bring dissatisfaction to the woman and frustration in the man which may result in serious marital conflicts.

For example, a common situation found in the interviews is when a woman complains to her partner because he does not give her enough money:

Interviewer:

What happened the time that you went to the police?

Informant V7:

Well, she said that I hit her... she started on about that I didn't buy her clothes... she complained that I didn't give her anything, and really, I'm not a king that can give her everything. There were times when work was going well and I gave her enough money and she bought herself things. But then she would buy herself things that you shouldn't buy [luxuries] and there would not be enough money, and I couldn't give her anymore. That was the reason that we would struggle.

I suggest that another source of contention might be when she considers him to be wasting money on himself and ignoring the household:

Yes, I would come home drunk and then she would start to yell at me and the arguing would begin. She would say to me: that it happened every eight days, that I was spending all the money, that I was spending money that I could spend on other things, like our child... that we would save money and I would spend it all on drinking and well yes, it was true, yes I spent a lot of money drinking.

[Informant NV3]

In general, displeasure over a man's failings in his economic roles was more common among violent couples than among non-violent couples. It seems that partners of non-violent men do not complain as much as partners of violent men do. However, findings also suggest that although both violent and non-violent men claim to favour spending money on their families instead of on amusements, this attitude was more frequently found among non-violent men. For example:

For me the responsibility is a good thing because we have to be responsible to our loved ones. For example, you meet people in the street who sometimes prefer to buy themselves a beer rather than buy a sweet for their child or a sandwich for their child, their children might even be without shoes or have broken shoes, but they still have money for beer. For me it is sad to see that and I prefer not to live like that.

[Informant NV15]

Emotional relations

In Mexico, nowadays, it is not sufficient for a man to fulfil the role of the main economic provider, he is also demanded to participate in household activities and give affective attention to his family. However, for some men this is not easy because the male gender role is not typically associated with the emotional sphere. Consequently, it is common to observe that they do not satisfy the emotional expectations of their partners. Women feel neglected and disappointed and they demonstrate this disapproval to their partners. In many instances this situation provokes conflicts that may end in violence.

Conflicts related to this problem are more common in the early years of marriage. Data suggests that it is during this stage that women have more expectations and complain more about the behaviour of their partners. This is also the stage when men find it most difficult to give this attention. Findings also suggest that it is hard for men to adapt to the socially constructed exigencies of living with a partner for the first time. When a man starts living together with his partner he sometimes experiences tension because he has to reconcile two different identities. On the one hand, he has to play the role of “good” husband fulfilling the productive and emotional expectations that society and particularly his partner have of him. But on the other hand, he has to continue behaving in accordance with his male identity. In practical terms, this means that he persists in going out with male and female peers, drinking alcohol, and coming home late without telling his partner. If she complains about this behaviour he also has to demonstrate that he will not change his behaviour just because she asks him to, as this would imply that he is being dominated by her, that he is a *mandilón*.⁵⁹ These two faces that a man has to adopt when he is living with a partner are not complementary, but are normally lived with antagonism, tension, and conflict.

⁵⁹ The term *mandilón* has already explained in Chapter 7 (p. 144).

Interviewer:

You told me that you came to blows, why?

Informant V13:

It was almost always when I was drunk, when I arrived home late and drunk.

Interviewer:

You arrived home drunk?

Informant V13:

Yes, I came to push her, I came to hit her, beatings.

Interviewer:

And what motivated the beatings?

Informant V13:

Because she complained about me, she wanted to know why I arrived late, why I drank and I answered her that if I didn't ask her for money to drink, what did it matter to her, and that is when I hit her.

Interviewer:

Did you already have children?

Informant V13:

Yes, just the first one, he was still small.

In both groups, violent and non-violent, there are men who have had these experiences in their relationships. However, a difference between the groups is that more non-violent men consider it incorrect behaviour to continue leading the life of a "single" man once married. Some of them mentioned that their partners convinced them to give more attention to their families and less to going out with peers. They were more open to changing their behaviour in order to satisfy the expectations of their partners.

Interviewer:

Generally, how did you find the beginning of your life together?

Informant NV14:

At the beginning I found it hard because I wasn't used to having that responsibility, but as time went by I got accustomed to being responsible because I wasn't very responsible before.

Interviewer:

And did she say anything to you about not being responsible?

Informant NV14:

Yes, yes, she said: you need to be more responsible because I don't really see you being responsible. She helped me to see that hanging about with my friends wasn't going to do me any good and so I began to leave my friends behind and it was just the two of us, nobody else.

Interviewer:

For example, in what ways were you irresponsible?

Informant NV14:

Because sometimes I would start a job and then I would leave it, then I would look for another job. It took me about a year to get grounded, in part because even though I was married my friends would come and look for me and I went out with them.

Interviewer:

Did you feel irritated that she would complain about those things?

Informant NV14:

Yes, there was a moment when I said to her: are you going to start on again about those things? And the only thing that she said to me was: I only say them to you for your own good, you can either try to understand or you can continue with your life the way it is and then I don't know what will happen between the two of us. That is when I started to think about things.

Interviewer:

More or less when was that?

Informant NV14:

When we were recently married.

Interviewer:

And now who did you think was at fault in that argument?

Informant NV14:

Me, because sometimes we start to talk and she says to me: hey, do you remember when you weren't responsible? When you preferred to be with your friends than with me? Yes [he answers] And whose fault do you think it was? [she asks him]. So, I say to her, I was. Because like I said, because to be a couple I had to be with her and my friends became secondary, I had to be with her because now we were a couple.

But, data suggest that at the same time that men are required to be affectionate, they are also required to have a strong personality, strength and courage, i.e., characteristics of the hierarchical gender construction. Failure in these roles can also provoke dissatisfaction among women, complaints, and accusations of inadequate manhood to which the man feels forced to respond defending himself.

BOX 9.4

The bricklayer asked for \$5,000 (around £250) from Informant V14 for the construction of another room in the house. Informant V14 gave him the money. The bricklayer said he would start the work the following week, but he didn't show up. The next week was the same. In the third week Informant V14's partner told Informant V14 that he should go and look for the bricklayer and ask him for the money. Informant V14 said he preferred to wait and he tried to make excuses for the bricklayer's behaviour saying that maybe he was too busy. Informant V14's partner complained to her husband more and more. One day she said to him: *don't be silly, he is conning you, people take advantage of you and you lose your money. You should go and ask for the money.* He became really annoyed and they started shouting at each other. He pushed her. This was the first time he had done that.

Sexual relations

Mexico is a monogamous country and, in general, sexual activity outside of marriage is socially condemned. However, a characteristic of the male gender role is to be sexually active with several women. Therefore, unfaithfulness is not uncommon among men and this behaviour is related to serious marital conflicts. There were some narratives in which men admitted they had had extra marital sexual relationships and this had provoked grave conflicts when their partners found out. These situations were found to be more common when the partner was pregnant or when they had a young child. Apparently, during these stages the man is less sexually satisfied with his partner and he looks for sexual satisfaction with other women. Also men mentioned that their partners were more sensitive during pregnancy, and therefore they complained more about the behaviour of men. The strong complaints of a pregnant woman over the unfaithfulness of her partner could provoke severe conflicts ending in violence. I suggest that unfaithfulness is associated with violence during pregnancy. The following situation occurred when the wife was in the third month of pregnancy:

Interviewer:

So, tell me what happened?

Informant V11:

It was because of an indiscretion on my part, she figured it out, I begged her, but she hit me, she began to hit me. At the beginning I tried to stop her, but then I also got mad, I got angry and I also hit her and our child started to cry, it was very very traumatic.

Interviewer:

Why do you think she reacted so strongly, what had happened?

Informant V11:

As she said to me: I always held you up as an example, I respected you as a father and husband and at that time I lost all trust.

Interviewer:

What was the fight like?

Informant V11:

She found out and went into the house and I went after her. At first she was crying, and then she grabbed a pan and hit me. As well as hurting, I couldn't believe that she did it. And that is when she began punching. I tried to calm her down, but couldn't. And then I started hitting her as well.

In general, the fulfilment or lack of fulfilment of gender roles is quite an important determinant of conflicts within the couple. The interaction skills of men and women and the exercise of control in the relationship are important in the resolution of these conflicts.

9.2.3 Interaction and control

Findings suggest that the commitment of both man and woman in the relationship, the affection they have for each other, and the extent of communication are the most important components of the mutual interaction that distinguish couples who are involved in frequent conflicts and couples who are not.

Although most of the respondents showed close attachment to their partners, in general, non-violent showed higher levels of commitment to the relationship than violent and also more affection to their partners. For example, during the interview Informant NV2 expressed with emotion his affection for his partner. He proudly mentioned that he and his partner had a long time (or many years) together and most of that time has been satisfactory. He also said that he enjoys spending his free time with his family and that he would never be unfaithful to his wife because he does not want to put his relationship at risk. In contrast, Informant V13 said he never fell in love with his wife, he prefers to spend

most of his free time with his 'lover' and also mentioned that he and his wife do not feel sexual desire for each other any more. I suggest that the level of commitment and affection is developed since the beginning of the union. For example, those who married due to pressure of society and not because they felt strong affection to the partner are less likely to develop a strong commitment in the relationship than those who married for 'love'.

Communication is the other element which was found important for mutual interaction. In general, communication was frequently identified by respondents as a characteristic of good interaction. Even, most of the respondents mentioned that communication was the formula to avoid conflicts with their partner. However, not all of them put this into practice. For example, some of violent men mentioned that they did not have good communication with partners:

In reality we don't really communicate, we chat but I don't get home and say: do you know what? My day was like this, I did this, etc. So, not really, I don't talk, I don't know why, it doesn't come naturally. Then she says to me: how was your day? What did you do today? And I answer: don't pester me. Yes, we have a lack of communication.

[Informant V9]

In general, it was found that non-violent men have better skills of interaction than violent men; however, men's narratives suggest that in both cases women have better skills than men. I suggest that in Mexico this situation is a consequence of the power imbalance in the relationships, where men are used to having control and women are mainly responsible for maintaining the well-being of the relationship. I would say that the most evident aspect of the interaction associated with abuse is the dynamic of control and power.

In most of the narratives analysed, men are those who control most of the spheres of the relationship, or at least the ones they want to dominate. Power, production, and sexual relations within the couple are characterised by a certain level of gender inequity that is reflected in different aspects. Perhaps the most critical of these aspects are the lack of autonomy that women have and the use of violence by men when women dispute the balance of power.

In both violent and non-violent couples, the dynamic of the relationship was mainly orientated around the wishes of the man. Also, the dynamic was characterised by the

exercise of power by men and the lack of autonomy of women. However, two specific situations were found more in violent couples than in non-violent ones. The first was where women were more assertive in disputing the power balance of the relationship. Informant V6 gives an example of this situation in which the beginning of the relationship is again the central period when conflict occurs.

Interviewer:

Did you ever have any arguments as newlyweds?

Informant V6:

Yes, when we were newlyweds she once wanted to yell at me and I said: calm down.

Interviewer:

Why did she want to yell at you?

Informant V6:

I don't remember why, she raised her voice but I don't remember exactly why she did.

Interviewer:

And what did you say to her?

Informant V6:

Well, that she was wrong, that she needed to calm down. More than anything else, when you get married the problems come from not being used to somebody trying to dominate you. Because like it or not, even if it is just a little, they try to dominate you, really that is where our problems came from.

In the narratives the second situation was found less common but more extreme. It is when the man has the absolute domination of the relationship and he uses physical violence as a technique to control and maintain power, even though this power is not directly disputed by the partner. In these cases, the dynamic of gender is completely unequal and violence against the partner constitutes a systematic pattern of patriarchal terrorism. For example, Informant V5 has had two partners. In both relationships he has abused them using insults, threats, and beatings, among others. He openly admitted that a man has the right to dominate a woman because women are inferior, therefore, he exerts his authority in all spheres of the relationship.

9.2.4 Household relationships

In this subsection, the influence of the families of origin of both man and woman, in the dynamic of the relationship is analysed. Particular attention is given to the effect on marital conflicts. The family is one of the most important institutions in Mexico. For example, most young people live with their families even though they have already married. In the

case of partner violence, the family of origin could play a determinant role because of its strong connectedness with the couple. Three particular themes emerged from the qualitative data in relation to how the family participates in the dynamics of the couple and the use of violence in the household: a) the isolation of women by their families; b) the structure of the household; c) the relationship of men and women with mothers and sisters-in-law. The following issues are examined.

The isolation of women by the families

Based on the narratives it was observed that some women did not receive any support from their natal families, even though the relatives realised that they were being abused by their partners. This lack of support for women is based on traditional gender patriarchal contexts. In these contexts there are prevailing ideas that women, when married, are no longer under protection of the family because now they 'belong' to their husbands, so the husbands are the ones who have the new 'custody'. Next, I present two examples of how women could be isolated by their families:

Interviewer:

Did you talk about that with anyone?

Informant V11:

Yes, but not because I wanted to, but because suddenly people begin to notice the bruises, I don't know...: ow! It hurts.

Interviewer:

And her parents didn't say anything to you?

Informant V11:

Never, even though I hit her, her parents never said anything to me. They tell her: well you have to put up with it, you wanted to get married.

Interviewer:

Why do you think she never left you?

Informant V13:

Because as I remember her father once saying to her: look my daughter, you are going to go with him, and because you are going with him, I won't take you back here. Look, whatever they do to you, you are leaving home and that makes it your problem. When you were single you were under my care but since you got together with him I am not going to pick you up just because you fought. You are not welcome to come back.

Structure of the household

Most Mexicans live with their parents until they marry, and many times afterwards as well. Therefore, many couples begin the relationship in the parents' household. For example, of all respondents only three have not lived with their parents or their parents-in-law since they married; twelve have ever lived with their parents; seven have ever lived with their parents-in-law; and the rest have ever lived with both.

So, the question is: Does living in an extended household facilitate or prevent violence between partners? According to the quantitative data and also other studies carried out in Mexico (e.g. Finkler, 1997), women who lived in an extended family are less at risk of abuse than women who live only with her partner. The qualitative data also supports these patterns, i.e., it was found that in most of the cases the family mitigates conflicts between the couple. But also, and maybe most important, the presence of members of the household could inhibit a man from committing a violent attack against his partner. This occurs more often when the couple lives with the woman's relatives. However, the man's relatives also could prevent the use of violence. For example, that is the case of Informant V2 who did not beat his partner because his father intervened, but he did it later on when he was living with his partner alone.

Interviewer:

She didn't have any problems with your mother or your father when the two of you moved into their house?

Informant V2:

No, no, not all, just the opposite. For example, my father once heard me arguing with her when I was demanding that she feed me dinner. I was tired, tired after working the whole fucking day, I was even swearing at her and my father overheard and said to me: the first one that is going to leave here is you, if you think you are going to throw her out, you will be the first to go, in this house I maintain her and my grand-daughter and you can fuck off. So I said to him: well at least let me hit her so that she understands that she has to take care of me, so at least she will feed me and then she can do as she likes.

Interviewer:

What did your father say then?

Informant V2:

Well, what he said was: if you beat her then I am going to kick the shit out of you. That was it.

However, to live in an extended household could also create or aggravate problems within the couple. In some of the interviews cases were observed in which several situations

occurred within the dynamic of all members of the household that created more tension in the couple. Interesting to note is the case of Informant V9 who has lived with his partner in his parents' house, in the house of her parents, and also they have lived alone. He has had many problems with his partner since the beginning of their relationship, but these problems have been exacerbated by the two families who were directly involved in the dynamics of his relationship. He had strong fights with his partner when they lived with his family but also when they lived with her family. In both, the families used to take part in the disputes, and in general, families made the situation worse. However, it was not until he went to live alone with his partner that he beat her for the first time. The beating was motivated by a conflict he had with his partner because she blamed his family. So, in the case of Informant V9, it is possible to observe how at the same time the family works as an inhibitor of violence but also may provoke more conflicts for the couple.

The relationship of men and women with mothers and sisters-in-law

In Mexico, there are prevailing ideas of obedience and respect for elders, especially parents. It is common to use the terms *jefe* or *jefa* to refer to the father or mother. In English *jefe* means male boss and *jefa* female boss. In other words, parents are the bosses of the young couple, therefore, their influence is determinant for the relationship.

Interviewer:

If there is anything that the two of you don't agree on, what do you do?

Informant NV7:

We ask my parents or her parents their opinion. There are people who say to me: doesn't that embarrass you? And really it doesn't because why should it embarrass us if it is just an opinion, it can even help us improve

For example, Informant NV7 mentioned that he and his partner used to ask for advice from their parents about issues related to the relationship. But in the same quote it is possible to observe that this situation is not always perceived as positive. He admits that some people confront them because they are adults who continue to ask their parent's opinion, suggesting that they should feel embarrassed for this. Actually, some of respondents explicitly said that they appreciate that their parents or their parents-in-law do not get involved in their lives even though they are living in the same household. However, despite

the position of the couple, in several cases there was a direct participation of other members of the family. The mother and sister-in-law are particularly important figures.

The emotional relations with children is the primary space where women have the opportunity of getting a privileged position within the household relationships. This situation is often observed when children are young, however, it also extends to when they are adults. Sometimes, this privileged position gives women the 'right' to get involved in the emotional lives of their sons or daughters and sometimes extends to them exerting control in their personal relationships.

According to the findings, most men and women have not had important problems with their in-laws, even though some of them have an active participation in the lives of the couple. It is the responsibility of the couple to have an amicable relationship with their in-laws. Actually, a man will expect that his partner gets along well with his family and at the same time, his partner will expect that he gets along well with her family. Otherwise serious conflicts in the couple could be generated.

Interviewer:

Tell me about the biggest fight that you have had since meeting her

Informant NV12:

It was precisely about her family because I don't get along with her siblings. Because when we all got together I was like a statue, I didn't talk to anybody. In contrast, when she is with my family she talks with all of my siblings. Well, she doesn't get along with my sister anymore because they had an argument, but I hope that when they see each other they will be able to work it out because my wife likes to talk and I would rather not get involved, I know that they will talk about it and I am sure that they will work it out when they see each other again. But I am quite inscrutable when I am with her family.

Interviewer:

What happened the time you fought?

Informant NV12:

That time she told me not to be like that, because if I am rude to her family then I hurt her because it is her family and she loves her siblings very much.

Interviewer:

What did you say to her?

Informant NV12:

Well, I told her I would change, I said: well I don't like them but for you I will talk to them and I will try to get along with them, and I have tried to.

Findings suggest that the most important problems of the couple related with other members of the household are when mothers and sisters-in-law are involved. For example,

Informant NV5 said that the reason he separated from his first partner was due to her mother. He mentioned that he never got along well with his mother-in-law and that affected his relationship. One day he arrived home and he found his mother-in-law there – she was not living with them - they argued and finally he kicked her out. His partner was very upset and he and his partner were insulting each other. In his narrative, Informant NV5 reported that his partner stood up and decided to follow her mother saying: *I prefer to go with my mother than to stay with you.* In contrast, he gets along very well with the mother of his second partner: *I get along very well with her, she is very nice, she gives very good advice to her daughter.* He gets along very well with his partner as well.

But the most serious situation is when a woman has problems with her partner's mother-in-law. In the last chapter the importance of the cult to the maternity in Mexico was mentioned and the importance a male ascribes to his mother. Therefore, the worst that can happen to a Mexican man is that his mother is disturbed, insulted, or attacked. So, if his partner does not get along well with her mother she can have serious difficulty with him. If his partner has a problem with his mother he will always take the mother's side. If his partner insults his mother it could be considered as an offence that deserves the use of violence. Next I give an example of this situation:

Then my wife and I started arguing, we insulted each other and she said: you have started again with these stupid things. You shouldn't believe in 'witchcraft'. Your mother is the guilty one in this. And she raged against my mother again. I became so angry. I felt fire inside my body. In the other quarrel, the one that I just told you about before, I hadn't defended my mother. I just witnessed it stupidly. To this day my mother still reminds me that I didn't defend her that day. She said that I stood there like a dumb person. And that's proof that she was performing 'witchcraft' on me. So, in this quarrel I thought of all of these things and I could retaliate against my wife. I told you, I was very angry, feeling fire in my blood because she was saying bad things about my mother. There was a voice in me saying 'fuck her'. I don't know what happened to me but I felt the voice saying to me 'it's enough you have to finish this... if you kill her, anyway...' She continued saying that it was my fault because I believed in these stupid things, and I responded that she was to blame for my mother's health. We continued insulting each other and then I slapped her twice and I pushed her on to the bed.

[Informant V9]

9.3 Specific circumstances of the conflicts

The purpose of this section is to characterise the specific circumstances of the conflicts and the immediate situations surrounding the violent events; i.e., I will go deeper into the last layer of the framework proposed: the conflict arena. This section is particularly interesting because it is quite unusual to hear the voices of men about this issue.

The section is divided in four parts: in the first one a description of the conflict situations is presented. Specifically, the following characteristics are considered: the immediate reasons that motivate men to assault their partners, the participation of women in the physical act, and the location and the period of time in which the violent events occurred. The second subsection examines the type of aggression, the level of severity according with the injuries suffered by any of the participants, and the situations in which the man decides to stop the attack. The third part shows the perceptions violent men have about the use of their own violence. Finally, in the forth section, particular attention is paid to the reasons given by non-violent men about why they have never committed violent aggression against their partner and the strategies they use to resolve conflicts without resorting to physical violence.

9.3.1 Conflict situations

Table 9.2 shows characteristics of the most important conflict situations that have ended in violence according to each informant.

Table 9.2. Violent male participants in the qualitative phase by characteristics of violent incidents against their partners

Violent Informants	Main motives	Incidents	Main aggressor	She participates	Injuries or consequences
Informant V1	Her failure in household duties	Hitting using hands Dragging	He	Yes	Falling down
Informant V2	His unfaithfulness	Holding strongly Kicking	He	Yes	Falling down
Informant V3	Her interaction with men (his jealousy) His unfaithfulness (her jealousy)	Pushing Pulling Pushing Punching Breaking clothes	He	Yes	Falling down
Informant V4	He goes out with male peers. Drunk He goes out with male peers	Pulling Hitting the head using hands	He	Yes	No information
Informant V5	She refuses to have sex His unfaithfulness (her jealousy)	Pushing Slapping Punching the stomach Pulling Suffocating	He	No	Falling down Suffocation Pain
Informant V6	He goes out with male peers. Drunk His failure as breadwinner His unfaithfulness (her jealousy)	Holding strongly Hitting using hands	Both	Yes	Falling down
Informant V7	She goes out with female and male peers. Drunk His failure as breadwinner	Punching the face Hitting using hands Holding strongly	He	Yes	Bleeding
Informant V8	Her interaction with men (his jealousy) His failure as breadwinner	Slapping Scratching Pushing Hitting using hands	He	Yes	No information
Informant V9	Her interaction with men (his jealousy) Problems with relatives Her failure in household duties She goes out with female peers	Slapping Pushing Scratching Suffocating	He	Yes	Bleeding Suffocation Pain
Informant V10	Her interaction with men (his jealousy)	Slapping Punching Pulling Pushing Biting Kicking	He	No	Bruises Cuts Falling down
Informant V11	His unfaithfulness (her jealousy) He goes out with male peers	Punching Kicking Hitting using hand and the pan	He	Yes	Bruises
Informant V12	He goes out with male peers. Drunk	Pushing Slapping	He	No	No information
Informant V13	He goes out with male peers. Drunk	Punching Pushing Hitting using hand Throwing objects	He	No	No information

Informant V14	His failure in the fulfilment of a male role	Pushing	Both	Yes	No information
Informant V15	His interaction with female peers (her jealousy)	Pulling hair Pushing Throwing dishes Slapping Hitting with a stick Threatening with a knife	Both	Yes	Bleeding Pain

First, a common pattern found in the violent stories was that all violent events have a reason related with a conflict, i.e., no violent episodes were reported without a justification. That means that for all respondents the use of violence necessitated an explanation. Actually, in most of the cases a verbal dispute between the couple preceded the violent event, even though this could occur almost at the same time as the physical dispute took place.

But what are the main motives that generate the use of physical violence against a partner? A variety of reasons were given by respondents, all of these reasons were motivated either by 'his fault' or by 'her fault'. So I decided to classify these motives in two: a) when a woman is angry because it is 'his fault', and b) when a man is angry because it is 'her fault'. In Chapter 8 it was mentioned that violence against a partner is "allowed" in two situations: defence and discipline. When the problem is caused by 'his fault', normally the woman is the one who becomes angry and complains. In these cases the man uses violence by defence. In contrast, when the problem is caused by 'her fault', the man is the one who becomes angry first and he attacks his partner because he needs to discipline her.

According to the findings there are more conflicts that end in violence when the woman makes accusations the man than vice versa. The most common 'faults' of men that generate violent conflicts are: unfaithfulness (suspected or proved), failure as economic provider, and going out with peers and returning home late and drunk. And the most common 'faults' of women are: interaction with other men and failure in household duties. Others include her refusal to have sex with her partner and criticizing the partner's mother.

Next, I examine female participation in the specific physical fights. It is widely known that in most cases of partner violence the man is the main aggressor. However, there are a few authors who do not share this position and they consider that female participation in the

violent events is almost equal to male participation (Straus et al., 1997, among others). According to our male interviewees, their partners have an active participation in most of the fights and even in some cases women are the ones who start the physical aggression. However, female participation is much weaker than male participation and at the end, the main aggressor is almost always the man. In general, the woman is limited to a slap or a push or attempts to defend herself from the hits of her partner, whereas his participation is more aggressive. Actually, in all the violent episodes reported by men, women were the ones who were more affected even in those situations in which the female aggression was severe as in the case of Informant V11 whose his partner hit him several times using a pan. However, he reacted by punching her until everything was under his control.

Finally, where and when do most of the violent acts occur? Generally, the events take place within the household in a private space. However, some situations were found when the man also assaulted his partner in public. Parties and the street were the spaces where this occurred and normally in front of strangers, neighbours, or even friends. With regards to when the events took place for first time, the qualitative work confirmed the findings of the quantitative, i.e., most of the situations occurred in the first years of the relationship. In two cases, the first violent episode occurred even while the couple was dating, four cases when the couple was living together before they had children, one case when she was pregnant for first time, and five cases when their first child was little.

9.3.2 The severity

Table 9.2 also presents a description of the specific type of violence used and if it provoked injuries. A wide range of forms are used, from pushes and hits with the hand, to an attempt to kill. Dragging, kicking, punching in the stomach, strangling, hitting with a stick, and elbowing in the face were some of the forms found in the narratives of the individuals. It is important to emphasise again that respondents are ordinary workers who apparently do not represent the extreme cases of partner violence.

Because the abuse is socially condemned, men frequently downplay the severity of the violence and, therefore, they also downplay the consequences of the violent acts. In their narratives, a few openly admit that their partners suffered injuries because of the violence.

Bruises and cuts are the most common type of injuries mentioned by respondents. However, other injuries were also mentioned:

Anyway, she fell down. I got closer to her and I saw that she was 'purple'. I was scared and I thought 'now I'm really in the shit'. She couldn't breathe very well. I thought 'I've killed her'
[Informant V9]

As mentioned in Chapter 8, there is a strong social disapproval for injuries caused by a violent assault to the partner. As a consequence, men admit that they try to avoid hitting the face or “sensitive” parts of the body of their partners. So, they prefer to hit arms and legs where the damage could be not so “grave” and that the consequences of the violence are not so “visible” to others.

Later I started hitting her as well, that is to say punching her but not in places like the face, not in sensitive places, not there. I was careful where I hit her.
[Informant V11]

This evidence suggests that most of the time the attack is rationalised by the individuals, i.e., there is at least one moment of reflection before they commit the assault and that the placement of the blows are probably not out of concern for seriously injuring her but out of concern for the way he may be viewed by others if the beatings were visible. But this process of reflexivity not only occurs before the assault, but also during the assault. When I asked respondents when or why they stopped the fight the answers suggested that they end the aggression before their partners suffer “serious” physical damage or when they realise that they have absolute control of the fight. In practical terms, when women fall down, bleed, cry or even when they cannot defend themselves any more these are signs for men to stop the violence.

9.3.3 Attitudes towards their own violence

In different parts of this study it has been mentioned that the two main reasons given by men for physically assaulting their partners were defence and discipline. But what is their perception of their own use of physical force against their partners? What do they think about this behaviour? No direct questions were posed to respondents about their

perspective on their own violence because they could have felt confronted and it was a priority to avoid this feeling. However, in the interviews some respondents gave a value judgment to their own act. And in other cases their opinion was implicit in their narratives or in the way they conducted themselves during the interviews. So, in the analysis I consider that two main patterns were found: a) those who downplay and justify their actions, and b) those who condemn their own acts and explicitly consider them to be inappropriate behaviour.

In the narratives of the first type, men often used expressions such as: *it was just a punch* or *I only slapped her*. Using this, I suggest that men reduce the severity of the action by trying not to be condemned by their behaviour, i.e., trying to place the event in the category of 'allowed'. And also, they justify the action. They led me to understand that it was completely necessary and there were no other alternatives for a solution. In contrast, during their narratives the second type of men mentioned that they regretted their behaviour and they showed embarrassment during the interviews. For example:

Interviewer:

Were you jealous?

Informant V10:

Yes, yes, I was too jealous. I even made the big mistake of biting and slapping her, several times.

9.3.4 Reasons physical violence is not used

The last section of this chapter focuses on the experience of non-violent men and the mechanisms they use to deal with conflicts without using physical violence. The first question is: do non-violent men experience similar conflicts to violent men? In general, I found that violent men are involved in more conflicts than non-violent men. Regarding the causes of conflict, most of the reasons given by violent men were also found among the non-violent. However, according to the patterns found in the interviews, non-violent have more conflicts relating to women's failure to fulfil household duties. For many of the non-violent men this issue was the most important motive for conflict. In contrast, very few conflicts were found to be related to jealousy or to his failure in the role of the main breadwinner. Apparently, there are some conflicts that provoke more violence than others. Actually, the disputes of violent men that did not end in physical violence were also associated with the non-fulfilment of household duties by their partners. In general, as said

about “defence”, when women make accusations it is more likely to lead to violence than when men make accusations.

The second issue to explore is: what is the dynamic of the conflicts of the non-violent men? In most of the situations other kinds of violence (verbal or emotional) were found. Shouting and complaining strongly are the type of incidents that non-violent men normally reported. However, the narratives also described the following incidents: kicking the door and throwing it down, sending the partner out of the house, and insulting her using coarse words.

In most of these situations the main aggressor was the man as the case in the violent. However, according to these men, in some cases woman also had an active role. In three cases it was even found that the woman used physical violence against her partner. For example, this is the case of Informant NV6:

Interviewer:

And at that time, was she very annoyed?

Informant NV6:

Yes, yes, yes, in fact that time she tore my shirt and she slapped me, yes, I mean she was really laying into me and I just stood there and took it. I didn't do anything, of course, I mean I'm a man I can take it. You know, I was calm, and things didn't get any worse from there.

It is interesting how Informant NV6 related the male identity with the capacity to tolerate the hits of a woman, suggesting that the violence exerted by women is much softer than the violence exerted by men.

The third issue is: why do these men not use physical violence in their fights? It was mentioned before that Informant NV11 was the only one who said that he would hit his wife in an extreme situation. The rest of the respondents said that in no situation would they hit their partners. However, they admitted that they have felt the desire to hit when they were extremely angry against their partners. This is the case of Informant NV6.

Interviewer:

And in those moments when you've been most annoyed with her, you never had the urge to hit her?

Informant NV6:

Have I ever wanted to? Yes, yes, obviously, but I tell you why, it's just I'm so angry, it's like what's going on here? But I never, never, ever did it.

So, why did they not do it? Based on the narratives, I consider that there are two main reasons. The most common one is because of the education they received from their parents – mainly by their father – that under no circumstance they should ever hit a woman; i.e., since their childhood they had strong beliefs that they must not beat any woman. The second reason is because the man would be socially condemned by his community; i.e., those who surround him play an important role in preventing violence. The next quote is representative of these two reasons:

Interviewer:

For example, what stopped you [hitting her]?

Informant NV7:

I didn't learn this type of thing in my family. Well, I've wanted to do it, but I didn't do it because of what I learnt from my family.

Interviewer:

So, what did you think at that moment? In that moment you thought about all these things?

Informant NV7:

Yeah, well, I think if they [his parents] didn't do it to me, and if my father didn't do it to my mum, and if her dad didn't do it to her, what right do I have to do it? And many times this has stopped me.

Interviewer:

Really, you thought all of that in that moment?

Informant NV7:

No, no, no, not all of that at that moment. I mean, when I have these problems I start thinking: if I hit her maybe she'll tell my parents, and my parents, what are they going to say? What, did we set you this type of example? So, it's better that I don't do it. Or if her parents find out, they'll say that they didn't hit her so why am I doing it. So, I think different things, but I don't think them all at the same time.

Finally, the fourth issue of this section is: how to deal with conflicts without using violence? Both violent and non-violent men used similar mechanisms to avoid strong fights. However, it seems that the most effective ones are used more often by the non-violent men. In these cases, the interaction skills developed by individuals play an important role for the coping with conflicts. According to the individuals, “giving time” and/or “letting alone” by previous agreement by the couple are the actions that help to evade disputes. Other actions are less frequently used but were also found effective for some couples: apologising, fulfilling the complaint, or talking at the moment about the problem.

Informant NV7:

Most of the times I stay quiet. I remain angry for two or three hours and afterwards I'm less annoyed. Sometimes I leave the house to smoke a cigarette outside, this calms me down and then I return to talk with her. She knows when I am really annoyed, so I say to her: I'm not going to discuss this right now. And she stays quiet, she doesn't say anything to me. She knows that I'm going to leave. I go to play pool for two or three hours and this calms me down and later when I have more control I return to the house and we talk more calmly and then we resolve what was bad

Interviewer:

And for example, the last quarrel that you told me about, why didn't you go out to smoke a cigarette?

Informant NV7:

No, I preferred to stay at home and she didn't say anything. I stayed in the room watching TV and she stayed in the kitchen doing different things. Later at night while we were laying in bed we talked and no longer had a problem. We resolved it in bed pleurably.

9.4 Summary

The preceding discussion has highlighted the key dimensions for understanding IPV at individual, relationship, family, and conflict levels. Firstly, according to the conceptual framework used for this research, the individual level refers to the background of the individual. Among the different aspects of the personal history of the individual, violent experiences during childhood emerge as the most important in looking for explanations of IPV. Particularly important is the severity of violence received by the individual and the participation of women in physically violent situations during childhood. Both these situations appear to facilitate the development of tolerance towards the use of violence against women. By contrast, a common pattern found among non-violent men was that the father had taught his son that he must not under any circumstances hit a woman. Because the father is the ultimate authority, his beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are fundamental in the learning process of the child.

Next, the dynamic of the relationship was analysed. According to the findings, the conditions in which a couple start living together, the fulfilment of gender roles, components of the mutual interaction of the couple, and the power imbalance in the relationship were all important features for understanding IPV. Particularly significant was the fulfilment of gender roles by men and women. Both violent and non-violent men are characterised by conventional gender attitudes, but men in the former group appear more

likely to adhere to them more rigidly than the latter. So, marital dissatisfaction is more frequent among violent men when roles are not fulfilled. It is important to note that this dissatisfaction is not only experienced by men - women also show disappointment or anger when men do not fulfil their role.

At family level, specific attention was given to the analysis of the interaction with other members of the household. These members are represented mainly by the family of origin of both, man and woman. According to the data, three particular aspects were found associated with partner violence: a) the isolation of women from their families; b) the structure of the household; c) the relationship of men and women with mothers and sisters in-law.

The conflict level was also explored. Findings showed that most of the conflicts that ended in violence were caused when a man committed an act that is considered by him and/or his female partner as a 'fault' and as a consequence she becomes annoyed. Also, it was found that although women participate actively in most of the fights, men are the main aggressors. In the interviews it was found that men avoid causing "serious" and "visible" physical damage to their partners. This suggests that in most cases the attack is rational and not an impulsive act. Two different responses to their own violence were found in men: those who downplay and justify their own violence, and those who condemn it.

Finally, the experience of non-violent men and the mechanisms they use to deal with conflict without using physical violence were also examined. In general, violent men are involved in more conflicts than non-violent, though non-violent also experienced conflict with their partners. Non-violent men presented better skills to resolve problems than violent did. However, in the conflicts of the former, verbal and emotional violence was reported in which the main aggressor was still the man. Most of the non-violent men mentioned that under no circumstance would they hit their partners. The education of their parents and the censure of the society were the most important reasons reported for not using physical violence.

At this point, all the dimensions considered in the conceptual framework for the study of IPV have been analysed. The next chapter attempts to integrate all the findings (Chapter 6 to Chapter 9) and also routes of intervention will be suggested.

Chapter 10

Discussion

The last chapter is divided into six main sections. In the first section, all the main findings coming from the three data sets analysed for this research are reviewed, summarised and integrated. In the second section, the main topics for the understanding of IPV according to this research are pulled together. This allowed a reconceptualisation of the framework used for the study of IPV. In the third section, typologies of violent and non-violent men are presented. In the fourth section, a final discussion of the thesis is presented. In the fifth section, the most important limitations of the research are displayed. Finally, in the last section some recommendations for possible interventions are suggested.

10.1 Integration

The objective of this section is to integrate the quantitative and qualitative findings presented in the last four chapters to further understand the possible ways in which intimate partner violence could be produced by the dimensions analysed in this thesis. The section is arranged considering the different levels of analysis emerging from the conceptual framework and the findings. These levels are: wider societal context; community, individual, relationship, and circumstances surrounding the violent events.

It is important to point out that the participants of the national survey and those who participated in the fieldwork represent the same population: “ordinary” male workers belonging to middle-low socio-economic status living in urban areas in Mexico. For this reason, the differences between the two sample universes are few and I assume that the integration of data is feasible for this research.

10.1.1 The wider societal context

Two dimensions that operate at the broader societal level to affect violence against women by their male partners were analysed in this research. These are: the culture of violence prevailing in the society and the dominant gender system.

Culture of violence

The Culture Violence Theory, established by Wolfgang et al. (1967), predicts that intimate partner violence is associated with the acceptance of the use of violence in general by the society.

There are few studies that have directly analysed this phenomenon. The work of Levinson (1989) gives only partial support for this theory. According to his work, it seems that spousal violence can be viewed as a form of conflict resolution that tends to occur more often in societies in which disputes between adults are often settled violently. But he also found that 'violent' societies are not necessarily more violent than 'peaceful' ones. The work of Levinson does not present a conclusive position, however the majority of literature reviewed found predictors associated with domestic violence which are part of the violent culture. For example, Heise (1998) and Jewkes (2002) integrate factors associated with the culture of violence into the conceptual frameworks they developed for the study of IPV, confirming the importance of these factors in IPV.

In Mexico, few studies have focused on the Culture of Violence Theory despite the fact that it is well known that the use of violence in general is a common occurrence (see Chapter 1). Even though this theory was included in the conceptual framework for this research it was not considered to be analysed in-depth because the primary focus was on the relationship and individual factors. However, issues pertaining to this theory emerged from the narratives of participants and proved essential to the understanding of IPV. These issues can be classified in three aspects: a) presence of violent communities affecting the life of male individuals; b) high acceptance of the use of violence against children; c) legitimising the use of violence against women (main results were presented in Chapter 8).

Considering the first aspect above, as mentioned in Chapter 1, historically in Mexico violence has often been used throughout many spheres in life. The presence of violent communities is part the culture of violence. The narratives found that violence is part of normal life of a middle-low income man in Mexico. These men were born, raised, and live in communities characterised by violent environments. Even though violence in the communities could reach serious and extreme levels, in most cases it is referred to as a

“normal” situation. Findings suggest that violence in general (including IPV) is more common in rural than in urban areas. However, this association could not be proved using quantitative data because surveys used for this study did not consider this aspect. However, the qualitative data showed that men with rural backgrounds or who had parents from a rural background commit more violence than those who come from an urban background.

At the community level, the interplay in the role of violence may occur because in a violent setting a man could develop high acceptance and tolerance to the use of violence because of the influence of other members of the community. Actually, the Social Learning Theory postulates that violence can be influenced or learned by a man from his neighbours or peers. Quantitative data from the factory-based survey showed that there is a significant association between IPV and presence of violent peers. However, the qualitative data did not find a direct association of IPV and peers. This result suggests that while these factors may influence each other, a man is inherently part of his community and in this way it is difficult to separate out these factors (cause and effect).

Regarding using violence against children, the qualitative results showed that the use of physical violence to educate children is an accepted behaviour in middle-lower to lower class Mexican communities. Quantitative findings, from both the national and the factory-based survey confirmed this situation. More than 55% of the male participants of the national survey and almost 70% of the factory-based participants mentioned that they received beatings by their parents during childhood. The approval of the use of violence against children as “normal” is observed in the quantitative and the qualitative analysis in which some participants do not associate the use of physical violence with mistreatment. Actually, some of them think that the prohibition of watching TV is a more serious punishment than the use of beatings.

In Mexico, the use of physical punishment in child rearing is sometimes considered necessary for the discipline of children. In addition, the threat of physical punishment may also be used as a deterrent to bad behaviour. According to qualitative and quantitative findings the acceptance of the use of violence against children is more common in rural and poor communities than in urban and less poor ones. Also, findings suggest that this acceptance is higher in elderly people than in young people because the beliefs about this phenomenon in the Mexican population are evolving.

The culture of violence against children appears to be interconnected with the use of violence against the partner. In both quantitative and qualitative findings a strong relationship between the violence experienced during childhood and intimate partner violence during adulthood was observed. In this case, it seems that the severity of the violence received during childhood is important to understand why men develop high tolerance to violence and why they downplay their own use of violence against their partners. Further explanation of this relationship is given in subsection 10.1.3.

The third important aspect of the culture of violence is the acceptance of the use of violence against women. Apparently, there is a social unacceptability of violence against women because this kind of violence is related to the idea of abuse and findings suggest that, in general, the idea of abuse is condemned by the Mexican society. However, in some situations the society accepts this kind of violence and this acceptance is associated with the gender patriarchal system ruling in the society. This is further explained in the next paragraphs.

Gender order

The second important dimension of the broader societal level is related to gender. In the last years, the interpretations of intimate partner violence frequently evolve in a gender perspective derived from the Patriarchal/Feminist Theory for domestic violence (see Chapter 2). According to this theory intimate partner violence results from cultural values, rules, and practices that allow and encourage patriarchal structures presenting men as superior to women and with control over them.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, in Mexico most studies of intimate partner violence base their conclusions on this perspective. Mexican studies (Finkler, 1997; Glantz et al., 1996; González-Montes, 1998; among others) have found that the main motives for men to beat their wives are associated with the gender ideology characterised by male supremacy that justifies the use of violence by men to maintain the power and dominance in their relationships. However, few studies in this setting have analysed the connections between gender norms at the macrosocial level and how this interplays with other factors at different levels associated with IPV.

In this study gender is a central concept for the understanding of IPV according to the conceptual framework. Following a feminist perspective it was assumed that violence occurs in a context of gender inequity in which men are the main aggressors of IPV. In particular, for the analysis of the macrosocial context (presented in Chapter 8 and mainly based on the qualitative work) it was established that in Mexico the socio-cultural dominant gender system is “patriarchal”, this means that there is a structural domination of women by men. Based on Connell’s work (2000) in my research gender was analysed considering the following dimensions: power relations, production relations, emotional relations and sexual relations. The symbolism was only briefly described. In all of these dimensions a predominance of hierarchical gender constructions where men have the dominion over women was observed. However, in recent decades urban Mexico has experienced important socio-cultural changes regarding societal norms about gender roles. As a consequence, some of these gender constructions have experienced a transformation that is reflected in the attitudes and beliefs of male and female individuals observed in the narratives of the in-depth interviews.

Both the hierarchical gender norms and the transitional ones caused by the process of transformation mentioned above, have an effect on the factors interconnected to partner violence against women. Male dominance in the society, violence as a part of male behaviour and the acceptance of the use of violence against women are important cultural dimensions for understanding IPV that have their main roots in the hierarchical gender system. These dimensions surround the individuals from childhood and are mainly internalised by them within the family of origin. For example, the cultural norm of male dominance over women (macrosocial level) is adopted by male individuals and reflected in their gender attitudes and beliefs (individual level). Patriarchal gender attitudes together with men’s beliefs could be the reason for serious problems of the dynamic within the couple (relationship level) that could trigger gender conflicts (conflict arena) and provoke violent situations. The most extreme case was presented by Informant V5 whose aggressive attitude against his partner had roots in the extreme patriarchal environment he has been involved in since childhood.

But also the transitional gender norms caused by the social change could generate conflicts in the relationship when these “new” norms affect the configuration of the masculine hierarchical identity. Diverse ways of “being a man” are constructed and are experienced by men. However, some of these forms provoke crisis in the relationship because they are

experienced by men and their partners with tension and contradiction. For example, there are those men who live their role as a husband and father giving attention and affection to their partner and children. But at the same time these men are demanded by their community (mainly peers) to continue the role as “a man”; going out, drinking alcohol, having extramarital sexual relationships and as a consequence neglecting their partners (more about the interconnection between gender norms and relationship dynamics is presented in subsection 10.1.4).

But gender does not only affect IPV at the relationship level. Several connections with other levels were observed in this thesis. For example, according to the qualitative results, at the community level the acceptance of the use of violence against women (one of the dimensions of the gender hierarchical system and the culture of violence) is reflected in the lack of social and legal sanctions for violent men and in the lack of social and legal support for women. Also, this acceptance plays an important role at the individual level in the cases in which men consider themselves to have the right to beat their intimate partners for disciplining when they think these women commit a transgression of the conservative female gender roles. And sometimes the community surrounding the couple allows and promotes the punishment or threat of punishment. In some cases, this acceptance is learned by men during their childhood when they witness violence committed by their fathers against any female individual living in the household (individual level).

Finally, the association of men with the use of violence is part of the masculine construction that has its roots in the gender hierarchical norms operating in the Mexican society. Also, this characteristic is learned by men during their childhood (individual level). In general, men develop more tolerance and acceptance of the use of violence than women and in some situations the use of violence is the main way for them to resolve conflicts. Quantitative and qualitative findings show that men are the main aggressors in most of the violent situations and also that they tend to downplay the severity of the violence they use. This was observed in various narratives when respondents spoke about violent episodes.

10.1.2 Community level

The following dimensions of the community were found essential for the understanding of IPV in this research. In order of importance these are: the family of origin, the sanctions for aggressors and the support for victims, and the influence of peers. Next, a description of the main findings is presented. In the conceptual framework proposed in this research the media was also considered. However, no quantitative data was collected about this issue and in the qualitative analysis this topic did not emerge.

The family of origin

Chapter 1 mentioned that in the international literature on domestic violence, the influence of social networks has been found important for the understanding of IPV. Among these social networks, in Mexico the family plays a crucial role in IPV because of its centrality in the Mexican culture. Some important authors (Fawcett et al., 1999; Finkler, 1997; and Malley-Morrison et al., 2003) confirm this.

Based on the above, among the community components, particular attention was given to the family of origin. The studies mentioned above are conducted under an anthropological perspective. My research can be regarded as pioneering work in the study of the community and IPV from a socio-demographic perspective.

Based on the qualitative analysis, three main issues were examined: the isolation of women by their families, the relationship of men and women with mothers and sisters-in-law, and the household composition. Regarding the first issue, in the Ecological Model presented by Heise (1998) is explicit in postulating that the isolation of women by their families is an important factor associated with IPV. In this research, qualitative findings showed that some women did not receive support from their families of origin, even when the relatives realised that they were victims of IPV. Therefore, in these cases the aggressors are not sanctioned by the families and they are allowed to commit violence against their partners. This lack of support is primarily based on gender patriarchal norms (macrosocial level) that determine that a man is uniquely in charge of the well-being of his wife and no one is authorised to interfere in their relationship.

This situation is an example of how natal families could play a negative role in the prevention of violent events. Another example of the negative role is when members of the family, mainly mothers and sisters-in-law, are directly involved in the conflicts of the couple. Unfortunately, from my study there are few quantitative data on this topic. The only question related to this topic was posed in the factory-based survey in which men were asked if they had problems with their in-laws. The descriptive results showed an association between the use of physical force against the partner and conflicts of men with their parents-in-law. Qualitative findings confirm this. However, also qualitative findings suggest that the worst situation is when a woman has problems with her mother-in-law. This is mainly because of the importance a male ascribes to his mother and because it is expected that a woman should treat her mother-in-law kindly, for example, by doing all the duties in the household. In contrast, if a woman gets along well with her in-laws, she could be protected by them from aggression by her male partner and he could suffer moral sanctions by his family. In this situation the family of origin could play an important role in the prevention of IPV.

In this study, the household composition was found important in the prevention of violent events as well. In her study, Finkler (1997) found that in Mexico, marital conflicts are more often mitigated in extended families than in nuclear families because of the presence of other members in the household. Data from the factory-based survey showed that half of the respondents lived in nuclear families and half in extended. The majority of those who lived in extended families shared the household with the man's parents. It was the group of men who lived with their in-laws which presented the lowest percentage of aggressors of physical violence against their partners. According our qualitative findings in most of the cases analysed the presence of members of the household inhibited a man from committing violence. And it was confirmed that this occurred more often when the couple lived with the woman's relatives. However, the man's relatives could prevent the use of violence as well. An example of this situation was mentioned in Chapter 9. Informant V2 mentioned that the first time he tried to beat his partner he was stopped by his father. Actually, he never beat his wife when they were living in his parents house, he did it later on when they were living alone.

Sanctions for aggressors and support for women

According to the Exchange Theory presented by Gelles (1983) the presence of active community intervention against partner violence could prevent violent behaviour because of the costs to the aggressors. In the paragraphs above it was mentioned that the family could play an important role in the protection or isolation of women. But the protection or isolation could come from the social and legal systems as well. For example, a woman who is isolated by society is more vulnerable to the attacks of her partner because there are no sanctions against him. The lack of social and legal sanctions for violent men and the lack of social and legal support for women were components at the community level that were considered within the conceptual framework, however not thoroughly analysed in the quantitative work of this research. Due to the sensitive nature of this research it proved difficult to question the workers on this topic. I consider that perhaps a male focused study is not the best appropriate to understand this issue. However, some of their narratives and informal interviews with service providers (see first phase of the qualitative component in Chapter 4) offered signs of the importance of these social and legal components in Mexico.

For example, it was found that the services for prevention and attention to victims of partner violence are scarce, there is little publicity of the services, and resources of some centres of support are not adequate to help people living through a dramatic situation. Also, findings suggest that a female victim of violence could find several barriers (such as to deal with service providers who are not trained or with the opposition of relatives) upon her seeking assistance. These situations, which have their main roots in the acceptance of the use of violence against women (macrosocial level), provoke vulnerability of victims and impunity on aggressors.

It seems that the legal system could play an important role in the case of impunity or the costs for an individual who commits violence. Qualitative findings showed that some men have not committed violence or have stopped the use of violence against their partners because of the fear that legal actions could be taken against them. In this research only a few men reported that legal action prevented them from committing violence. I postulate that few men felt laws were a barrier to violence as the laws for domestic violence in Mexico are ineffectual and rarely enforced. For example, there are no laws as yet that oblige aggressors of domestic violence to follow a rehabilitation programme. If the laws

concerning violence were effective more men may not perpetrate violence due to the fear of legal actions against them.

Peers

In the Mexican literature reviewed there were no studies found analysing peer influence, even though in Mexico, some studies have shown that among Mexican male youth, peer leaders could have great influence on other members of the community (Marston, 2001). As mentioned in the subsection 10.1.1, quantitative findings suggest that the acceptance of the use of violence could be generated because of the influence of other members of the community such as peers. However, as described earlier, I suggest that this may be an association of cause-effect, i.e., probably the respondent is a violent peer himself belonging to the same peer group.

If a particular group values hierarchical gender roles it is probably due the values and beliefs of each of the individuals within the group; i.e., the influence individuals and group could be reciprocal. In the case of violence, if a group of men value hierarchical gender roles highly, this may encourage an individual man who belongs to the same group to *no dejarse* of their partners (see Chapter 8). The interaction with other peers is particularly important among young men. Therefore, to obtain or maintain the status among male peers, perhaps a young man has to show his position of power over women, even if this means the use of violence against his partner.

10.1.3 Individual level

I divide this subsection in the three most important aspects that were found associated with IPV at individual level in this research: the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the individual man; violent experiences during childhood; and attitudes and beliefs about gender.

Socio-economic and demographic characteristics

For this research, the socio-economic and demographic factors associated with IPV are conceptualised and analysed at an individual level; however, it is recognised that these factors also interact at other social levels. Qualitative and quantitative findings suggest that the life cycle of the individual and his socio-economic status are important for the understanding of IPV.

Life cycle: According to the quantitative findings from the national survey men's age is the most significant variable associated with partner violence. Specifically, it was found that those who are young are more at risk of being violent and the likelihood of risk decreases when the age of the individual increases. In the multivariate analysis of the factory-based survey data it was not found that age was the most significant variable associated with partner violence. However, this factor did show a statistically significant association with IPV, confirming its importance. Besides, both the national survey and the factory-based survey showed that the early stage of the relationship is when the couple is more vulnerable to IPV (relationship level). For example, in the national survey it was found that those men who have little children are more prone to be involved in IPV than other men. And the factory-based survey showed that almost 50% of respondents were first violent at the beginning of the relationship.

Qualitative findings and conceptual theories presented in Chapter 2 are used to understand why there is a higher propensity for intimate partner violence at the early age of the individual and the early stage of the relationship. Some explanations are suggested here. First, The Resource Theory indicates that men with fewer resources are more likely to use violence than men with more resources. The qualitative analysis suggests that young men at the beginning of the relationship have few resources and this situation makes interaction with his partner more difficult. For example, a young man has more economic difficulties for settling down with a partner which means that they may live this period with more tension and stress that could generate conflicts with the couple and violent situations. Also, normally young men present lack of interaction skills (relationship level) because the lack of experience of dealing with conflicts with a partner.

Second, Bonding Theory suggests that there is more violence when bonds between the couple are weak. In this case, qualitative findings show that some men get married without

showing affection and commitment for their partner and this lack of affection and commitment (relationship level) could play an important role in the decision to commit aggression against the partner or not. Apparently, men who get married very young are more frequently in this situation than those who get married later in life. Qualitative findings also suggest that a man's attachment to his partner – in this case the attachment represented by affection and commitment – could prevent violent events.

Third, the beginning of a relationship is when the individuals focus most of their attention on the partner (relationship level); i.e., it is at this stage when both members of the couple have more expectations of each other. Most of these expectations are based on gender roles. However, strong conflicts in the relationship could be produced when these expectations are not fulfilled. For example, a common situation among young married men is that they show difficulties in the adaptation to living with a partner. Therefore, they also find difficulties in giving attention to their partners. Sometimes women feel neglected and disappointed because their partners are not fulfilling their expectations. This situation could provoke conflicts (conflict arena) that may end in violence.

The life cycle of an individual is a variable that was conceptualised at the individual level. However, the possible explanation of this variable with IPV relies on the relationship dynamics among the couple, i.e., at the relationship level.

Socio-economic status: A corollary of the Resource Theory is that poor men have few resources and that could produce stress and conflicts. In Chapter 1 was mentioned that the few studies (Alvarado et al., 1998; Granados et al., 1998; among others) that have been done in Mexico covering this aspect suggest that there is more violence among those who belong to low socio-economic status groups such as the indigenous groups.

In this research, this factor was only briefly analysed because the study population is quite homogeneous in terms of socio-economic status. For example, in the factory-based survey no significant association was found between any of the variables representing this issue and IPV. The analysis of the national survey showed that the only socio-economic variable which had a statistically significant association with IPV was educational level. Those who have a low educational level are more at risk of becoming violent against their partners than those who have a high level. In the qualitative analysis it was found that the use of violence in general, the use of violence against women, and unequal gender relationships

are more accepted in rural settings than in urban. Apparently, the cultural context involving rural communities is characterised by, among other issues, a culture of high acceptance of the use of violence and extreme gender patriarchal system.

In this research no conclusive evidence can be given regarding the relationship between low socio-economic status and intimate partner violence. However, based on quantitative and qualitative findings it seems that to belong to a rural background and to have a low educational level are factors associated with IPV.

Violent experiences during childhood

According to the Social Learning Theory applied for domestic violence (O'Leary, 1988), violence is conceptualised as a behaviour that is mainly learned during childhood within the family of origin. The main hypothesis coming from this theory is that men who experience violence in their family of origin may have learned a model of conflict resolution that involves violence being used during adulthood against their partner.

The reviewed studies in the Mexican literature have not analysed this phenomenon. However, violent experiences during childhood are contemplated at an individual level in the conceptual framework proposed for this study. This research not only explored an existing association of the experience of violence during childhood and IPV, it also explored particular features of violent experiences in the birth family that can be determinants in the development of aggressive behaviour against a partner.

The quantitative findings from the national survey suggest that the use of beatings against children by their parents has no statistically significant association with IPV. However, the perception of men about how they experienced the violence they suffered during their childhood was associated. This perception was focused on whether respondents considered they were mistreated or not during childhood. According to the analysis, those who reported mistreatment were more prone to being involved in IPV than those who did not consider themselves to have been mistreated. At a first level of analysis this suggests that the intergenerational transmission of violence is more related to an individual's perception of how he experienced the events than to the event itself.

How could this quantitative finding be explained? Based on the qualitative work, I hypothesise that the perception of mistreatment is associated with the concept of abuse; i.e., an individual who considers he experienced mistreatment is due to the fact that he also considers he suffered abuse when he was beaten. And the next question is: when did an individual consider he was abused? According to the qualitative work in Mexico there is a kind of acceptable corporal punishment against children that is not considered to be abuse and therefore is condoned by society (macrosocial level). This acceptance or not depends mainly on the severity of the beatings. For example, hits with the open hand and a few hits using a belt were identified as acceptable forms of discipline and not as violent abusive episodes. While respondents considered violence severe when it included punches, kicks, weapons, among others, resulting in physical injuries.

Therefore, according to this hypothesis those who suffered severe violence are the ones who are most at risk of becoming aggressors against their partners. Based on the qualitative findings presented in Chapter 9, I suggest that these men, because of the high levels of beatings received, develop a high acceptance and tolerance of the use of violence. For example, those who received several beatings with weapons would then consider a slap as something “soft”. The importance of the severity of violence suffered during childhood and IPV was confirmed in quantitative results from the factory-based survey. It was found that when a man suffered from more severe violence in childhood he had a greater propensity to perpetrate violence against his partner. For example, in the final model of the multivariate analysis (Table 7.11) it was observed that those who received severe violence had odds of committing IPV 2.7 times higher than those who did not receive violence.

Quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that the experience of severe violence during childhood as a victim is the most important aspect of the childhood association with IPV. However, both quantitative and qualitative analysis also suggests that there are other aspects that may be important. For example, the acceptance and use of violence against women could be learned by a man during his childhood, mainly when he was witness to his father’s violence against his mother and his sisters. In the analyses of the narratives of the individuals, it was observed that most of the violence committed by the father against the female relatives of the household had its roots in gender patriarchal norms (macrosocial level). Normally, according to the narratives most of violent respondents reported that their fathers were violent against their mothers and the majority against their children as well. Additionally, these fathers showed strong hierarchical gender attitudes and beliefs. In

general, due to the importance of the role of the father in the household, apparently the position of the father in relation to the use of violence against women is central for the conditioning of the individual to the use or non-use of violence against women.

Gender attitudes and beliefs

The gender norms (macrosocial level) operating in society are reflected in the attitudes and beliefs of the individuals at individual level. In the qualitative analysis presented in Chapter 8, the respondents were classified according to their gender attitudes and beliefs in terms of power relations, production relations, and emotional relations. Each classification had three categories: hierarchical, transitional and egalitarian.

Two main results emerged from this analysis. The first one is that men live their masculinity and their gender relations in heterogeneous ways. Both violent and non-violent men present hierarchical attitudes and beliefs with respect to gender relations. However, violent men are more commonly represented by the hierarchical category. The descriptive analysis of the quantitative factory-based survey suggests that the proportion of violent men is higher in those who present strong hierarchical gender beliefs than in those who do not. Almost 20% of those who were classified with strong hierarchical gender beliefs had been involved in IPV in the last 12 months whereas this percentage dropped to around 10% when compared with those who were classified with no strong hierarchical gender beliefs.

The second result was that hierarchical and transitional attitudes and beliefs are commonly observed mainly in the power relations, production relations and sexual relations and more egalitarian in the emotional relations. These attitudes and beliefs of the male individual are important because each man “brings” them to the relationship and they influence the couple’s dynamic. According to this result, apparently it is in the dimension of emotional relations where less conflicts are provoked by men’s gender attitudes and beliefs. In contrast, the sexual relations dimension is probably where more serious conflicts are provoked by men’s hierarchical gender attitudes and beliefs.

10.1.4 Relationship level

According to the conceptual framework developed for this research, special attention was given to relationship dynamics. Based on quantitative and qualitative findings, I divide this subsection in two issues that were found important for the understanding of IPV at relationship level: a) gender dynamics of the couple; and b) the interaction characteristics between the partners.

Gender dynamics of the couple

Gender dynamics of the couple was found to be the most important component for the understanding of IPV at the relationship level. Most of the previous studies carried out in Mexico have documented that IPV is caused by the dynamic of control and power within the relationship involved in a gender inequity dimension favourable to men. However few studies have explored in detail how the gender dynamics interact in the development of violent behaviour.

As mentioned before, the gender order operating in wider Mexican society (macrosocial level) is clearly interconnected with the gender dynamics that operate at the relationship level. And the association of gender dynamics with intimate partner violence is basically based on the Patriarchal/Feminist Theory that establishes that the relationship between women and men is institutionalised in the structure of the patriarchal family (Dobash et al., 1979).

Through integrating quantitative and qualitative findings three main issues of the gender dynamics of the couple were found that were linked to the use of violence against a partner: a) control and power in the relationship; b) control of women's sexuality; and c) gender role expectations.

Control and power in the relationship: Based on the qualitative work I divide this topic in two subtopics: a) when women dispute the control and power of the relationship; and b) extreme cases of male dominance and female subordination. Because of the gender system ruling Mexican society, the dynamics of the relationship are characterised by the dominion of the man. Men are considered the head of the household. Also, they must be the main

breadwinners and this role legitimises their right to exert control over the relationship. However, in some situations the woman is more assertive in the dispute of the power and this dispute can lead to severe conflicts. Quantitative findings confirm this pattern. Results of the factory-based survey analysis revealed that the variable showing the strongest association with partner violence was whether the man felt that his female partner wanted to dominate him. Those who considered that their partners wanted to dominate them showed 3.41 higher odds than those who did not.

Narratives showed that the control of wealth is the space in which women most often challenge the dominion of men. Evidently, women who earn a salary are those who participate more in this challenge and as a consequence are those who are most at risk of suffering violence from their partners. The quantitative analysis of the national survey showed that the participation of women in the labour force was a variable significantly statistically associated with IPV even having controlled for any other factors. Furthermore, in the same quantitative analysis this factor was found to be associated with severely violent cases. This result confirms the findings presented by Oliveira et al. (1994) who found that the most serious cases of domestic violence are among families where women are responsible for the economic support of the Mexican households (see Chapter 1).

The second issue refers to those cases in which there is an extremely unequal gender relationship between a man and woman. In the qualitative analysis it was found that there are some violent men who have the absolute domination of the relationship. In these cases, men use violence to exert total control even though women do not dispute this control. In most of these cases, the violence is perpetrated solely by men and most of the time the participation of women in the fights is only as a receiver of violence. This type of extreme case is probably the most analysed issue of domestic violence from the feminist literature on domestic violence. The majority of studies following this approach have rested heavily on qualitative documentation of women's experiences collected in shelters, police stations, or hospitals, capturing primarily the most extreme cases of intimate partner violence. In contrast, in this study only a few cases (three participants from the qualitative phase) were classified as extreme. Maybe this is because the study population is only limited to workers who have got steady jobs and hence, do not belong to groups that are representative of the extreme cases.

Control of women's sexuality: According to the gender system in Mexico, women must show sexual reserve and passivity (Chapter 8). The current gender hierarchical norms condemn active participation of women in sexual conduct. This condemnation is sometimes reflected in the license given to men to beat their wives if the latter are transgressors of these norms. The last section mentioned that qualitative findings presented in Chapter 8 showed that sexual relations is one of the dimensions of the gender order in which men present gender hierarchical attitudes and beliefs (individual level). Some of those men who "bring" these gender hierarchical attitudes and beliefs to the relationship commit violence when they do not consider they have the total control of their female partner's body. Based on the qualitative findings I suggest that there are three main issues that could cause a man to beat his partner: a) when the woman interacts with other men; b) when the woman has sexual relationships before the marriage; and c) when the woman does not sexually satisfy her partner.

About the first issue, qualitative findings show that the interaction of a woman with a man who is not her partner could provoke a serious conflict, even if this man is only a male friend. In general, men believed that their partners must be extremely reserved in front of other men otherwise the partners would not be respectful. According to some men, if their wives do not fulfil this expectancy they deserve to be punished. In these situations these men consider that they have the right to punish their partners even using beatings. This form of control of women's bodies is reflected in the jealousy on the part of men towards women. Actually, jealousy is one of the most common conflicts that trigger violent events (conflict arena). According to the quantitative findings from both the national and the factory-based survey, jealousy is the most commonly mentioned conflict associated with violence. Also, the factory-based survey analysis showed that those who consider themselves very jealous are more at risk of committing violence against their partners than those who consider themselves reasonable or not jealous at all.

Considering the sexual relationships before the marriage, qualitative findings showed that men have double standards beliefs about premarital sexual relationships with regard to women. They normally give positive value to women's virginity. Qualitative findings showed that those who said their partners had premarital sexual relationships with another man before marriage admitted to still being upset about the situation. But this situation not only occurs if the woman had premarital sexual relationships with other men. It also occurred if the woman had sexual premarital relationships only with her current partner. A

common characteristic of the masculine gender construction is the active sexual behaviour. Sometimes men, with the aim of fulfilling this characteristic, push their partners to have sexual relationships before marriage. Contradictorily, they could become upset if their partners agree to have sex with them because at the moment the woman says 'yes' she is losing her worthiness as a woman according to the social gender norms.

Confirming this situation, the national survey analysis of the variable 'having sex before living together' considered the two aspects: if the man had sexual relationships with his current partner before living together and also his opinion about whether women should or should not have premarital sexual relationships. This variable showed statistically significant association with IPV, even after controlling for any other factors considered in the analysis. The results showed that those who disapprove of premarital sexual relations for women but who had sex with their partners before marriage (i.e., they did not demonstrate "coherence" of their beliefs with their behaviours) present the highest probability to commit violence against their partners compared to those who did not have sex with their partners before marriage and also with those who had sex but they said they approve premarital sexual relations for women.

Apparently, according to the qualitative findings, the sexual satisfaction of the man with his partner is the one aspect of the control of women's sexuality least related to IPV. However, the quantitative findings from the national survey showed that the variable 'reaction to sex refusal' that measures the reaction of men when their partners refuse to have sex with them was highly associated with IPV in the expected direction, i.e., those who become annoyed because their partners refuse to have sex with them (one in four men) are more prone to commit violence than those men whose partners have never refused and than those men who do not become annoyed. Bivariate analysis from the factory-based survey shows a similar pattern. In this case, the variable analysed measured the satisfaction of men with the sexual life of his partner. The proportion of men involved in IPV is much higher in those men who mentioned that they are not satisfied than those who said they are satisfied. Nevertheless, it is important to say that the first group of men only represented 4% of the respondents. Qualitative findings showed only a few cases in which the reasons for the beatings were the non-sexual satisfaction or the refusal to have sexual interaction. However, these few cases were men who represented those who have very strong hierarchical gender beliefs (individual level).

Gender expectancies: The expectations that a man and a woman have of each other normally arise from gender norms regarding the roles of men and women (macrosocial level). The non-fulfilment of these roles can generate marital dissatisfaction and conflicts that end in violence. Actually, most of the immediate situations surrounding a violent event (conflict arena) are caused by unfulfilled gender roles. Based on the qualitative analysis presented in Chapter 9, I classify this topic in two: when the woman does not fulfil the role and when it is the man who does not. Most of the literature on this topic has focused mainly on women's unfulfilled roles, however the analysis of the narratives of men from this study allow detailed exploration of scenarios when men do not fulfil their roles.

In the qualitative analysis it was found that the non-fulfilment of some gender roles by women could generate men's anger and violence. Men, based on their gender hierarchical beliefs (individual level), could think that they have the right to beat their partners because they are not "behaving well". In this case, men commit violence for purposes of discipline as mentioned in Chapter 8. Qualitative findings show that the main roles that men expect their partners to fulfil which generate conflicts are: taking adequate care of the home and children, not working outside of the home, and having a submissive, affective and obedient behaviour.⁶⁰ It has already been mentioned that quantitative findings showed an association between the participation of women in the labour force and IPV. Another quantitative finding – from the factory-based survey – was that almost 25% of those men who considered that their partners were not good at household duties have perpetrated violent episodes (versus 10% of those who considered their partners are good).

The non-fulfilment of gender roles by men can also provoke serious conflicts in the relationship. In the qualitative analysis it was found that men's partners could become extremely upset when men did not fulfil expectancies. The open demonstration of women's disapproval of their partners' unfulfilled roles could end in violence. In some of these situations men consider their partners to have started the dispute and that they have to commit violence to defend themselves against the attack. According to the qualitative findings, the main roles which are unfulfilled by men as viewed by their partners are: giving money to their families instead of spending money with peers for fun, giving emotional attention to their families, having a strong personality, and not having extramarital sexual relationships. About the latter role, quantitative findings from the

⁶⁰ I do not mention in this part the roles of women's sexuality (there are also gender roles that are expected to be fulfilled by men) because they have been already mentioned.

factory-based survey confirm that men who have had sexual intercourse with other partners during their current union are more at risk of committing violence than those who have not.

As mentioned in Chapter 8, Mexican men are expected by society to fulfil conservative gender roles such as being the main economic provider or having a strong personality. However, at present, as a result of the social change in gender norms that are occurring in Mexico, men are also expected to fulfil “modern” gender masculine roles such as being faithful and giving affective attention to their families. Findings from this research suggest that the non-fulfilment of these “modern” gender masculine roles are also reason for conflicts which result in partner violence. In the quantitative results from the national survey it was found that ‘decision-making on free time’ was a variable significantly associated with IPV. I suggest that the dispute between partners of how to spend free time is mainly a dispute which arises when women feel their needs are not being met when men prefer to go out with peers rather than to stay home with their families. It seems that this dispute is a suitable space for the struggle for power within the relationship and in consequence for the development of conflicts.

The interaction characteristics between the partners

The General Systems Theory considers that the analysis of the interaction between spouses is necessary for the understanding of IPV. Based on the Theory of Sexual Interaction, the conceptual framework developed for this research postulates that interactional competencies such as communication ability, affinity between partners, negotiation skills, decision-making ability, respect and care of the partner, among others are important aspects of the relationship levels. In this research, particular attention was paid to these interaction characteristics because of their possible association with violence against the partner. Findings from this research suggest that these characteristics are important, however, gender dynamics appeared to be the crucial dimension for understanding IPV at relationship level.

The level of commitment and affection to the partner and the communication between the couple were apparently the most important elements of the interaction. Qualitative findings showed that commitment and affection facilitate the development of particular skills of

interaction to resolve conflicts such as tolerance, expression of desires, flexibility, reflexivity, respect, among others. It was mentioned before that the reason a couple gets married plays an important role in the development of commitment and affection between them.

About communication, this element also plays an important role in the relationship dynamics. Some authors in Mexico (for example, Granados et al., 1998) have mentioned that a couple's communication is an essential factor in the prevention of IPV. In the qualitative findings presented in Chapter 9, lack of communication was identified by men as a characteristic of bad interaction and good communication as a formula to deal with conflicts. In the analysis of the factory-based survey, data indicated that only around 10% of those men who reported they talked very often with their partners about their day were involved in IPV whereas this percentage rose to 17% for those who considered they only talked sometimes or never with their partners. This result suggests that those couples who have good communication about everyday life are less at risk to be involved in IPV than those couples who have poor communication. However, after controlling for other factors such as 'he feels she wants to dominate him', communication lost significance suggesting that the lack of communication is derived from problems originated by the struggle for power and control of the relationship that belong primarily to gender dynamics. Also, the lack of communication could be caused by the misinterpretation by men of female actions. Maybe a man could consider his partner wants to dominate him only because she is not fulfilling his gender expectations. This result also suggests that the interaction characteristics between the partners is dependent upon the gender dynamics of the couple. Clearly both men and women participate in the interaction and development of IPV. However, based on the findings and previous literature (Dobash et al., 2000; Hearn, 1996; Heise et al., 1999), I suggest that the characteristics of men are more crucial than the characteristics of women for the understanding of IPV at the relationship level.

10.1.5 Circumstances surrounding IPV

I divide this subsection in two parts that are important for the understanding of intimate partner violence: a) conflict arena; and b) specific conditions surrounding the violent events.

Conflict arena

Conflict arena refers mainly to the immediate situations that provoke the conflict. Why the existence of a conflict arena? Most of the violent situations analysed in this research are preceded by a conflict. In the Ecological Model, Heise (1998) named this component marital conflict and she situated it at the relationship level. In the framework developed for this research a particular layer was established for representing this dimension because it was considered important to examine in detail the specific conflict events that triggered violent reactions.

According to the qualitative findings I divided the main conflicts that generate the use of physical violence in two: a) when men are “responsible” for the conflict and b) when women are “responsible” for the conflict. The first refers mainly to those cases when the woman is the one who becomes angry because of a ‘fault’ committed by her partner. In these situations normally these ‘faults’ are associated with the non-fulfilment of gender expectations. The most common ‘faults’ of men that generate violent conflicts are: unfaithfulness, failure as economic provider, going out with peers, and drinking too much alcohol. Most of these situations have already been analysed as part of the relationship dynamics (see subsection 10.1.4). Based on the narratives of men I consider that in most of these cases violence perpetrated by men can be classified by using violence as ‘defence’. They considered that they had been offended and therefore had to answer otherwise they would be *dejados* (see Chapter 8).

The second case refers mainly to those cases when the man is the one who becomes angry because of a ‘fault’ committed by his partner. Similar to the last case, in these situations normally these ‘faults’ are associated with the non-fulfilment of female gender expectations. The most common ‘faults’ of women that generate violent reaction by their male partners are: any kind of interaction with other men, failure in household duties, and the refusal to have sex with the partner. Similar to the previous case, most of these situations have already been analysed as part of the relationship dynamics (see subsection 10.1.4). In these cases I consider that violent reactions by men can be classified by using violence to exert discipline, that it is associated with the right of men to punish women when they are deemed to “deserve” it (see Chapter 8).

Quantitative findings confirm that these situations are associated with IPV. For example, results from both surveys show that participants mentioned that jealousy was the main reason for conflicts with their partners that ended in violence. The capacity of doing household duties and the refusal to have sexual intercourse are other variables that were found to be associated with IPV according to the quantitative results.

Specific conditions surrounding the violent events

This part attempts to answer questions such as: When did the violent episode occur? where? who was the main aggressor? was the violence severe? what was the attitude of men about their own violence? and were the violent episodes a rational or irrational act?

About the first question, quantitative and qualitative information confirms that the beginning of the relationship is when there is more risk of violence among couples. Also, both quantitative and qualitative suggest that some of these acts took place during the pregnancy of the first child. I hypothesised that the conflicts of the couple originated by the unfaithfulness of men during the pregnancy stage of their partners as one of the main causes of violence during pregnancy.

About where the violent episodes occur, the qualitative narratives showed that most of the events took place in private spaces, mainly within the household. This finding also confirms that other members of the family could prevent violent events, and therefore there is less risk of violence in extended households.

In analysing the narratives it was found that in almost all the cases of physical violence, men were the main aggressors and their participation in the fights was much more aggressive than their partners' participation. However, both qualitative and quantitative analysis suggests that men consider that women have an active participation in most of the fights. For example in the factory-based survey it was found that 36% of men said that their partners initiated the conflict. It is not specified if this initiation was verbally or physically. But qualitative data suggest that it is usually just verbally.

About the severity of the violence, according to the national survey of those men who report violence 60% committed severe violence. For this analysis severe cases were

considered those where the violence is frequent and/or somebody suffered injuries (see Chapter 6). Obviously most of the injuries are suffered by the woman. A wide range of forms of violence were found in the narratives, from pushes and slaps to an attempt to kill. Suffocation, pain, bleeding and bruises are some of the physical health consequences found according to the qualitative analysis, even though few men openly admit that their partners suffered injuries because of their attack. The qualitative information suggests that most men downplay and justify their action. They also downplay the severity of the violence and, therefore, they also downplay the consequences of the acts. There are only a few of them who explicitly consider that the violence they committed against their partners was an incorrect behaviour.

Finally, the qualitative information suggests that most of the time the violent aggression is rationalised by the individual. For example, they reflect on whether there is a 'suitable' situation for the aggression, they also think about what part of the body is better for hitting or when it is better to stop the violence. This evidence suggests that there is often a moment of reflection before they commit the assault. In this way, my findings support the idea that violence against the partner is a rational act and not an "irrational" and "explosive" act.

10.2 Pulling the pieces together

The aim of this section is to interconnect all the components of the different levels in order to describe and to explain the possible connections in which different components affect intimate partner violence. A comparison of the main findings with the broader literature is presented as well. For the integration of the components measured at different levels a multidimensional model is constructed. This new model is based on the main quantitative and qualitative results emerging from this research and it is an attempt to reconceptualise intimate partner violence in the Mexican context. However, it may be applicable in other contexts as well.

A graphical representation of this new framework is presented in Figure 10.1. The structure of this model is based on the model presented in Chapter 3 that was used as the guiding theoretical framework for this research. However, compared to the starting model, this new model presents three main differences. The first one is that the new model is more

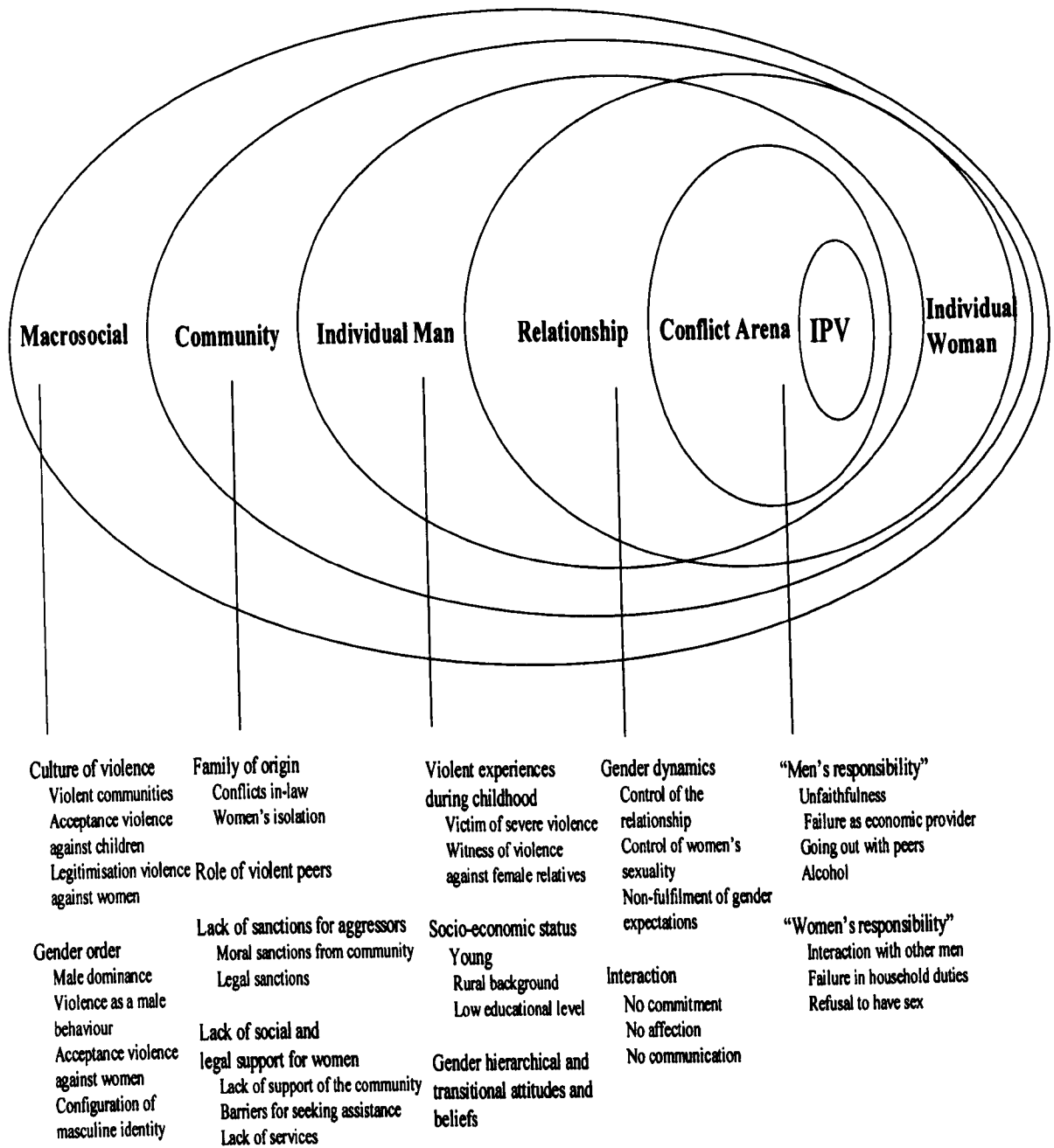
detailed than the other one. For example, specific factors interplaying to affect the use or non-use of violence against the partner are described. These factors are organised in the same levels of analysis than those used in the starting model, however, in this new framework these factors are categorised in themes or are also called “dimensions”. For example, the culture of violence is a dimension of the macrosocial context and violent communities, the acceptance of violence against children, and the acceptance of violence against women are factors representing this dimension. Also, this second model included “new” factors that were found important for the understanding of IPV such as to be a victim of severe violence (at the individual level) or the moral sanctions from the community for aggressors of IPV (at the community level).

The second difference is that, at the individual level, this new model concentrates on the man’s side. These factors include physical aggression and men as the actors primarily responsible for violent situations. Because the main focus is on the physical violence of men, factors associated with men at the individual level are essential for the understanding of IPV. In stating this, I do not intend to imply the denial of women’s roles, only that in this research the role of women is analysed through men’s perspectives at different levels and mainly within the relationship dynamics. For example, her challenges to conservative roles and how this affects IPV.

The third main difference is, precisely, at relationship level. In the first model, this level of analysis was more focused on the interaction of the relationship. In the new model, only those factors of the interaction which were found highly related to IPV were presented (commitment of the members of the couple, affection, and communication); in contrast, the relationship level was mainly centred in the gender dynamics.

In general, the components that are represented in this model and the interconnection of their factors at different levels have already been described and analysed in the last section of this chapter. As mentioned before, the structure of this model is based on the previous one. The graphic circles represent the social levels that have been analysed: macrosocial, community, individual man, relationship and conflict arena.

Figure 10.1
Revised conceptual framework resulting from the
main findings of the research



Many of the factors operating in the model are interconnected and there is reciprocity of interaction between them at different levels. This interaction of factors develops pathways that influence the generation of intimate partner violence. Following, it is explained how the main factors that produce intimate partner violence interplay between each other.

First, it was mentioned that the culture of violence is one of the two main dimensions of the macrosocial level that are essential for the understanding of IPV. This confirms the findings of several authors (Abrahams et al., 1999; Jewkes, 2002; Krug et al., 2002a; Levison, 1989) who have found that IPV is more common in places where violence is usual for conflict resolution.

According to qualitative results one of the main components of this culture of violence in Mexico that explains IPV is the acceptance of violence against children. The cultural norm (macrosocial level) provokes that the use of physical violence is a common way to educate and punish children. Therefore, commonly children in Mexico suffer from physical punishment by their parents. As mentioned previously, through this thesis the well-known idea of association between suffering violence during childhood and subsequent use of violence during adulthood is presented. This phenomenon has been documented in several settings; however, in North America extensive literature exists related to the topic focusing on men (Alksnis et al., 1995; Dutton et al., 1993; among others). According to Kurst-Swanger et al. (2003) the use and encouragement of severe physically punitive child-rearing practices has its roots in biblical interpretation. Kurst-Swanger et al. (2003) say that Greven (1991) cites more than 2,000 years of physical violence against children, which is rationalised based on the Bible. For many Christians corporal punishment is a necessary function of parenting.

In Mexico, most children of middle-low to low socio-economic status have suffered from violence. So, a theoretical question pointed out by WHO (Krug et al., 2002a) is what distinguishes those men who are able to be non-violent against their partners despite childhood adversity, from those who are violent? Is there then a particular feature in the childhood experience that causes or prevents violence during adulthood? According to my results, both quantitative and qualitative data suggest that it is the severity of violence received (individual level). This result is similar to the one found by Ney (1992) who stated that some types of violence are more likely than others to be learned depending on the type of abuse.

I suggest that these men who received severe beatings as a child then develop a high tolerance to the use of violence in adulthood. This is the case of various informants who learned to use violence to resolve conflicts and as a result developed high tolerance to the use of violence. This is mainly reflected during the relationship dynamics (relationship level) when men use violence as conflict resolution with their partners (conflict arena). The use of violence is the main and maybe the unique way in which they have learned to resolve conflicts. And in this way, they downplay the violence committed against their partners. An example of the way several participants downplayed their use of violence is illustrated in their narratives by the use of the term: “*I only...*”. This is a consequence of the intense violence they have experienced in their lives.

Second, the acceptance of the use of violence against women is a dimension that corresponds to both the culture of violence and the gender norms within the society (macrosocial level). This acceptance corresponds to the gender norms in the following way: The use of violence is a form of discipline. As mentioned in Chapter 8, a gender patriarchal role is the ideology which violent men adopt to legitimise the “discipline” of women. The use of violence is not totally condemned when it is perceived that men have the right to “discipline” women when they deserve it. According to WHO, in traditional societies, wife beating is largely regarded as a consequence of a man’s right to commit physical punishment on his partner (Krug et al., 2002a). When do women deserve it? According to male respondents, within relationship dynamics (relationship level), women deserve discipline generally when they challenge the conservative gender roles. As Fuller (2001) establishes, men legitimate their aggression to restore order. They admit to the use of violence denying its ‘immoral’ character (Eisikovits et al., 1999). In their justification, violent men present themselves as a part of the mainstream normative structure, which is based on patriarchal norms. These accounts of the use of violence used by men are themselves usually examples of the patriarchal domination (Hearn, 1998).

Based on the qualitative results, I suggest that this acceptance is learned by men mainly during childhood when they witness violence perpetrated by their fathers against their mothers and sisters (individual level). I suggest that this learning is an important result for IPV because some men who observed their fathers commit violence against their mothers learned that this phenomenon is authorised in some circumstances, even though most of them disapproved of this violence in their narratives. Men learned in the households that

violence against women is not a proper behaviour; however, some of them also learned that this behaviour could sometimes be justified (Barker, 1998).

Also, violence - or at least the most severe violence - within the family is many times perpetrated by a male figure, consequently, men grow up identifying violence as a male behaviour. As a result, this acceptance is transferred from one generation to the next provoking a vicious cycle that generates and perpetuates violence. The quantitative work suggests that to be a witness of violence is an important variable associated with IPV even though it is not as significant as being a victim of severe violence. This result, about the cycle of violence, confirms the findings of other important studies such Abrahams et al. (1999), Ehrensaft et al. (2003), Hotaling et al. (1986), and Rosenbaum et al. (1981).

The community plays a significant role in the condemnation of the use of violence against women (community level). And in this case the family, as an essential part of the community, plays the most important role. The WHO report states that how a community responds to IPV may affect the overall levels of abuse in that community (Krug et al., 2002a). The participation of the family is vital to the prevention of violent events because they can condemn it and produce social and moral sanctions to aggressors. According to Jewkes (2002) in studies in several countries, good social support was shown to possibly be protective against IPV. Social support, especially from a woman's family, may indicate that she is valued and that she has more respect and power (Jewkes, 2002).

The perception of the severity of abuse and the reasons for abuse proved to be a key element in the approval or disapproval of violence within the family environment. As mentioned in Chapter 8, violence is socially unacceptable when it was perceived as abusive. Njovana et al. (1996) observe that, in general, it is unlikely that extremes of violence are tolerated by the communities. This disapproval of violence because is perceived as abuse has been also stated by Jewkes (2002). This author mentions that many societies disapprove the use of physical violence against women if this violence exceeds certain boundaries of severity. However, in these settings, so long as boundaries are not crossed, the social cost of physical violence is low (Jewkes, 2002).

WHO states that complacency encourages violence and that only if a man becoming too violent will others intervene (Krug et al., 2002). The acceptance is reflected in the lack of care the family ascribes to violence against women. Dobash et al. (1979) view the

woman's isolation as a cause of abuse. Other authors such as Michalski (2004) also found association between the social isolation of a woman and the lack of social networks were associated with IPV. Some cases explicitly showed these situations (Chapter 9). Cases in which this perception of abuse were made clear in the stories presented by Informant V5, V11 and V13 who mentioned that the families of their partners knew about the violence that they perpetrated but they did not do anything. The descriptive quantitative work suggests that factors representing the support of the community are associated to IPV, however, this association was not found statistically significant.

Third, as mentioned previously, gender is influential in many different components operating in all societal levels. The importance of gender for the understanding of IPV has been established by Abrahams et al. (1999), Dobash et al. (1979), Fuller (2001), Jewkes (2002), Krug et al. (2002a), Levinson (1989), among many other authors. For example, the lack of support for a woman by her family, her community and the legal system (community level), the experience of being a witness to violence by the father against the mother (individual level), the influence of male violent peers (community level), the gender hierarchical attitudes and beliefs of men (individual level), the different components of the gender dynamics (relationship level), and lastly, most of the immediate situations that provoke conflicts that end in violence (conflict arena) are directly interconnected with gender norms (macrosocial level). Certainly, gender plays a crucial role in the understanding of IPV through all different levels of analysis.

However, it is the gender dynamics at the relationship level and in the conflict arena where gender is directly interconnected with IPV. The dynamic of the couple is particularly important because it is within the relationship that intimate partner violence occurs. As mentioned before, three factors of the gender dynamics were found vital for the understanding of IPV: the control of the relationship, the control of women's sexuality, and unfulfilled gender expectations.

There are two main situations pertaining to the control of the relationship that proved significant for IPV: when women dispute the dominion of men and when men exert total dominion. This differentiation was also found by the well-known work produced by Johnson in 1995. In the case of the dispute of the dominion, according to quantitative and qualitative results, for the understanding of IPV, there are two factors that result as central: when women have a job and when women complain about men's behaviour (going out

with peers and neglect family). Women who have a job are more critical about their partners' behaviour and challenge the economic role of the man as the main breadwinner. This has been documented in other studies such as Babcock (1993) and Oliveira et al. (1994). Apparently, situations that provoke conflicts within a couple occur more often in low-income settings. Unfortunately, in the case of Mexico, the participation of women in the labour force carries an increased risk of violence. In the conflict arena it was observed that failure as the economic provider by a man and failure in household duties by a woman (I suggest this failure is more when women have a job) are immediate situations that provoke physical violence by men because they feel inadequate and therefore feel the need to regain power in the relationship. In this case, violence can be seen as an expression of male powerfulness over women and male vulnerability stemming from masculinity expectations (Jewkes, 2002).

The second factor is when women complain about men's behaviour. In the narratives it was common to observe that men do not satisfy some emotional expectations of their partners and women openly demand attention. In most of these cases women did not show submissive behaviour which men expected. Women's demands produced tension in the relationship and conflicts that resulted in violence. This was observed in the conflict arena in the case of "men's responsibility" and women's confrontational behaviour towards her partner. This is mainly occurred when men went out with peers, drank alcohol and were unfaithful. I suggest that the quantitative analysis supports this argument when the variable "decision on free time" was analysed. Apparently, this variable represented the central decision of a man either to spend time with his family or instead to go out with peers. In the quantitative analysis this variable was found to be one of the most significant associations of IPV.

In her study in Peru, Fuller (2001) also divided the issues associated with IPV in two: when a woman does not comply with her 'responsibilities' and when a man fails to do the same. She also found that women trigger a violent reaction when they react with energy when the partner does not fulfil his obligations. Fuller also found that the demands of women are due to men's unfaithfulness, or that men spend too much money with friends in meetings which are generally associated with the consumption of alcohol. The main problem is that with these demands, women openly confront the male authority. But the other problem is that men experience a crisis because they have an internal struggle between the need to reinforce their male supremacy - that is part of the hegemonic

masculinity - and the need to fulfil the role of a “kind” husband showing respect for their partners. This finding, which was presented in Chapter 9, was also found by Fuller (2001) and Montoya (2001) in their research with men. Both of these studies were carried out in Latin American settings.

Extreme cases in the exertion of control in the relationship have been explained in the paragraphs above. The main difference with the cases regarding the challenge of control of the dispute is that in this extreme case men have total dominion in the relationship and this dominion is not disputed by women. In some situations, the use of violence is not even necessarily related with marital conflicts. Men exert violence as part of the extreme unequal relationship between themselves and their partners. These men present strong hierarchical gender beliefs that were learned mainly during childhood (individual level). This type of violent men was also found by Holtzworth-Munroe et al. (1994) and Johnson (1995).

About the control of women’s sexuality, I mentioned before that this aspect was divided in three categories according to the findings: women interacting with other men, women having premarital sexual relationships, women refusing to have sex with their partners. In all three categories it is clear that these aspects involve the autonomy of women in the decision of their own bodies. Chapter 8 mentioned that the gender norms (macrosocial level) of society condemn the active participation of women in sexuality and in contrast promote passive participation. When in the relationship these norms are generally not fulfilled by a woman - or at least if men consider she is not fulfilling it - could provoke serious conflicts ending in violence. The conflict arena established that two of the most serious events that provoke violence are associated with these aspects. Quantitative analysis supported this. Control of women’s sexuality is likely the most important arena of conflict that provokes IPV. Some studies have also established the importance of the association of IPV with women’s sexuality (Abrahams et al., 1999; Fuller, 2001; Krug et al. 2002a; Viano, 1992).

Finally with regard to the non-fulfilment of gender expectations, one of the main findings of this research is that violent conflicts involve the non-fulfilment of expectations by both men and women, and not only the expectations of women. For example, women’s expectations of men when they fail to be the main economic provider. But also when they neglect them and they go out with peers or they have extramarital sexual relationships. In

the case of unfulfilled roles of women, these failures are mostly pertaining household duties, a non-submissive attitude, and the sexual issues mentioned above.

Fourth, apparently, the norms concerning the culture of using violence to resolve conflicts and the gender patriarchal order (macrosocial level) are strongly ruling the rural areas. Perhaps for this reason, men who have a rural background (individual level) have more propensity to the use of violence against women than men who have an urban background. This is probably the same situation of men who have a low educational level; i.e., maybe these men belong to communities with high acceptance of the use of violence to resolve conflicts and have strong hierarchical gender norms.

Another socio-economic variable that was found strongly associated with IPV was age. Apparently, in this case those young men (individual level) who are in a relationship have few interaction skills (relationship level) to deal with conflicts (conflict arena), therefore they are more prone to commit violence. Young men may also be highly involved in IPV because some of them did not develop a bond of commitment and affection to their partners, at least during the first years of marriage when more attention from the partner is demanded. In the WHO report on violence and health (Krug et al., 2002a) it is stated that among the demographic factors, young age is consistently found to be linked to IPV. Abrahams et al. (1999), Gelles (1993) and Dobash et al. (2000) among others confirm this. Actually Gelles states that IPV is a phenomenon of youth, thus it is necessary to consider the family cycle for the understanding of the problem.

The causes of intimate partner violence are complex. There are several components and factors interacting and different levels that influence intimate partner violence. This section has attempted to present a new model for understanding partner violence in a consistent way based on the findings of the research. The model is an effort to advance the comprehension of IPV. Also, this section presented how the most important factors associated with IPV are interconnected and lend an understanding of how a man comes to commit violence against his partner.

10.3 Building typologies of violent men

One of the objectives of this thesis is to identify different patterns of violent men and to build typologies that allow the classification of them according to their particular characteristics. Not all violent men are the same; there is a huge diversity of behaviours, attitudes, and beliefs that make each case different. However, for this research some patterns can be established according to the analysis of the findings. This may be useful in the development of different interventions for violent men.

In Chapter 1 it was mentioned that most of the classifications of violent men that could be found in the literature are based on the following aspects: a) violent patterns (severity, frequency, and escalation); b) generality of the violence (towards the woman and towards others); c) level of control in the relationship; d) psycho-social characteristics of the perpetrator; and e) motives for the violence. Based on the findings of this research different typologies are developed considering these aspects. It is important to mention that, even though, apparently there are more serious types of violence than others, all types have an important impact on women's physical and mental health and well-being. Therefore, it is considered that any type of violence is a priority for interventions. Also, it is necessary to remember that these typologies are mainly based on cases of physical violence, that it does not mean that it is the most serious type of violence.

The first classification is about the violent patterns. Men are classified according to specific characteristics of the physical violent events. Basically, these characteristics refer to the seriousness of the violence committed. In this case, three types of men are considered: a) extremely violent; b) moderately violent; and c) mild violent.

Extreme: Extremely violent men perpetrate acts such as punching the face and stomach, throwing objects, using weapons, strangling, among others. This violence normally provokes serious physical health consequences to the victims. Bleeding, suffocation and severe pain are only some of these consequences. Extremely violent men exert violence against their partners very often. Most of them normally present strong gender hierarchical attitudes and beliefs and/or experienced severe violence (as victim and witness) when a child. Informant V5 and V9 are classified in this type.

Moderate: The violence perpetrated by moderately violent men is characterised by acts such as slapping, pushing, kicking, among others. In general, no severe physical health consequences are caused by this kind of violence. Bruises and moderate pain are common in victims who suffer violence from moderately violent men. This violence is committed occasionally and only in situations that are preceded by a serious conflict between partners. Most men of this type have gender hierarchical and transitional attitudes and beliefs and/or suffered from physical punishment by their parents. Informant V2 is an example of these men.

Mild: Men classified in this category have perpetrated violence against their partners only one or two times. Slapping and pushing are the most frequent acts carried out by these men. In general non physical consequences are provoked by the use of low levels of violence. Most men classified in this category present gender transitional attitudes and beliefs and/or suffered from common physical punishment by their parents. Informant V14 belongs to this category.

The second approach for classifying violent men takes into account the generality of the violence; i.e., if perpetrators commit violence against their partners but also against other people such as other men, relatives or their children.

According to my results, apparently intimate partner violence is a different phenomenon than violence against other people; i.e., no association was found of being violent against the partner and being violent against other people. This result coincides with Gordon (2000) who considers that many men assault only their partners and are not generally violent against other persons. For example, some of those who were classified as violent against their partners have never been violent towards others including other members of their families. However, some men who were classified as non-violent reported violence towards other people. Therefore, I do not build typologies from this perspective.

The third form classifies violent men according to the level of control they exert in the relationship. The most famous typology based on this criteria was presented by Johnson in 1995. My classification is quite similar to that one, as it is based on the analysis of the control in the relationship presented in the gender dynamics component at the relationship level. I identify two types: total control and dispute of control.

Total control: Men classified in this group have the total dominion over their partners. The use of violence is part of the abuse that these men use to exert control over their spouses. In some situations any incident could provoke the aggression. Normally this is characterised by frequent and sometimes severe violence. Men who have total control present strong gender hierarchical attitudes and beliefs. Informant V5 is an example of this typology.

Dispute of control: Men in this category use violence to maintain control in the relationship that is disputed by the partner. Violence is used only during strong conflicts. Normally women have an active participation in the violent incidents but men are the main aggressors. Men who dispute the control present gender hierarchical or transitional attitudes and beliefs. Informant V6 was classified in this category.

The fourth aspect that is generally considered for the classification of violent men refers to the psycho-social characteristics of the aggressors (see Holtzworth-Monroe et al.,1994). The psychological characteristics of the perpetrators and their integration into society are used for the categorisation of violent men. In this research, data about these issues were not collected. Therefore, no typologies are built from this angle.

The last classification is about the motives that lead men to perpetrate violence against their partners. In Chapters 8 and 9, I have already presented a classification according this characteristic. I divide men in two groups: a) those who commit violence for purposes of discipline; and b) those who commit violence for purposes of defence. These motives could also be seen as accounts: 'discipline' as a justification of the act and 'defence' as an excuse. According to Eisikovits et al. (1999) these accounts are used by men when they are asked about their violent actions.

Discipline: These men commit violence because they consider their partners deserve it and they have the right to discipline them. According to these men, their partners deserve the punishment because they have committed a fault. This fault is mainly associated with gender roles that are expected to be fulfilled by a woman. These men normally have gender hierarchical attitudes and beliefs. Informant V13 represents this typology.

Defence: These men perpetrate violence because they feel offended by their partners and they consider that they have to defend themselves. In this case violence is normally derived

when the female partner complains about a fault committed by the man. Man's faults are normally associated with gender expectations. Women commonly have active participation in these situations. However, men use violence to keep control of the relationship. These men generally present gender hierarchical and transitional attitudes and beliefs. For example, Informant V2 is a case of a man who commits violence by defence.

Also, I build a last typology that attempts to take into account most of the characteristics of the other typologies presented before. In this new typology I classify violent men in three main categories: a) severe violence and total control; b) moderate to mild violence for discipline and exertion of control; and c) moderate to mild violence for defence and dispute of control. These categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, i.e., there could be cases in which the same man could be classified in more than one typology. All men who participated in the in-depth interviews and who were considered violent are classified according these typologies.

Severe violence and total control: This typology represents those men who exert total control of the relationship and who also commit extreme violence against their partners as part of the dominion they have over their partners. Informant V5 is the main representative of this category. Informant V7 and Informant V13 are also classified in this category. Because of the severe violence that was committed against his partner, Informant V10 could also be classified in this typology, even though in his narrative it does not seem that he exerts total control in the relationship.

Moderate to mild violence for discipline and exertion of control: Men representing this category are those who do not use severe violence but they use moderate violence for purposes of discipline. The intention of most of these men is not to provoke damage to their partners but to "educate" them because they are doing something "wrong", i.e., because they are not fulfilling a gender female expectation. The violence is also used to maintain control over the partner. Informant V1, Informant V8, Informant V9, Informant V11, Informant V12 and Informant V15 are examples of this category. Informant V10 could be also classified here.

Moderate to mild violence for defence and dispute of control: Men classified in this typology are those who use violence only in serious conflicts where the partner is actively participating. There is normally a dispute of control in the relationship and men use

violence to succeed in this dispute. The relationship of these men and their partners is commonly the most egalitarian compared with the relationships represented in the other two typologies of men. And the violence committed by men in this typology is the least severe compared with the other two groups. Informant V14 accomplishes most of the characteristics of this typology. Informant V2, Informant V3, Informant V4 and Informant V6 are examples of this typology as well. Even, Informant V11 and Informant V15 could be placed in this category.

Finally, I developed a classification of those who were found non-violent against their partners. Also, all 'non-violent' respondents of the in-depth interviews were classified according these typologies. As mentioned in chapter 9, most of these men have also experienced conflicts, fights using psychological violence (where normally they are the main aggressors), and some of them also have hierarchical gender beliefs. Based on the findings of this research I classify these men in three main categories:

- a) Men who totally condemn the use of violence against women: These men are certain that they would never exert physical violence against any partner in any situation. Some of them have even experienced high conflicts in their relationships in which their partners have slapped or pushed them. But even in these circumstances they would not attack their partners. Most of them believe that violence against women is a completely reprehensible act. Most of them have thought this way since their childhood. Informants NV2 and NV15 are the primary examples of these men. Informant NV3, Informant NV4, Informant NV8, Informant NV9, Informant NV10 and Informant NV14 are also classified in this group.
- b) Men who condemn the use of violence against women but have been tempted to physically attack their partners: This typology represents men who do not think they would ever use physical violence against women but they have had the desire to do so during extremely serious conflicts with their partners. The main thing that stopped them from committing violence was the condemnation of their community and beliefs about the use of violence against women. Informant NV7 is the best example of this typology. Informant NV1, Informant NV5, Informant NV6 and Informant NV12 also fit the pattern.

- c) Men who would commit violence in extreme cases: These men are those who have not used violence against any partner but think that in an extreme situation they may do it. They have not experienced any kind of extreme problems yet that have led to violence. In these cases they had not exerted violence because of the type of relationship they have had; i.e., the dynamic with their partners inhibited the use of violence. However, in some way they are potential aggressors. Within the non-violent respondents, only Informant NV11 and Informant NV13 were found as examples of this typology.

The main implications for developing typologies is to highlight that not all violent men are the same and that it is necessary to develop different strategies of interventions for ending violence. The construction of typologies of non-violent men is essential in order to develop mechanisms for the prevention of violence. For example, it is important to understand men who completely condemn the use of violence and thus extend their values, attitudes and beliefs to other men. Particular attention must be paid to those potential aggressors who have not yet used violence (because they have not experienced a situation that 'deserves' the use of violence) but in certain circumstances could perpetrate violence against their partners.

10.4 Final remarks

In Mexico, studies have detected that intimate partner violence is a serious issue with high prevalence. However, there has been little systematic research in this setting that describes the nature of the problem. This research is a contribution to this complex field that attempts to fill gaps in the knowledge of IPV in Mexico. From a socio-demographic perspective, I analysed, through the use of quantitative and qualitative methods, the role of different factors associated with IPV, the pathways through which these factors operate, the settings, the contexts and the specific circumstances in which violence occurs.

Paradoxically, despite the fact that men are the main source of the problem of IPV, few efforts have been made to understand violence from the male perspective and therefore, few programmes aimed at men have been developed to prevent violence. For the understanding of men's violence it is crucial to listen to the voice of men. To know and to analyse what men say about their own violence is fundamental in the battle to prevent

violence against women. In this way, this study placed emphasis on understanding IPV from the male point of view.

The main relevance of this research is that it is a pioneering work in the analysis of IPV from a male perspective in Mexico. Therefore, it contributes a fresh conceptualisation of the topic, giving attention to the particular cultural characteristics of the setting. The WHO report on violence and health establishes that all societies experience violence, but its context varies greatly from one setting to another (Krug et al., 2002a).

Another main contribution of the thesis is the methodological approach. This is one of the first research studies that collected and analysed both quantitative and qualitative data on the topic of domestic violence in a developing country focusing on a male open population. Abrahams et al. carried out a similar research study in South Africa in 1999 however, the main difference between both research studies was that the present one also analyses large-scale data from a national survey. Another methodological difference is that this research centres its analysis on in-depth interviews instead of focus groups that are used in the study of Abrahams et al (1999).

It is necessary to mention that to conduct research with men on sensitive topics presented important methodological challenges. Special attention was given to three main issues: a) the difficulties for finding interviewees; b) the ethical issues for domestic violence research and; c) the responsibility to ensure quality of data. In this thesis, specific strategies for coping with these issues were developed and presented in Chapter 5. Five main aspects were fundamental to the conduct of this research with men considering the issues mentioned above: the first issue was related to the selection of the location where the main fieldwork was carried out, the second referred to the tools developed for the research, the third to the importance of the pilot work in the research, the fourth issue with the team that was directly involved in the fieldwork, and the last with the interaction with participants. To document the ethical and safety issues associated with conducting research on men are an important methodological contribution for the study of IPV.

At present it is widely recognised that intimate partner violence is a complex problem that necessitates analyses considering different levels of explanations. Therefore, another main contribution of this research is that IPV was conceptualised and re-conceptualised following a theoretical multidimensional approach. The framework proposed perceives

IPV as a phenomenon that results from a complex dynamic process involving a combination of the macrosocial environment, the community or intermediate environment, the individual characteristics and experiences, the dynamic and characteristics of the relationship, and the situational or immediate events and circumstances surrounding intimate partner violence.

In this research it was found that there are different pathways through which men could become or not become aggressors against their partners. These pathways are made up of different components and factors that operate at different levels of analysis and are interconnected to each other. Nevertheless, all of these components and factors have their roots in two main cultural issues: the predominant culture of violence and the gender system ruling in the society. This result coincides with the model for the understanding of IPV presented by Jewkes (2002).

The first of these issues is mainly reflected in the acceptance of violence that is learned by individuals mainly during childhood through violent experiences within their natal family. This learning has serious consequences during adulthood of individuals in their interaction with partners. The second issue, gender, dominates all the spheres that affect the use or non-use of physical violence by men against their female partners. However, it is within the relationship dynamics where gender plays an essential role in the use of partner violence.

A man who has strong hierarchical gender attitudes and beliefs because he has lived in a patriarchal society, who presents high acceptance of the use of violence because he has experienced severe violence during childhood, who has not developed commitment and affection to his partner, and who is not condemned for the use of violence by society is highly at risk to perpetrate violence against his partner during their conflicts; conflicts that are mainly caused by the non-fulfilment of gender expectancies. These characteristics are the summation of the main findings of the thesis that reflect the profile of violent Mexican men. In particular, specific cultural issues associated with the acceptance and condemnation of IPV by the society, the relationship between man's severe experiences of violence as a child and later risks of perpetrating violence, and how the social pressures affect the interaction of the relationship are new evidences on this topic.

In any circumstance, violence against women by male partners is unacceptable. But not all violence is the same, therefore not all violent men have the same characteristics, though some patterns could be found. These patterns are mainly based on the severity of the violence committed, the control exerted by men in the relationships with their partners, and the motives for the violent acts. The construction of these patterns helped to develop the first typologies of violent men in Mexico.

Regarding the non-violent group of men, sometimes they also present similar characteristics to those who commit violence. For example, some of them show hierarchical gender attitudes and beliefs, they have been victims of violence during childhood, and they also have conflicts within their relationships. However, these characteristics are more often found among violent men. In addition, the research suggests that non-violent men tend to highly condemn the use of physical violence against women and to develop mechanisms to resolve conflicts without the use of physical violence. Also, the society surrounding violent and non-violent men play an important role. More non-violent than violent men are surrounded by a community (mainly the family) in which the use of violence is condemned. Most of these characteristics of non-violent men coincide with the work carried out by Montoya (2001) in Nicaragua. The work of Montoya was the first in Latin America that centred its analysis non-violent men. He concluded that men are capable of living in non-violent relationships despite the patriarchal society in which they live. I coincide with this statement.

Research with men allowed the examination of the process through which men become or do not become violent against their partners. Also, it allowed the confirmation of different hypotheses, based mainly on studies aimed at women, about the nature of intimate partner violence in Mexico. It also allowed the exploration of new topics that had not been analysed yet, such as the violent experiences of men during their childhood and the main factors of that experience that made them become violent during their adulthood. Finally, research with men allowed the development of typologies of violent and non-violent men and the development of recommendations for prevention strategies that are pointed out in the last section.

10.5 Main limitations of the study

In this section the main methodological limitations of the study are acknowledged and some of the implications of these limitations are discussed. This section is divided in five parts, each one representing one limitation.

Focusing on physical partner violence only

As mentioned in Chapter 1, numerous studies that have analysed partner violence have mainly focused on physical violence because it is more easily approached than other types of violence. This research was not the exception. The only issue of working with men was that it presented many methodological challenges. For the purposes of this work it would have been impossible to study other forms of violence as well. This means that all the results and conclusions of this thesis, the comparison between violent and non-violent men, and the development of typologies refer only to physical violence. This represents a great limitation for the understanding of violent men who are not involved in physical violence but who exert any other type of violence against their partners. It is necessary to reinforce the idea that all types of violence are priorities. Therefore, I suggest that future research with men should consider other forms of violence. It would be interesting to make a comparison to see if the results of the analysis of emotional, sexual and economic violence are similar to those found in this thesis. In particular, it would be important to know if the characteristics of physically violent men are similar or not to those who exert other types of violence.

The cross-sectional design of the two quantitative components

The use of cross-sectional surveys limits the analysis of the process that men follow to become violent. It also limits the analysis of the changes in the relationship and as a consequence is impossible to study the evolution of conflicts and violent events. In sum, the history of life of the individuals and therefore, the history of their violence against partners could not be approached from a quantitative perspective. This problem in some ways was tackled in this thesis with the use of qualitative methods. The design of

quantitative longitudinal surveys for the study of domestic violence would be extremely important for future research.

Focusing only on men

The research with men allowed the presentation a fresh analysis of the topic. It gave the opportunity to find new issues associated with violence such as the learning of the use of violence during childhood, their attitudes about their own violence, or the conflicts related to the women's expectancies. Also, it allowed the development of typologies of violent men. The research with men also gave the opportunity to confirm other issues associated with IPV which have already been analysed in other studies of women such as the association of the use of violence with the non-fulfilment of household duties and, in general, the importance of gender in all spheres of the phenomenon. However, to focus only on men, limits the understanding of the whole scope of the problem. For example, the importance of the lack of support of women by the community was barely analysed because it is difficult to access this kind of data from the male perspective. Also, the problem could be perceived by women in a completely different way, therefore, to have a more precise understanding of the problem, both men and women should be analysed. The analysis of couples in this topic presents interesting methodological and ethical challenges.

Focusing only on urban factory workers

To conduct the fieldwork in factories gave the opportunity to tackle different methodological challenges about how to approach men for research in sensitive issues (see Chapter 5). However, as mentioned in Chapter 8, an important limitation of focusing only on urban factory workers that have a steady job is that perhaps I did not approach those men who represent the most severe cases of violence against their partners. Also, in these factories most men belong to a similar socio-economic background. This situation did not allow a better analysis of socio-economic factors associated with IPV. For example, the well-known hypothesis that relates poverty with this phenomenon was not analysed. The inclusion of men of all socio-economic status would be important for future research.

A socio-demographic perspective

To focus the research in a socio-demographic perspective gave the opportunity to measure the prevalence of physical violence as reported by men. Also, it allowed the exploration of factors associated with IPV and the analysis of the processes that lead men to become violent. However, with this perspective it was not possible to analyse possible biopsychological individual factors associated with the use of violence. The research was also limited in the analysis of specific cultural and historical issues that are important for the understanding of IPV. In this case, an anthropological perspective would have been needed.

10.6 Main recommendations

Finally, in this last part of the section I provide some recommendations focused on men that aim to prevent the use of violence against female partners. I consider that preventive actions should be taken at different levels including all actors belonging to different sectors of the society, i.e., a multidimensional and multisectorial approach is needed to combat the use of violence against women by their male partners. Prevention programmes with potential aggressors and intervention with aggressors have received little attention. Particular interest should be focused on interventions with men. The mission then, is to transform society in general with regard to violence against women.

Results of this research indicate that norms related with the culture of violence and gender are particularly important for partner violence. According to the qualitative findings shown in Chapter 8, at the societal level there is a high acceptance of the use of violence to resolve conflicts in Mexico. Therefore, it is important to create an environment in which the use of violence in general would be totally condemned, a climate of zero tolerance towards the use of violence. These case findings suggest that the concept of abuse could play an important role. It was observed that society has a propensity to condemn the use of violence when this is perceived as abuse - or *gandalla* in Mexican terminology. The participation of different sectors at the national level (such as governmental organisations, the legislative sector and the media) is central in this issue. These sectors must promote that any form of violence must be perceived as inappropriate by society because it implies abuse.

Particularly important is the development of a total condemnation of the use of violence against children and more when this violence is *manchada*. Quantitative findings show that the use of physical violence against children is a significant variable associated with IPV. And qualitative results suggested that the severity of the violence used against children is essential for the understanding of why a man becomes violent against his partner. It was common to observe that these men used to downplay the use of violence against their partners because they have developed a high tolerance to the use of violence in general as a consequence of the abuse they experienced during their childhood. Therefore, strong campaigns aimed at parents through media, schools and health centres should be developed to reduce physical punishment in child rearing. It is important to promote at the national level the importance of parenting in a non-abusive manner pointing out the effects of childhood traumatic experiences.

About gender, in this research it was confirmed that in Mexico, as in many other societies, IPV is part of the gender patriarchal system. Therefore, the promotion of gender egalitarian status for men and women are also extremely important at the societal level. In Chapter 8, it was described that Mexican society is experiencing a process of social change in which women are improving their status in the society. It is necessary to take advantage of this moment in Mexico. The change of gender norms seems to be an almost impossible challenge at least for the next years. However, programmes aimed at young men could be crucial to change patriarchal norms. Many Mexican youth are living a transition of values around gender norms. This transition is experienced with confusion and crisis. It is important to establish programmes to support these young men to experience this transition without tension emphasising the benefits that they could get if they reinterpret and renegotiate gender norms. Some of these benefits are to be involved in more pleasure relationships; to live with more tranquillity, peace and harmony within the society; to have a better interaction with their children; and, in general, to be more physical and mental healthy. For example, the research with men has shown that these often present risky behaviours, including the use of violence. The promotion of the non-use of violence as part of a male behaviour would also be important for the well-being of men.

Particularly important are the norms which respect women's sexuality. Quantitative and qualitative findings showed that among the norms associated with the gender order, those associated with sexual relations were highly important for the understanding of the use of

violence of men against women. The control of women's sexuality was found extremely as an important part of the Mexican male identity. This control was reflected in three main issues: a) jealousy as a form of control; b) women's premarital sexual relationships; and c) sexual satisfaction of the man with his partner. The transformation of norms promoting sexual equality is a priority for the prevention of the use of violence against women.

An important issue found in this research is precisely about the acceptance of violence against women in certain circumstances. This was observed in the accounts of some of the participants who justified the use of violence because they considered they needed to discipline their female partners when these ones did not 'behave well'. In general, society authorise the use of violence for men to discipline their female partners in certain situations. It is important to promote at the national level and with the participation of different sectors that men, under any circumstance, do not have right to discipline their partners.

Findings suggest that the acceptance of violence against women is internalised by men at an individual level, when they were witnesses of violence their fathers perpetrated against their mothers. Therefore, the promotion of services for children who witness violence is also paramount. According to Ehrensaft et al. (2003) children exposed to violence between parents are good candidates for prevention, because they may be especially vulnerable to social learning of the use of violence against women.

In the research it was found that some men who were witnesses of violence at home during childhood, because of the same situation of violence they experienced, developed a strong disapproval for the use of violence against women. Experiences of these men should be taken into account for the development of strategies to deal with these types of situations.

The change of social norms that promote violence is extremely important for the prevention of IPV. All different sectors, at the national level, should participate in this task. Particularly important is the rural areas. Findings of this research suggest that it is in these settings where more changes are needed. The aim is to create a social environment that promotes non-violent relationships.

At the community level findings suggest that legal and moral sanctions for aggressors and lack of social and legal support for women are associated with the use of violence against

female partners. Qualitative findings showed that the family and the legal sector play an important role at the local level. In the case of the legal sector, it plays an important role to improve legal sanctions to those who commit violence. In general, important programmes should be aimed at raising the costs for aggressors. Particularly important is the creation of laws that obligate aggressors to follow a rehabilitation programme and also the creation of mandatory arrest policies for partner violence. The increase in centres of assistance for victims and the reduction of judicial barriers for those who seek support are necessary as well.

Specific campaigns should be carried out within communities and families to develop public censure to violent men and to develop supportive responses to victims of violence rather than judgment. The role of the family is extremely important therefore; campaigns should be designed to promote the family as a protective shelter for women. The aim of prevention interventions at this level is to develop an environment in which women do not become vulnerable by isolation and also that impunity ends for aggressors. Findings of the thesis showed that families, and the community in general, have a great influence on the individuals and the couples when they have to make important decisions about their lives, such as marriage. As was observed in Chapter 9, sometimes these influences have negative consequences because they generate conflicts in the relationships. Therefore, it is important to promote an atmosphere of autonomy for individuals in the communities, mainly for young people who are more vulnerable to negative influences.

Interesting findings at the community level were about the influence of peers on the attitudes and beliefs of the male youth. For the design of campaigns of prevention, it would be important to take advantage of the experience of peers belonging to the community who are completely against the use of violence against women. The participation in campaigns by non-violent, married men who are completely against the use of violence towards women must be promoted.

In general, at the community level, prevention programmes should include families, circles of friends, community groups, organisations, school, local media, NGOs, workplaces, and any other important institutions at the local level. For example, in the case of workplaces, in this research it was observed that the participation of key staff such as health care providers, social workers and human resource staff could facilitate the promotion of campaigns. With regard to NGOs in Mexico, the Instituto Mexicano de Investigación de

Familia y Población presents a good example of a programme on how to tackle IPV and how it could be carried out in a community, in this case, Iztacalco in Mexico City. They use community events, local media and workshops to promote a non-violent climate. Ideally, this programme should be extended to other settings of Mexico.

Finally, at individual level different models of intervention with violent men should be developed considering the typologies that have already been addressed according to the findings of this research. A man who is going to initiate an intervention programme should be classified and referred to a programme that is best fitted to his profile. One of the main findings of this thesis is that not all violent men are the same, they represent a diverse population. However, some patterns were found and typologies were constructed to support intervention programmes. It is important to mention that in this perspective it is considered that interventions are needed for all violent men.

I suggest that a model for those categorised in the typology “severe violence and total control” should mainly focus the intervention on making known to the aggressors the legal and moral costs of perpetrating violence and also in reducing their strong gender hierarchical values. In contrast, a model for those men of “moderate to mild violence for defence and dispute of control” should be mainly focused on the improvement of conflict resolution skills and on the improvement of mechanisms based on gender work to make them more able to negotiate roles within the family. Finally, a model for the typology “moderate to low violence for discipline and to keep the control” should be mainly focused on the transformation of gender norms, specifically in the ones that legitimise the use of violence for disciplining women.

Even though each programme should concentrate interventions on the topics mentioned above, all of them must include at least the changing of patriarchal values, attitudes and behaviours; therapies regarding violent experiences in the past; promotion of reducing physical punishment against children; development of skills to deal with conflicts without using violence (based on successful experiences of non-violent men); development of the ability to draw lessons from the past; and development of a process of reflexivity during the conflicts. It is also necessary to promote the idea that violence is a rational act rather than an explosive act and that any violent act should never be downplayed or justified.

According to other experiences of interventions with violent men, it appears that interventions mainly inhibit acts of physical abuse. However, the aim of the programmes must be to change the behaviour of any man who has not only physically, but sexually and emotionally exerted violence against his partner. According to Dobash et al. (2000) the change of violent behaviour in men is possible, I agree. I also agree with Abrahams et al. (1999) who consider that the preventive interventions should be involved in work with men.

This research and also other studies that have worked with men indicate that men are open to share their feelings about these issues. Also, several research studies with men suggest that they live their violence with stress. This opens a door of optimism. Therefore, I consider that the implementation of prevention programmes for intimate partner violence focused on men must be feasible, even though, they present diverse challenges that can be tackled elaborating appropriate strategies which take into account the characteristics and concerns of men. The eradication of the use of violence against women is possible only if men are listened to, men are understood, and therefore men are seriously engaged in this crucial task.

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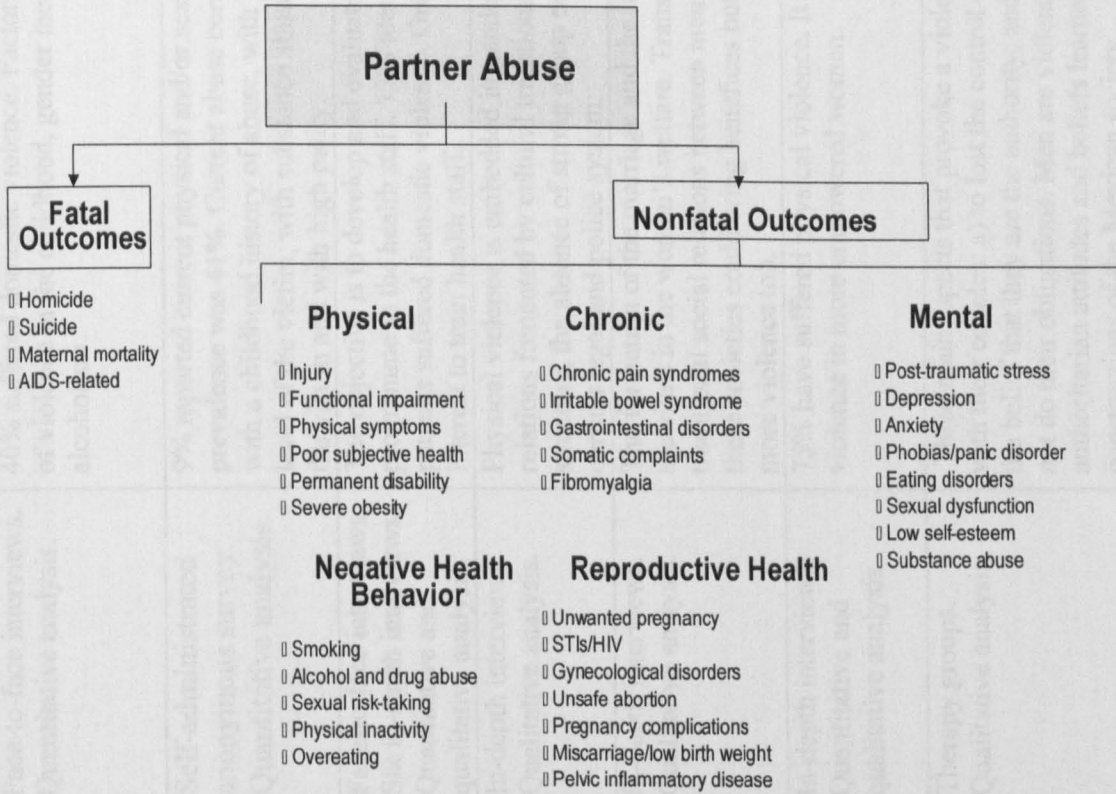
Appendix I

Physical Assault on Women by an Intimate Male Partner Selected Population - Based Studies, 1982 - 1999	Region, Place & Year of Field Work (Ref. No.)	Coverage	Sample			% of Adult Women Physically Assaulted by an Intimate Partner		
			Size	Popu- Lation*	Age	In Pre- vious 12 Months	In Cur- rent Re- lationship	Ever (in Any Rele- lationship)
AFRICA, SUB-SAHARAN								
	Ethiopia 1995 (110)	Mekranana Woreda	673	2	15+	10 ^h		45
	Kenya 1984 +87 (362)	Kisumu District	612	7	15+		42	
	Nigeria 1993P (331)	Not stated	1,000	1				31 ^a
	South Africa 1996 (235)	Eastern Cape	396	3	18, 49	11 ^b		20 ^b
		Mpumalanga	418	3	18, 49	12 ^b		29 ^b
		Northern Province	465	3	18, 49	5 ^b		20 ^b
	South Africa 1996 (281)	National	5,077	2	15, 49	6		13
	Uganda 1995 +96 (33)	Lira & Masaka Districts	1,660	2	20, 44		41	
	Zimbabwe 1986 (454)	Midlands Province	966	1	18+			17 ^c
ASIA & PACIFIC								
	Australia 1986 (493)	National	6,300	1		3 ^c	8 ^c	
	Bangladesh 1992 (407)	National (villages)	1,225	2	<50	19		47
	Bangladesh 1993 +95 (422)	Nesimagar Thana	3,611	2				32
	Bangladesh 1993 (255)	Jessore & Sirajpore (rural)	10,368	2	15, 49			42 ^d
	Cambodia 1996P (323)	Phnom Penh & 6 prov.	1,374	3				18
	India 1993 +94 (233)	Tamil Nadu	659	2	15, 39			37
		Uttar Pradesh	983	2	15, 39			46
	India 1995 +96 (288)	Uttar Pradesh, 5 dist	6,695	4	15, 65			30
	India 1999 (499)	6 states	9,938	3	15, 49	14 ^a		40/26 ^f
	Korea, Rep. of 1989 (253)	National	707	2	20+	38/12 ^f		
	New Zealand 1994 (272)	National	2,000	6	17+	21 ^a		35 ^g
	Papua N. Guin. 1992 (437)	National, rural (villages)	628	3 ^{**}				67
	Papua N. Guin. 1984 (306)	Port Moresby (low income)	298	3 ^{**}				56
	Philippines 1993 (323)	National	8,481	5	15, 49			10 ^d
	Philippines 1996 (57)	Cagayan de Oro City & Bukidnon Province	1,660	2	15, 49			26
	Thailand 1994 (215)	Bangkok	619	4			20	
EUROPE								
	Moldova 1997 (410)	National	4,790	3	15, 44	7 ^a		14 ^a
	Netherlands 1996 (383)	National	999	1	20, 60			21/11 ^{e,f}
	Norway 1989P (403)	Trondheim	111	3	20, 49			18
	Switzerland 1984 +86 (178)	National	1,500	2	20, 60	6 ^a		21 ^a
	Turkey 1996 (223)	E and SE Anabla	599	1	14, 75			58 ^a
	United Kingdom 1983P (309)	North London	430	1	16+	12 ^a		30 ^a
LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN								
	Antigua 1990 (200)	National	97	1	29, 45			30 ^c
	Barbados 1990 (494)	National	264	1	20, 45			30 ^{a,g}
	Bolivia 1996 (339)	3 districts	299	1	20+	17 ^a		
	Chile 1983P (268)	Metro. Santiago & prov.	1,000	2	22, 55		26/11 ^f	
	Chile 1997 (312)	Santiago	310	2	15, 49	23		
	Colombia 1995 (337)	National	6,097	2	15, 49		19	
	Mexico 1996 (363)	Metro. Guadalajara	650	3		15		27
	Mexico 1996P (191)	Monterrey	1,064	3	15+			17 ^g
	Nicaragua 1995 (130)	Leon	390	3	15, 49	27/20 ^f		52/37 ^f
	Nicaragua 1995 (163, 312)	Managua	378	3	15, 49	33/28 ^f		69
	Nicaragua 1996 (306)	National	8,507	3	15, 49	12/8 ^f		26/21 ^f
	Paraguay 1995 +96 (102)	Natl, except Chaco reg.	5,940	3	15, 49			10
	Peru 1997 (189)	Metro. Lima (middle and low income)	369	2	17, 55	31		
	Puerto Rico 1996 +98 (105)	National	4,795	3	15, 49			13 ^b
	Uruguay 1997 (443)	Montevideo & Canelones	545	2 ^{**}	22, 55	10 ^g		
NEAR EAST & NORTH AFRICA								
	Egypt 1996 +98 (132)	National	7,121	3	15, 49	16 ^d		34 ^b
	Israel 1994 (197)	West Bank & Gaza Strip (Palestinians)	2,410	2	17, 65	52/37 ^f		
	Israel 1997P (199)	Arab, except Bedouin	1,826	2	19, 67	32		
NORTH AMERICA								
	Canada 1993 (378)	National	12,300	1	18+	3 ^{c,g}		29 ^{c,g}
	Canada 1991 +89 (367)	Toronto	420	1	18, 64			27 ^a
	United States 1996 +98 (439)	National	8,000	1	18+	1.3 ^a		22 ^a

Source: adapted from Heise, L.; Ellsberg, M.; Gottemoeller, M. (1999). 'Violence against women'. *Population Reports*, Series L, No. 11, XXVII(4). Baltimore: John Hopkins.

Appendix II

Health Outcomes of Intimate Partner Violence



Source: Adapted from Heise et al., 1999. *Ending Violence Against Women*. Population Reports, Series L, No. 11, Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health. Baltimore: p. 18.

Appendix III. Studies of domestic violence in Mexico

Citation (alphabetical order)	Place of research	Sample	Methodology	Findings
Alvarado et al., 1998	Durango	State-wide random sample of 384 presently or formerly married or cohabiting women between 12-48.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	40% suffered domestic violence. Factors related: presence of violence in the childhood, gender inequity and alcoholism.
Díaz-Olavarrieta et al., 2002	Mexico City	1780 adult female outpatients at an internal medicine institution in Mexico.	Self-administrated anonymous survey. Quantitative analysis.	9% reported current physical and/or sexual abuse. Lifetime prevalence was 41%. Current abuse correlated strongly with a childhood history of abuse, with low educational level of the victim, with substance abuse by the partner or the victim and with high parity.
Fawcett et al., 1998	Mexico City	62 professionals of a hospital.	Face-to-face interviews. Six in-depth interviews. Quantitative and qualitative analysis.	The objective is to develop and evaluate a training programme to the health staff. 72% identified that 1 of 5 patients suffered domestic violence. Great necessity and interest to train health staff.
Finkler, 1997	Mexico City	142 married women.	In-depth interviews. Qualitative analysis.	Physical violence is embedded in gender and marital relations fomented by cultural traditional ideologies, family structure, the absence of strong group censure and a corrupt legal and police system.
Freyermuth-Enciso, 1999	Chenalo, Chiapas	Familiars and friends of 40 indigenous women dead by maternal reasons.	In-depth interviews. Qualitative analysis.	The formation of the marriage and the interfamily relations are vitals in the women's welfare. Transformations of the traditional social relations between men and women in these societies could bring benefices but could generate more violence too.
García et al., 1997	Chiapas, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Mexico, Mexico City, Michoacan, Veracruz	142 women, 45 indigenous.	In-depth interviews. Quantitative and qualitative analysis.	75% have suffered physical violence. It was found less violence in more empowered women.
Garda, R., 1999	Mexico City	335 men of a NGO.	Therapy groups. Qualitative analysis.	Three main aspects that provoke a violent reaction of men with their couples: a) to lost the control of their wives; b) the belief that they are the authority; and c) that women do not do their obligations. Men are violent because their authoritarian attitudes and beliefs learned by the gender constructions of the Mexican society.

Glantz and Halperin, 1996	Chiapas	40 women having ever been married and having at least one child involved in a violent relationship, aged between 19-62.	In-depth interviews. Qualitative analysis.	There is a woman's sense of guilt for causing a violent event and this impedes her from seeking help or defending. The strategies that women suggest for dealing with violent events reveal a lack of initiative, control and absence of support networks.
González-Montes, 1998	Cuetzalan, Puebla	47 indigenous women having ever been married, aged 15 or more.	In-depth interviews. Qualitative analysis.	50% have suffered domestic violence. Domestic violence is seen like "normal". The cultural environment and the institutions (legal, medical, and family) are involved in the problem.
Granados et al., 1998	Monterrey, Nuevo Leon	1064 women having ever been married.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	46% have suffered domestic violence. Socio-economic, cultural and demographic characteristics related to domestic violence: low socio-economic status; women aged 15-19 and 30-34; cohabitation; migration status; deficient communication in the family; marriage and first sexual relation in the adolescence; and gender inequality.
INEGI, 2000	Mexico City	Random sample of men and women aged 18 or more living in 6000 households.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	30.4% of women married lived violence in their home, the principal aggressors were their partners. 97% of interviewees rejected the violence like a way to solve conflicts in the family. There are more levels of violence in agricultural workers and peasants than in employees and executives; also was found less violence in people with better income.
INEGI, 2004b	National level	Random sample of women, 19,471,972.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	14.0% prevalence of physical partner violence, 8% sexual violence, 37% emotional violence.
INSP, 2003	National level	Random sample of women, 24,991.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	10.0% prevalence of physical partner violence, 7.5% sexual violence, 22% emotional violence.
Miranda et al., 1998	Las Margaritas, Chiapas	10 women involved in a violent relationship.	In-depth interviews. Qualitative analysis.	Most of women interviewed said that domestic violence is acceptable when used in order to correct their behaviour. Physical abuse is unacceptable when it is not justified. Women with a better support were less tolerant of violence. Domestic violence is not considered as a priority in the problems of these women.
Natera et al, 1997	Mexico City	Random and systematic household sample. 354 women currently living with a partner.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	39% had suffered some type of violence from her partner. Alcohol was present in all of these cases. Age, Jealousy and Alcohol are the most important predictors.

Oliveira et al., 1994	Merida, Mexico City, Tijuana	Head of household women.	In-depth interviews. Qualitative analysis.	Most serious cases of domestic violence are in families where women are the responsible of the economic support of the home. The participation of women in the work cause or exacerbate domestic violence because men feel failed in their role of suppliers and try to reaffirm their authority inside the household using the physical force.
Ortiz, s/f (CAVI)	Mexico City	110 men in a centre of attention.	Psychosocial therapies. Qualitative analysis.	Aggressors present the following characteristics: low self-stem; manipulation and control against the victim; low control with their impetus; insecurity; traditional behaviour; fear to be abandoned; minimisation to their violent conduct, an ideology of superiority on the others, resistance to modify their behaviour, have problems to understand an equal gender relationship, difficulty to express their emotions and to request aid
Ramírez et al., 1993	Guadalajara	Two groups randomly selected: 1163 rural and 427 urban women aged 12 or more.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	44.2% and 56.7% of rural and urban female population, respectively, suffered some form of violence. The principal aggressor was the husband in both areas.
Ramírez et al., 1995	Guadalajara	57 women aged 15 or more, having ever been married and having at least one child in the primary school of three different socio-economic level.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	33% suffered intimate partner violence.
Ramírez et al., 1998	Guadalajara	Random probability sample of 581 women, having ever been married.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	43% of women have suffered of domestic violence. In most of the cases the violence was present since the first years of union, even in the engagement. The prevalence has been constant in the last ten years. The gender construction is a determinant of domestic violence.
Ramos-Lira, 2001	Mexico City	717 women go into the urgent service of a hospital.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	8 women went into the urgent service as consequence of physical violence by their husbands. In 6 cases the husband was drunk or drug. Women suffered violence aged between 18-29 and 30-49. Most of them live in cohabitation and have less educational level. 7 had been mistreated before.

Rivera-Rivera et al., 2004	Metropolitan area of Cuernavaca, Morelos	1535 women aged 15 to 49 years.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	Prevalence of lo-moderate level violence was 35.8%. Prevalence of sever violence 9.5%. Main factors associated with violence: socio-economic status, educational level, alcohol and drug abuse, violence during childhood, history of rape.
Valdez, R. et al., 1992	Ciudad Nezahualc6yotl	State-wide random sample of 342 women aged 15-72.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	33% reported have suffered violence, in 75% of the cases the aggressor was the partner. Of the women who suffered violence, 57% was psychological, 31% physical and 16% sexual
Valdez, R. et al., 1996	Cuernavaca, Morelos	110 pregnant women who delivered at the Hospital Civil.	Face-to-face interviews. Quantitative analysis.	33% have suffered domestic violence during the pregnancy. Women who suffered violence during pregnancy had three times more complications during delivery and four more times in risk to have babies with low-birth.

Appendix IV

Version of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) utilised by ENSARE 98

In the last 12 months...

1. Have you had strong disagreements with your last partner?
2. Have you and your partner ever insulted each other or shouted at each other?
3. Has your partner ever hit you?
4. Have you ever hit your partner?
5. Have you and your partner ever...
 - a) Insulted or offended?
 - b) Threaten to hit?
 - c) Tried to hit?
 - d) Threaten to use a knife or a blade?
 - e) Threaten to use a gun?
 - f) Throw something?
 - g) Pushed or slapped?
 - h) Kicked?
 - i) Bit?
 - j) Used a knife or fired a gun?
6. How often have these incidents occurred?
7. What kind of injuries have been inflicted upon you or your partner?
8. What are the main reasons of these incidents?

Appendix V

Factory-based survey Men's Questionnaire

IDENTIFICATION

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER

DISTRICT _____

NAME OF THE FACTORY _____

INTERVIEWER'S FIRST NAME	DATE (dd/mm)	RESULT

RESULT CODES:

- 1 COMPLETED
- 2 PARTLY COMPLETED
- 3 REFUSED
- 4 INADEQUATE INFORMANT
- 5 OTHER (specify) _____

LENGTH OF THE INTERVIEW

HOURS
MINUTES

SECTION 1: SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

First I would like to ask some questions about you and your household

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING	SKIP TO
1.1	In what month and year were you born?	YEAR <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> MONTH <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
1.2	How old are you?	AGE <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
1.3	Where were you born	PLACE _____	
1.4	For most of the time until you were 12 years old, did you live in a city, in a town, or in the countryside?	CITY.....1 TOWN.....2 COUNTRYSIDE.....3	
1.5	Are you able to read and write a short letter?	YES.....1 NO.....2	
1.6	What was the highest level of schooling completed?	GRADE _____	
1.7	What is your occupation? i.e. what kind of work do you mainly do?	OCCUPATION _____	
1.8	Are you currently married or living with a woman?	CURRENTLY MARRIED.....1 LIVING WITH A WOMAN.....2 OTHER (specify).....3 _____	→END OF INTERVIEW
1.9	What is the first name of your current partner?	NAME _____	
1.10	How old is (NAME)?	AGE <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
1.11	What was the highest level of schooling completed by (NAME)?	GRADE _____	
1.12	Aside from housework, is (NAME) now working for pay?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→ 1.14
1.13	What is the main occupation of (NAME)	OCCUPATION _____	

1.14	In what year and month did you start living with (NAME)? <i>Both, father-in-law and mother-in-law are alive</i>	YEAR <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> MONTH <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
1.15	Have you been married or lived with a woman before (NAME)? <i>USE THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT</i>	YES.....1 NO.....2	
1.16	Did (NAME) marry or live with a man before you?	YES.....1 NO.....2	

Now I would like some information about your parents and parents of (NAME).

	1.17	1.18	1.19	1.20	1.21	
	Is Alive?	IF ALIVE Live in the Same Household as you?	IF DON'T LIVE IN THE SAME HOUSEHOLD How often do you see or visit...	IF DON'T LIVE IN THE SAME HOUSEHOLD How often do (NAME) visit...	IF DON'T LIVE IN THE SAME HOUSEHOLD How long do you take to go to the home of... Time... Transport...	
Own father	YES.....1 NO.....2 ↓ (NEXT RELATIVE)	YES.....1 ↓ (NEXT RELATIVE) NO.....2	FREQUENCY	FREQUENCY	HOURS MINUTES	WALKING ...1 MICROBUS ..2 TUBE3 BUS 4 PLANE5 OTHER9 (specify)_____
Own mother	YES.....1 NO.....2 ↓ (NEXT RELATIVE)	YES.....1 ↓ (NEXT RELATIVE) NO.....2	FREQUENCY	FREQUENCY	HOURS MINUTES	WALKING ...1 MICROBUS ..2 TUBE3 BUS 4 PLANE5 OTHER9 (specify)_____
Your father-in-law	YES.....1 NO.....2 ↓ (NEXT RELATIVE)	YES.....1 ↓ (NEXT RELATIVE) NO.....2	FREQUENCY	FREQUENCY	HOURS MINUTES	WALKING ...1 MICROBUS ..2 TUBE3 BUS 4 PLANE5 OTHER9 (specify)_____
Your Mother-in-law	YES.....1 NO.....2 ↓ (GO TO 1.23)	YES.....1 ↓ (GO TO 1.23) NO.....2	FREQUENCY	FREQUENCY	HOURS MINUTES	WALKING ...1 MICROBUS ..2 TUBE3 BUS 4 PLANE5 OTHER9 (specify)_____

1.22	FILTER. Both, father-in-law and mother-in-law are alive	AT LEAST ONE ALIVE...1 BOTH NOT ALIVE.....2	→ 1.24
1.23	Do you feel that you have had problems with your mother-in-law and/or your father-in-law? (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	QUITE A LOT.....1 SOMETIMES.....3 NEVER.....5	
1.24	Have you fathered any children?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→ 1.31
1.25	How many?	NUMBER _____	

**Now I would like to record the first names of all the alive children that you have fathered, starting with the first one you had (including those that you fathered with other partners).
RECORD NAMES OF ALL THE CHILDREN.**

1.26	1.27	1.28	1.29	1.30
What name was given to your (first/next) child? (NAME CHILD)	IF ALIVE Is (NAME CHILD) a boy or a girl?	IF ALIVE Is (NAME CHILD) of (NAME)	IF ALIVE How old is (NAME CHILD)? RECORD AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS	IF ALIVE Is (NAME CHILD) living with you?
1	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2	AGE (years)	YES.....1 NO.....2
2	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2	AGE (years)	YES.....1 NO.....2
3	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2	AGE (years)	YES.....1 NO.....2
4	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2	AGE (years)	YES.....1 NO.....2
5	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2	AGE (years)	YES.....1 NO.....2
6	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	YES.....1 NO.....2	AGE (years)	YES.....1 NO.....2

1.31	Do (NAME) have living children with another partners? SECTION 2. THE INDIVIDUAL	YES.....1 NO.....2	→ 1.33
1.32	Are any of these children now living with you? NO. QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	YES.....1 NO.....2	
1.33	Are any other children living with you? a) Own Mother	YES.....1 NO.....2	

Now I would like to record the names of the children of (NAME) that are no biologically yours or adopted children that are living with you, starting with the older

1.34	1.35	1.36	1.37
What name was given to... (NAME CHILD)	Is (NAME CHILD) a boy or a girl?	How old is (NAME CHILD)? (RECORD AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS)	What is your Kinship with (NAME CHILD)?
1	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	AGE (years)	
2	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	AGE (years)	
3	BOY.....1 GIRL.....2	AGE (years)	

1.38	What do you use to do if your children misbehave? (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	HIT.....1 SHOUT2 TELL OFF3 TALK4 OTHER (specify).....9	
1.39	What do (NAME) use to do if your children misbehaved? (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	HIT.....1 SHOUT2 TELL OFF3 TALK4 OTHER (specify).....9	

SECTION 2. THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS COMMUNITY

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING	SKIP TO																																
2.1	For most the time under age 12, did you live with... a) Own Mother b) Own Father (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">YES</td> <td style="text-align: center;">NO</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">IF YES IN BOTH</td> </tr> </table>	YES	NO	1	2	1	2	IF YES IN BOTH		→ 2.5																								
YES	NO																																		
1	2																																		
1	2																																		
IF YES IN BOTH																																			
2.2	Why didn't your mother and/or father live with you? (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT) a) A social or recreational group? b) A political-party group? c) A religious group? d) A sports club?	DIVORCED/SEPARATED.... 1 WIDOWS2 BOTH DIED.....3 OTHER (specify)9 _____																																	
2.3	With who did you live most of the time during your childhood? a) Your health is	GRANDPARENTS.....1 STEPMOTHER.....2 STEPFATHER.....3 UNCLE/AUNT.....4 SIBLINGS.....5 NEIGHBOURS.....6 OTHER (specify).....9																																	
2.4	The people who you lived during your childhood.... a) Shouted you b) Beat you c) Shouted among them d) Beat among them	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">VERY OFTEN</td> <td style="text-align: center;">SOME TIMES</td> <td style="text-align: center;">NEVER</td> <td style="text-align: center;">OTHER</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> </table>	VERY OFTEN	SOME TIMES	NEVER	OTHER	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9													
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1	2	3	9																																
1	2	3	9																																
1	2	3	9																																
1	2	3	9																																
2.5	In your family (chidhood)... a) Your mother shouted at your father b) Your father shouted at your mother c) Your mother beat your father d) Your father beat your mother e) Your mother beat you f) Your father beat you g) Your siblings beat you (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">VERY OFTEN</td> <td style="text-align: center;">SOME TIMES</td> <td style="text-align: center;">NEVER</td> <td style="text-align: center;">OTHER</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">9</td> </tr> </table>	VERY OFTEN	SOME TIMES	NEVER	OTHER	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9	1	2	3	9	
VERY OFTEN	SOME TIMES	NEVER	OTHER																																
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1	2	3	9																																
1	2	3	9																																
2.6	Compared with other boys in your neighbourhood, would you say that when you were a teenager, did you fight more as the other boys? (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	MORE FIGHTING.....1 AVERAGE.....2 LESS FIGHTING.....3																																	

2.7	At present, if you have a personal problem can you count support of... a) Your parents? b) Your siblings? c) Parents of (NAME)? d) Your friends? e) Your neighbours? f) Your work mates?	YES 1 1 1 1 1 1	NO 2 2 2 2 2 2	SO SO OTHER 9 9 9 9 9 9
2.8	At present, do your friends fight physically with other men? (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	VERY OFTEN.....1 SOMETIMES..... 2 NEVER.....3 OTHER.....9		
2.9	Do you belong... a) A social or recreational group? b) A political-party group? c) A religious group? d) A sports team?	YES 1 1 1 1	NO 2 2 2 2	
2.10	Now I am going to ask you some questions about how you feel about yourself. At present, do you feel... a) Your health is b) Your social life is c) Your attractiveness to women is d) Your success in your life is	GOOD REASONABLE BAD 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3		

SECTION 3. RELATIONSHIP

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING				SKIP TO
3.1	In general, you and (NAME) talk to each other about... a) The things occurring during your day b) The things occurring during her day (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	VERY OFTEN 1 1	SOME TIMES 2 2	NEVER 3 3		
3.2	Between you and (NAME) who take the final decisions about... a) Buying major items b) Caring of children c) Whether have sexual intercourse (READ OUT)	HE 1 1 1	SHE 2 2 2	BOTH 3 3 3	OTHER 9 9 9	

3.3	NAME... a) Is very good mother to the children b) Is patient when you are stressed c) Makes you feel comfortable in the sexual relations d) Loves you very much	YES 1 1 1 1	NO 2 2 2 2	SO SO 3 3 3 3		
3.4	NAME... a) Ignores you when you want to discuss a problem b) Says things to make you feel bad about yourself (e.g. you are a failed man) c) Does not respect you in front of your children d) Wants to dominate the relationship (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	VERY OFTEN 1 1 1 1	SOME TIMES 2 2 2 2	NEVER 3 3 3 3	OTHER 9 9 9 9	
3.5	At present, do you feel that... a) The health of (NAME) is b) The social life of (NAME) is c) The appearance of (NAME) is d) In the household duties (NAME) is		GOOD 1 1 1 1	REASONABLE 2 2 2 2	BAD 3 3 3 3	
3.6	Some men feel jealous of their partners. Do you think you are jealous? (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)			VERY JEALOUS.....1 REASONABLE JEALOUS..2 NO JEALOUS..... 3		
3.7	Have you ever had sexual intercourse with another women Since you have been married or living in-cohabitation With (NAME)?		YES1 NO.....2			→ 4.1
3.8	How many other women you have had sex with since marriage or living with (NAME)?		NUMBER _____			

SECTION 4. ATTITUDES

Now I'm going to read some statements. What do you think about...

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING	SKIP TO
4.1	Men must be the authority in the family (READ OUT)	AGREE1 DISAGREE.....2	
4.2	Men participating in household duties look effeminate (READ OUT)	AGREE1 DISAGREE.....2	
4.3	Sometimes is necessary to hit to educate the child (READ OUT)	AGREE1 DISAGREE.....2	

4.4	<p>Now I want to ask you... you and/or (NAME) ever</p> <p>Do you think that men have the right to hit their partners if they...</p> <p>a) Are unfaithful (thrown an object?)</p> <p>b) Do not fulfil the household duties</p> <p>c) Neglect the children (pushed or beaten up?)</p> <p>d) Are "sexy" with other men</p> <p>e) Refuse from sexual intercourse</p> <p>f) Are jealous (to use or even using a weapon (gun, knife or other object))</p>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td></td> <td>YES</td> <td>NO</td> </tr> <tr> <td>a)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>d)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>f)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </table>		YES	NO	a)	1	2	b)	1	2	c)	1	2	d)	1	2	e)	1	2	f)	1	2	
	YES	NO																						
a)	1	2																						
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c)	1	2																						
d)	1	2																						
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f)	1	2																						

(FOR EACH QUESTION WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)

5.1	<p>When did these incidents between you and (NAME) occur the first time?</p> <p>(WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)</p>		
-----	--	--	--

SECTION 5. CONFLICTS

5.2	<p>The first time who started the aggression?</p> <p>Now please tell me...</p>		
-----	---	--	--

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING	SKIP TO																												
5.1	<p>In your relationship, have you had strong disagreements with (NAME)?</p> <p>(WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)</p>	<p>VERY OFTEN.....1</p> <p>SOMETIMES..... 2</p> <p>NEVER.....3</p>																													
5.2	<p>People often use some force in a relationship</p> <p>Have you and/or (NAME) have ever used physical force, hit or tried to hit each other for any reason?</p> <p>(WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)</p>	<p>VERY OFTEN.....1</p> <p>SOMETIMES..... 2</p> <p>NEVER.....3</p>																													
5.3	<p>Have you and/or (NAME) ever...</p> <p>a) Pushed, shaken, poked, grabbed, slapped, pinched, or thrown an object?</p> <p>b) Bitten, hair-pulled or twisted her arm?</p> <p>c) Hit, punched, kicked or beaten up?</p> <p>d) Choked, burnt or scalded?</p> <p>e) Shut or tied?</p> <p>f) Threaten to use or even using a weapon (gun, knife or other object)</p> <p>(FOR EACH QUESTION WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)</p>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td></td> <td>VERY OFTEN</td> <td>SOME TIMES</td> <td>NEVER</td> </tr> <tr> <td>a)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>b)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>c)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>d)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>e)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>f)</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> </table>		VERY OFTEN	SOME TIMES	NEVER	a)	1	2	3	b)	1	2	3	c)	1	2	3	d)	1	2	3	e)	1	2	3	f)	1	2	3	
	VERY OFTEN	SOME TIMES	NEVER																												
a)	1	2	3																												
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e)	1	2	3																												
f)	1	2	3																												
5.4	<p>Filter</p> <p>Physical Violence</p>	<p>YES (If in 5.2 and 5.3 any answer is different to NEVER)</p> <p>NO (Other case)</p>	<p>→ 6.1</p>																												

5.5	<p>In the last 12 months have you and/or (NAME) ever</p> <p>a) Pushed, shaken, poked, grabbed, slapped, pinched, or thrown an object?</p> <p>b) Bitten, hair-pulled or twisted her arm?</p> <p>c) Hit, punched, kicked or beaten up?</p> <p>d) Choked, burnt or scalded?</p> <p>e) Shut or tied?</p> <p>f) Threaten to use or even using a weapon (gun, knife or other object)</p> <p>(FOR EACH QUESTION WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)</p>	<p>VERY OFTEN SOME TIMES NEVER</p> <p>1 2 3</p> <p>1 2 3</p> <p>1 2 3</p> <p>1 2 3</p> <p>1 2 3</p> <p>1 2 3</p>	
5.6	<p>When did these incidents between you and (NAME) occur the first time?</p> <p>(WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)</p>	<p>BEFORE LIVING TOGETHER.....1</p> <p>BEFORE FIRST YEAR LIVING TOGETHER.....2</p> <p>AFTER FIRST YEAR LIVING TOGETHER.....3</p> <p>OTHER (specify)9</p>	
5.7	<p>The first time, who started the aggression?</p>	<p>YOU.....1</p> <p>(NAME).....2</p> <p>BOTH.....3</p> <p>OTHER (specify).....9</p>	
5.8	<p>The first time, did you have children?</p>	<p>YES1</p> <p>NO.....2</p>	
5.9	<p>The first time, did she was pregnant?</p>	<p>YES1</p> <p>NO.....2</p>	
5.10	<p>What was the main reason for this first incident</p> <p>(WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)</p>	<p>JEALOUSY / UNFAITHFUL..... 1</p> <p>ECONOMIC PROBLEMS..... 2</p> <p>PROBLEMS WITH CHILDREN.....3</p> <p>ALCOHOL OR DRUGS4</p> <p>PREGNANCY5</p> <p>HOUSEHOLD DUTIES.....6</p> <p>SEXUAL INTERCOURSE... ..7</p> <p>FRIENDS.....8</p> <p>PARENTS / RELATIVES.....9</p> <p>DISAGREEMENTS ABOUT FREE TIME.10</p> <p>OTHER (SPECIFY)99</p>	
5.11	<p>Now please can you tell men when was the last incident?</p>	<p>OPEN ANSWER _____</p> <p>THE FIRST INCIDENT WAS THE UNIQUE</p>	<p>→ 5.15</p>

5.12	This last time, who started the aggression?	YOU.....1 (NAME).....2 BOTH.....3 OTHER (specify).....9
5.13	What was the main reason for this last incident (WAIT TO THE ANSWER AND THEN READ OUT)	JEALOUSY / UNFAITHFUL..... 1 ECONOMIC PROBLEMS..... 2 PROBLEMS WITH CHILDREN.....3 ALCOHOL OR DRUGS4 PREGNANCY5 HOUSEHOLD DUTIES.....6 SEXUAL INTERCOURSE...7 FRIENDS.....8 PARENTS / RELATIVES.....9 DISAGREEMENTS ABOUT FREE TIME.10 OTHER (SPECIFY)99
5.14	How many of these incidents have occurred in the last four weeks?	NUMBER_____
5.15	Think back to the first few years of your marriage. In comparison do you think now in your relationship there are...	MORE FIGHTS.....1 EQUAL FIGHTS.....2 LESS FIGHTS.....3
5.16	Have you been involved in these kind of incidents with another partner?	YES1 NO.....2

SECTION 6. PROBLEMS OF MEN

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING	SKIP T
6.1	Finally, please tell me in your opinion , which are the major problems faced by men nowadays?	OPEN_____	
6.2	Do you want to say something else?	OPEN_____	

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

Appendix VI

Question Guide for In-depth Interviews (1st Draft)

1. General Background of participant

I would like to ask you some background information about yourself:

How old are you? __ __ years

Where were you born? _____

What is your highest year of schooling completed? __ year ____ level

What is your occupation? Specify. _____

What do you do in your spare time? (Hobbies) _____

What is your religion? Specify. _____

Are you currently living with a partner? YES __ NO __

How old is your partner? __ __ years

What is her highest year of schooling completed? __ year ____ level

What is her occupation? Specify. _____

How many children have you ever had in total? (with this partner and other partners) ____

Is your father alive? YES __ NO __

What is the highest year of schooling completed by your father? __ year ____ level

What is (was) the main occupation of your father?

Is your mother alive? YES __ NO __

What is the highest year of schooling completed by your mother? __ year ____ level

What is (was) the main occupation of your mother?

How many brothers and sisters do you have? BROTHERS _____ SISTERS _____

2. The childhood (around age 4-10)

Now, I would like to ask you some information about your childhood.

Did both your father and mother live with you? Explain. Who else looked after you?

Do you think you were important to your mother? And to your father?

Did you feel they were always taking care of you?

In general, who prepared your meals? And who checked your homework? Who defended you when someone hit you?

Was your father affectionate with you during your childhood? Explain, give an example

Was your mother affectionate with you during your childhood? Explain, give an example

Did you sometimes feel neglected by your mother and/or father? Explain.

Now tell me how do you feel they treated you?

If you misbehaved how did your father correct you? And your mother? Did they hit you? Did your older siblings hit you? Explain.

And did your mother and father get along well? How did they treat each other? Did they kiss or hug often?

Did they fight often? Explain. Did you ever see your father hitting your mother?

Were you sexually abused in your childhood? Explain.

In general, would you say that you had a happy childhood?

3. Adolescence (around age 11-17)

Now, I would like to ask you some information about your adolescence.

Were you still living with your parents? Explain. Did you get along well with your father? And mother? Explain.

At that time, did you go to the school? Explain. Besides school, did you work? If you left the school at that age, explain why you left? If you did not work what did you do? Explain.

In your adolescent period, where did you have more friends? School? Neighbourhood? Workplace? Other? How many close male friends did you have (those who you trust)? How many close female friends did you have (those who you trust)? What did you like to do most with your friends? Did you fight with them? What were your main hobbies?

And did some of your peers bother you? How did you defend yourself from them? Did you fight against them? Were you a bully?

Would you say that in general you had a happy adolescence?

4. Courtship with current partner

I would like to ask you about your current partner.

Where did you meet her? How old were you?

How long were you going together before you were married or lived in-cohabitation?

Did you have girlfriends before her? How many? And why did you decide to get married or to go to live with her and not with another woman? Were you in love with her?

What did you like about her? What didn't you like about her? What did she like about you? How was your relationship with her parents? Did they know about your relationship? Did they approve of it?

Did your parents know about your relationship? Did your parents approve of your relationship with her?

Now tell me if you felt jealous that other men courted her? And at that time was she ever jealous of other women?

Do you remember if you fought with her at that time? What kind of problems did you have? Explain. Please give me an example of your worst fight? What occurred? When? Where?

And did you have sexual relations before you got married?

5. The union

After the marriage and before the first child

How old were you when you started living with your partner? What type of marriage did you have? Did you have a ceremony? At the beginning where did you live? Who lived with you?

And tell me, did you and your partner get along well? Was she a good person? Do you think that at that time she was a good wife? Explain.

How much time did you spend together? Did you talk to each other about things that were going on in your life and her life? Did you have disagreements? Explain. What did you commonly fight about? (Household duties, jealousy,...). What happened if there were disagreements between you and your partner? Who made the final decisions? And did you feel supported by her? Did she respect you in front of others (e.g. her relatives)?

How was your sexual life at that time? Who usually initiated sex? Did she refuse to have sex with you? Did you refuse to have sex with her? At that time were you sexually satisfied with her? At that time did you have sexual intercourse with other women? Were you satisfied with the sexual intercourse with the other women?

Now please tell me about the best moments with your partner at that time. What were the best moments? Explain.

And did you have any problems with your partner? Did you quarrel with her? Explain. What was the worst fight at that time? When was it? What happened? Who started the fight? Where did it take place? Do you remember the main reason for fighting? Explain. Give an example. At what time did the incident occur? Were you drunk? Did you or your partner use physical force, such as slapping, pushing, throwing an object, grabbing, shaking, hair pulling, hitting, kicking, etc.? What did you do immediately after the incident? How did you feel? And how did she feel? How did you make up? Did you talk with someone about it? In general, was it common for you both to fight over that? At that time did you have another similar incident?

IN-LAWS

How often did you see your parents-in-law? Did they live nearby? At that time did you get along with your parents-in-law? Were they ever a reason for conflict? Did they get too much involved in your life as a couple? How often did you see them or did they come to your home? Did they give advice to your partner that was detrimental to the relationship? Did she dislike or have problems with your parents? Were the in-laws a reason for fighting or for beatings? Explain.

THE FRIENDS

Who were your friends at the time? At that time, did you go out with friends? How often? (days per week) What did you do when you went out? Did you ask permission from your wife, or inform her you were going out with your friends? Explain, give an example. Were there any fights with your partner because you went out? Please give details. Have your male friends ever used physical force against their wives? Explain.

After 1st child, before the second.

And now tell me when did you have your first child with her? How did you feel? And she? Were you and your partner happy? Was the birth planned? Did you communicate with each other your desire to have a child? Did you and your partner agree or did you have to discuss the issue? Who made the final decision? Before that, did you and your partner use contraceptives? What did you use?

And in the first months; How did you wife take care of your child? What about you? During your child's first year did you feed him/her? Did you change his/her diapers?

What were your main activities at home and outside of the home at that time? And her activities? How much time did you spend together (more or less than before the birth)? Do you think your first child in some way changed your life and the life of your partner? Explain. Do you think that your relation improved after your first child was born? Did she change her behaviour after the birth? And your behaviour? Explain. Did you feel she neglected you or not after the birth? Explain. What happened to your sexual relationship after your child was born? Did she refuse sexual relations more than before the baby? Did you fight about that?

And did you have disagreements with your partner about how to care for and/or educate your child? Explain. Did you fight about that? Tell me what happened? Did you or your partner ever use physical force during these fights? And what other problems did you and your partner have? Did you quarrel? Can you tell me about the worst fight? Explain.

SAME QUESTIONS ABOUT IN-LAW AND THE FRIENDS

After the second child...

When was your second child born? How old was the first? And how did you feel?

SAME QUESTIONS...AND CONTINUE WITH THE REST OF CHILDREN

6. General Perception

In general, do you think she has been a good mother? How well has she looked after the children? Do you help her? How? How does your partner correct the children when they misbehave? Do you agree with how she corrects them? And how do you correct them? Does she agree? Does she think that you are a good father? And a good husband? Explain.

At present who is the main economic provider of the household? Does she work? When did she start working? Why does she work? What do you think about her working? Does she earn more than you do?

Do you think she is a good wife? Explain. Do you think she has changed over time? How? Do you think the relation with your partner is different than in the past? How has your relationship changed from the past to now?

Have the number of fights changed over time? Are the beatings more often now than in the past?

And have you been involved in another violent relationship? Do you know other men that live a similar family situation?

7. Others

What are the main problems that a man has to confront? How do you see the future? What do you recommend to other men that are living in similar situations? Do you want to tell me anything else?

Question Guide for In-depth Interviews (Final Draft)

A. GENERAL BACKGROUND

How old are you?

Where were you born?

What is your highest educational level?

What is your main occupation?

How many brothers and sisters do you have? How many older (and younger) than you?

B. CHILDHOOD (around age 6-11)

1. Parents' Background

Where were you born, where did you grow up?

Is your mother alive? Is your father alive?

Are they living together?

What is (was) the main occupation of your father (and/or mother)?

2. Absence of parents

a) In your childhood, did both your father and mother live with you?

b) How was it for you to live without your parents?

c) Who lived with you? Who looked after you?

3. Attention and support of parents (or close relatives)

How would you describe your family?

Did you get along well (or badly) with your mother (and father)? Better with your mother or your father? Why?

How would you describe your relationship with your mother when you were young? With your father?

Did you sometimes feel that your mother (and/or father) didn't love you?

Did you feel they were always taking care of you?

Who was the spoiled child in your family? Explain.

Did you love your parents? Did you love more your mother or your father? Who? Why?

4. Siblings (or other children living in the same household)

Did you get along well (or badly) with your siblings? Explain.

Did you fight with them? Why? Tell me the most serious fight. Details (how, when, where, why, who was guilty, who was there).

5. Violence against the participant within the household

If you misbehaved how did your father correct you? And your mother? Did they hit you?

Did they hurt you? How often did they use this kind of punishment?

Tell me the worst that you remember. Details.

How did your parents correct your siblings?

How were your friends corrected by their parents?

Were you afraid of your father (and/or your mother)?

What did your parents expect of you?

6. Violence between partners

Did your mother and father get along well?
How would you describe their marriage?
Did they fight often? Tell me the most serious fight.
Did you ever see your father hitting your mother?
What did you do during the fight?
At present, what do you think about those fights?

7. Other experiences during the childhood

Did you have close friends?
Did you fight often against other boys? Why?
What did you do if some of your peers bothered you?
Would you say that in general you had a happy adolescence?
Tell me the best and the worst experience during your childhood

C. ADOLESCENCE (around age 12-18)

1. General information

Were you still living with your parents? Did you get along well with your father (and mother)? Explain.
When did you leave school? When did you start working?

2. Peers

- a) At that time, how many close friends did you have?
- b) Where did you have more friends?
- c) What activities did you like to do most with your friends?

3. Violent situations

- a) In your adolescent period, did you fight? How often did you fight?
- b) What did you commonly fight about?
- c) What was the worst fight? Details.

D. PARTNER'S BACKGROUND

How old is she?
What is her highest year of schooling completed?
What is her occupation?
Has she ever worked?

E. COURTSHIP WITH CURRENT PARTNER

1. General information

Where did you meet her? How old were you?
How long were you together before you got married?

What did you like about her?
How would describe her at that time?

2. Other girlfriends and boyfriends

Did you have girlfriends before her? How many?
Had you been married before?
Why did you decide to get married with her and not with another woman?
Did she have boyfriends before you? Had she been married before?

3. Sexual relationships before marriage

Did you have sexual relations with her before you got married?
Was your first sexual relation with her? Do you know if her first sexual relation was with you?
What is your opinion that her first sexual relation was (or not) with you?

4. Violent situations

Do you remember if you fought with her at that time?
Did your parents know about your relationship? Did your parents approve of your relationship with her? Explain.
What kind of problems did you have? Explain. (Go deep into the reasons)
Give me an example of your worst fight. Details. If there was physical violence go to AVD Section. If respondent is non-violent go to NVD Section.

F. AFTER THE MARRIAGE AND BEFORE THE FIRST CHILD

1. The beginning of the marriage

How old were you when you started living with your partner?
At the beginning where did you live? Who lived with you? Explain.
Did you get along well with her relatives? Did she get along well with your relatives?
Did they approve your marriage?

2. Changes in the relationship

How was the beginning of your relationship? Why?
What was the most positive? And the most negative?
At that time did you and your partner get along well? Better or worse than before the marriage?

3. Violent situations

Did you fight with her at that time?
What kind of problems did you have? Explain. (Go deep into the reasons)
Give me an example of your worst fight. Details. If there was physical violence go to AVD Section. If respondent is non-violent go to NVD Section.

G. AFTER 1st CHILD, BEFORE THE SECOND

1. Pregnancy

When did she get pregnant?

How did you feel? And she?

Did you communicate with each other your desire to have a child?

Why did you decide to have a child?

Did you have children before with other partners? And she?

2. Violent situations

Did you have fights because of the pregnancy?

Give me an example of your worst fight. Details. If there was physical violence go to AVD Section. If respondent is non-violent go to NVD Section.

3. The first years and changes in the relationship

Did your first child change your life and the life of your partner in some way?

Do you think that your relationship improved (or not) after your first child was born?

Did you feel she neglected you after the birth? For example?

Did your sexual relationship change after your child was born?

Did she present physical changes after your child was born? Example.

At that time, did you live with your (or her) parents?

4. Violent situations

Did you have disagreements with your partner about how to care for and/or educate your child?

Who used to change the diapers of your child?

At that time did you have fights? Explain. (Go deep into the reasons)

Give me an example of your worst fight. Details. If there was physical violence go to AVD Section. If respondent is non-violent go to NVD Section.

H. AFTER THE SECOND CHILD...AFTER THE THIRD...

Ask the same (similar) questions than in Section G. Observe the main changes in the relationship.

I. THE RELATIONSHIP AT PRESENT

1. General perception of the partner and the relationship

Do you think the relation with your partner is different than in the past? How has your relationship changed from the past to now?

How do you think she has been as wife and as mother? Did you expect that?

What didn't you like about her?

2. Interaction

How much time do you spend together?

Do you talk to each other about things that were going on in your life and her life?

Does she feel that you neglect her? Why?
Do you feel that you need her attention more? Why?
What happens if there are disagreements between you and your partner?
How do you make the final decisions? Example.
Does she ask you when she wants to use her money?
Do you feel supported by her? Example.
Does she respect you in front of others? Why?
Are you satisfied with the sexual intercourse of your partner?
Is her personality similar (or different) to yours?
What does she do when she is angry? What is the most common reason she becomes angry? What do you do?
What is the most common reason you become angry? What does she do?
Does she say things to make you feel bad? Example.
Do you think that she wants to dominate the relationship?

3. Violent situations

Have you fought with her in the last year?
At present, what kind of problems do you have? Explain. (Go deep into the reasons) c)
Give me an example of your worst fight. Details. If there was physical violence go to AVD Section. If respondent is non-violent go to NVD Section.

[Optional for those involved in violent relationships]

Have the number of fights changed over time? Are the beatings more often now than in the past? Are the beatings more serious?
When was the last time that you used physical force?
Did you have similar situations with other partners?

[Optional for those not involved in violent relationships]

How were problems with other partners? How did you resolve that problems?

J. THE COMMUNITY

1. Relatives

Have you lived with your (or her) parents?
What do you think about living with them? And what does she think?
How often do you see your (and her) parents? Do they live nearby?
What do your parents (and siblings) think about your partner?
Does she dislike or have problems with your parents?
Who is the main reason for conflicts in your relationship, your parents or your partner?
How many brothers and sisters does she have? How often do they see her?
Have you had problems with her relatives?
How do you get along with her parents?
Have the in-laws been a reason for fighting or for beatings? Explain.

2. Friends and other partners

How many friends do you have? How often do you see them?
Do you ask your wife's permission or inform her you are going out with your friends?

Have you had problems with your partner because you go out? Example.

What do you do when you go out?

Do you have female friends? Is your partner jealous because you have female friends?

Does she have female friends? How often does she see them? What is your opinion of that?

Have you had problems with your partner because she goes out with her female friends?

Example.

Does she have male friends? Have you met them? Are you jealous? Do you think that there are reasons to be jealous with your partner?

Have you ever had sexual relationships with other women since you have been married with your partner? How many? Where have you met these women? Reasons why, how long, known by partner, how resolved, attitudes to this behaviour by respondent and partner.

3. The work

How do you feel about your work?

How do you get along with your boss and your co-workers?

Do you spend a long time in your work? Have you had conflicts with your partner because of your work?

Have you had problems with your partner because of your economic situation?

Does your partner work? Why? What is your opinion about if she (doesn't) work(s)?

AVD SECTION

Why did you (and/or your partner) use physical violence?

What was the specific thing that bothered you?

What was she saying (or doing) before you use physical violence?

Why couldn't you control yourself at this time?

Who began using physical force?

In what moment did the fight stop? Why?

Was she hurt? And you?

How did you make up? How do you feel after the event?

Did you talk with someone about it? Why?

Did you discuss the incident with your partner? In detail?

Did your relationship change after this incident? Explain.

Did you think of separating after this incident? Explain.

Have you tried anything so that these incidents don't happen again?

NVD SECTION

What did you think when you were very angry?

Did you want to beat her? Why didn't you do that? Did you attempt to beat her?

How did you resolve the problem? What did you say? And she?

How did you make up?

Did you think of separating after this incident? Explain.

In what situation do you think you would hit your partner?

FINAL

How do you and your partner decide what to do with your free time? Who makes the final decision?

Who works more in household duties? Why? Example?

Now tell me, what are the things that you most appreciate about a woman? What don't you like about them?

Tell me about a man who you admire.

What are the main responsibilities of a married woman? And of a married man?

What do you think about women who work?

What advice would you give to your son about a girlfriend and relationships? And to your daughter?

How do you think a relationship should be? What do you like more about living with a partner? What do you dislike more?

What are the main reasons for problems in Mexican families?

How is the best way to resolve conflicts?

Appendix VII. Description of participants

Participant	Age	Setting during childhood	Educational level	Occupation	Physical viol. received during childhood	Physical viol. by father against mother	Number of partners	Age at current marriage	Age current partner	Educational level current partner	Work status current partner	Current marital status	Number of children with current partner	
V1	27	Urban	Secondary	Manual	Severe	Yes	1	20	25	Vocational	Not working	Married	3	Extended
V2	25	Urban	Vocational	Manual	Moderate	No	1	21	25	Vocational	Working	Cohabiting	1	Nuclear
V3	25	Urban	Secondary	Non-manual	Severe	Yes	1	17	26	Primary	Working	Cohabiting	2	Extended
V4	28	Urban	Vocational	Non-manual	Low	No	1	20	25	Vocational	Not working	Cohabiting	3	Extended
V5	30	Rural	Secondary	Manual	Severe	Yes	2	26	22	Primary	Working	Cohabiting	1	Extended
V6	29	Urban	University	Non-manual	Low	No	1	22	34	University	Working	Married	1	Extended
V7	38	Rural	Vocational	Non-manual	Severe	Yes	1	25	30	Secondary	Not working	Married	3	Nuclear
V8	40	Rural	Secondary	Manual	Severe	Yes	2	31	33	Secondary	Working	Married	1	Nuclear
V9	30	Urban	Vocational	Manual	Moderate	No	1	21	34	Vocational	Not working	Married	2	Nuclear
V10	23	Urban	Secondary	Manual	Severe	No	1	21	19	Vocational	Not working	Married	1	Nuclear
V11	27	Urban	Vocational	Manual	Severe	Yes	1	21	25	Secondary	Not working	Married	2	Nuclear
V12	34	Urban	Secondary	Manual	Severe	No	2	29	32	Secondary	Not working	Cohabiting	0	Nuclear
V13	36	Rural	Vocational	Manual	Severe	Yes	1	22	33	Secondary	Not working	Married	2	Extended
V14	33	Urban	Secondary	Non-manual	Moderate	No	1	21	30	Secondary	Not working	Married	3	Extended
V15	38	Rural	Primary	Manual	Severe	Yes	1	22	34	Primary	Not working	Married	4	Nuclear

Participant	Age	Setting during childhood	Educational level	Occupation	Physical viol. received during childhood	Physical viol. by father against mother	Number of partners	Age at current marriage	Age current partner	Educational level current partner	Work status current partner	Current marital status	Number of children with current partner	
NV1	33	Rural	Secondary	Manual	Moderate	No	1	24	30	Primary	Not working	Married	1	Nuclear
NV2	32	Urban	Vocational	Manual	Low	No	1	26	31	Vocational	Not working	Married	2	Extende
NV3	27	Urban	Vocational	Manual	Severe	Yes	1	17	25	Secondary	working	Cohabiting	2	Nuclear
NV4	36	Urban	Secondary	Manual	Moderate	No	2	27	36	Vocational	Not working	Married	2	Extende
NV5	30	Rural	Secondary	Manual	Severe	Yes	2	24	26	University	working	Married	2	Extende
NV6	32	Urban	Vocational	Non-manual	Severe	No	1	28	24	Vocational	Not working	Married	1	Nuclear
NV7	25	Urban	Secondary	Manual	Low	No	1	20	25	Secondary	working	Married	1	Nuclear
NV8	24	Urban	Vocational	Non-manual	Low	No	1	19	24	Vocational	Not working	Married	1	Extende
NV9	38	Urban	Vocational	Manual	Severe	Yes	1	29	30	Primary	working	Married	2	Nuclear
NV10	25	Urban	Secondary	Non-manual	Moderate	No	1	19	25	Primary	Not working	Married	1	Extende
NV11	21	Urban	Vocational	Non-manual	Low	No	1	19	18	Secondary	working	Cohabiting	1	Nuclear
NV12	30	Urban	Vocational	Non-manual	None	No	1	25	36	Vocational	Not working	Married	1	Nuclear
NV13	28	Urban	Secondary	Non-manual	Low	No	1	20	25	Vocational	working	Married	2	Extende
NV14	33	Urban	Vocational	Manual	Moderate	Yes	1	19	32	Vocational	Not working	Married	3	Nuclear
NV15	33	Rural	Secondary	Manual	Severe	Yes	1	26	27	Primary	working	Cohabiting	1	Nuclear

Appendix VIII

Original quotes in Spanish

Chapter 8

Q.1

Pues ya sabes, fiesta que no termina en fiesta pues como que no es fiesta.

[Informant NV3]

Q.2

Tuve dos amigos pero a ellos los mataron igual en un conflicto entre pandillas y en ese entonces a mi me, me tocó estar cuando mataron a uno de ellos lo que pasa es que llegaron a golpes y le picaron a uno y falleció.

[Informant NV14]

Q.3

Tenía mi papá tenía pistola pus ahí en el rancho o sea pus en el pueblo ahí pus todo mundo tiene su, su arma de la casa.

[Informant V5]

Q.4

A mi papá le dieron un balazo cuando estaba chico. El balazo le llegó a la espina y pus ya no pudo volver a caminar.

[Informant V15]

Q.5

A mi papá lo golpiaron muy, muy feo porque inclusive traía una cicatrices muy, muy amplias entonces este el quedó este yo creo que por eso quedó mal, mal de la cabeza.

[Informant NV15]

Q.6

El señor ese pus se molestó y me encontró en la calle una vez y me cortó con el machete y vine a mi casa y estuve viendo donde estaba la pistola.

[Informant V5]

Q.7

No, de hecho yo no era pleitista, es más, yo para los golpes era bien miedoso. Con decirte que mi temor era luego hasta salir a la escuela... Incluso había ocasiones en las que luego yo decía: pues para qué nos vamos a agredir compa? A ver, ahorita tú me das o yo te doy. Namás nos vamos a lastimar y qué vamos a ganar? Pero pues fui cambiando y llegué a la etapa de que me volví agresivo, bastante agresivo. Pero yo pleitista no era, sino que o sea llegas al grado en que si te están agarrando de bajada pues llega el momento en que pues ya estuvo.

[Informant V1]

Q.8

O sea que los padres de antes yo creo eran más, eran más, más este crueles pues pero pus por una parte estaba bien, no como ahorita ya que a su hijo no que lo apapachan mucho y al rato tienes un hijo drogadicto, un vándalo o un alcohólico.

[Informant V15]

Q.9

No, yo me acuerdo que nada más nos pego como... yo me acuerdo que a mi me pegó nada más como cuatro veces, y eso unas nalgadas, porque sí, fue cuando rompí un nacimiento.

[Informant NV11]

Q.10

Ya sabes, cuando no obedeces pues hay regañíos y golpes... Mi mamá pues a veces me regañaba, me pegaba, por ejemplo decía: ¿por qué no hiciste tu tarea? Pero pus era nomás lo normal.

[Informant V3]

Q.11

Me castigaba con lo que mas me dolía, no dejarme salir, no ver televisión. Sí, o sea, donde más te, te duele.

[Informant NV8]

Q.12

Y eso era lo que más sentíamos de que no nos daba nada de dinero porque era el, el especial para ir al matiné o para ir a, a gastárselo no fuera de la, de la colonia, si era lo que más sentíamos en vez del golpe era que, que el golpe era un poco más este más duro no sentíamos más el (habla riendo) billete.

[Informant NV14]

Q.13

Interviewer:

A ver cuéntame cuál fue la más dura que recuerdes?

Informant V13:

No pues el que más recuerdo fue cuando una vez estaba lloviendo y yo le decía que nos fuéramos porque teníamos que pasar un río. Y él decía no sabes que tenemos que acabar el trabajo que teníamos que hacer. Hasta que termináramos le teníamos que tupir, hasta que ya se ponía oscuro. Pero como ese día estaba lloviendo, te imaginas pasar un río, estaba ancho y a una presión tremenda. Te imaginas entons a él le valía tu tenías que cruzar.

Interviewer:

Pero eso era por un castigo?

Informant V13:

Sí porque no nos apuramos en el día a trabajar. Según que andábamos jugando. Entonces como no nos apuramos a hacer el trabajo, entonces pus terminamos ya tarde. Entonces ese fue el castigo que nos puso, que teníamos que terminar y pues el río seguía creciendo más.

Interviewer:

O sea ustedes querían ya irse antes.

Informant V13:

Sí, pensando en el río que se iba a hacer más grande

Interviewer:

Y él también cruzó?

Informant V13:

Si pero él sabía nadar, bueno, nosotros también sabíamos nadar pero pus yo tenía como 11 años.

Q.14

Interviewer:

A ver cuéntame la peor que te acuerdes.

Informant NV15:

En una ocasión precisamente ya había terminado mis cosas de hacer y me fui al football y este y más bien me estaban este buscando no sé para, me iban a mandar a mandados ps y no me encontraban y entonces este fue mi papá y me fue a buscar, entonces él, pero ya iba con la intención de darme un golpe y entonces si pus ya sabia que me iba a golpiar que me echo a correr porque ya sabía que me iba a golpiar, me echo a correr no pus si me correteo y no me alcanzó pero sí cuando llegó que me da un roce con el machete así en la mano me alcanzó a cortar tantito no tanto pero sí estaba sangrando. Esa es la que mas me acuerdo.

Interviewer:

¿Que edad tenías más o menos?

Informant NV15:

Yo tenía como, yo creo serán unos 8 años.

Q.15

La gente es más tolerante aquí en la ciudad. La gente es más tolerante y castigan menos a los niños.

[Informant V12]

Q.16

Bueno mi papá si era un poco rígido. Tú ya sabes que en los pueblos es otro rollo... Ahí sí nos tienen muy muy restringidos. De hecho sí, sí en los pueblos como que se educa más la persona que aquí, ahora sí como dicen: a la malagueña pero te enderezas y aquí no... allá tenías que hacer los quehaceres y si no pues una buena chinga, allá se acostumbra el machete, te daban con la espalda. Entonces pues ya sabíamos que era mejor hacer lo que ellos nos decían.

[Informant V13]

Q.17

Interviewer:

¿Sientes que por ejemplo alguno de los, alguno de los dos te quería más?

Informant V14:

Pues yo sentía que me quería más mi mamá, porque nos trataba y nos solapaba un poco más cuando llegaba mi papá. Mi papá es cuestión de que si no hacíamos el mandado al

momento, sale luego, luego un regaño fuerte... era un poco más estricto y pus de que sentíamos nosotros que nos quería más pus era la mamá.

Interviewer:

Oye y por ejemplo de cuando eras chico, ¿le tenías miedo a tu mamá?

Informant V14:

No, que era donde más nos refugiábamos todos cuando veíamos a mi papá enojado... sí pero a la mamá no. A mi papá era al que si le teníamos un poco de, no pavor sino respeto más que nada no yo lo veía como con más autoridad.

Q.18

Interviewer:

¿Qué tan estricto era tu papá?

Informant NV11:

Era de esas personas que les gusta que estén todos en la mesa cuando se va a comer... no le gustaba que nadie estuviera huevoneando, que todos se pararan temprano y que siempre estuvieras bien limpio. Nunca le gustaba que estuvieras en la calle, que anduvieras con tus amigos.

Interviewer:

¿Y tu mamá que tan estricta era?

Informant NV11:

No pus, era muy noble mi mamá.

Q.19

Interviewer:

Órale, y por ejemplo llegaste a sentir, por ejemplo que le tenías miedo a tu mamá?

Informant NV3:

A mi mamá miedo, no, nunca, no nunca. Nunca le he tenido miedo a mi mamá.

Interviewer:

¿De cuando eras niño y a tu papá?

Informant NV3:

A mi papá sí, siempre le.. siempre le he tenido miedo, siempre le tuve miedo, de chico, no? pus temblabamos cuando llegaba, cuando llegaba tomado temblábamos de, de miedo, la verdad sí, sí, fue muy, muy, muy feo esa época.

Q.20

Pus obviamente uno tiene mejor relación con la mamá. Bueno en mi caso yo tuve mejor relación con mi mamá porque pus era ella con la que pasaba más tiempo y en cambio con mi papá nomás eran las pocas horas cuando regresaba de trabajar ya tarde.

[Informant V10]

Q.21

Recuerdo que me decía de las chavas: no que tú vas a tener muchas chavas cabrón, vas a ser bueno, tienes que ser chingón como tus hermanos. Siempre en su manera de hablar me motivo como hombre y yo siento que de hombre a hombre como que sientes más la motivación.

[Informant V10]

Q.22

Interviewer:

¿Por qué dices que era machista tu papá? ¿Que hacía por ejemplo?

Informant NV6:

Me decía, o sea tú cabrón por qué estás lavando tu ropa? Porque mi mamá me dijo. No cabrón que la chingada tú no debes de lavar la ropa, para eso están las mujeres y que quien sabe que, ah órale pues no hay bronca, pero yo no lo veía de esa forma. Yo creo que si lavo mi ropa no voy a ser maricón o no voy a ser vieja por lavar mi ropa.

Q.23

Ella al niño le ha dicho, cuando esté yo aquí, yo soy la que mando pero cuando llegue tu papá él es el que manda... Y ella es la que manda cuando esta ahí en la casa, cuando yo llego yo soy el que mando. Me cede el puesto que me corresponde como padre, como hombre de la casa.

[Informant NV8]

Q.24

O sea, el varón es el sostén de la familia, pero no por eso debe ser el que mande dentro de la familia, el que diga: ¿sabes qué? así es. Tal vez sí es el que lleva la batuta dentro de casa. Para algunas cosas a lo mejor sí ¿no? La decisión la tiene que tomar uno. Bueno, te digo para cualquier cosa siempre platicamos y se hace lo que queremos, en acuerdo.

[Informant NV7]

Q.25

Nunca la he dejado trabajar... siempre lo que es de su casa, nada más, sabes que tú nada más tenme mi ropa limpia, mi cuarto limpio, todo limpio, tú te vas a dedicar a lo que es a la casa. Yo pienso que si yo no la quisiera, la dejaría yo trabajar, la traería yo en chinga, pero no. Ora sí que tú dedícate a lo que es la casa, yo pienso que pus si la quiero no, ¿o cómo ves?

[Informant V13]

Q.26

Interviewer:

¿Cómo? ¿en qué te quería mangonear?

Informant V5:

Pus que lavara trastes, que tendiera la cama, que trapeara eso. Nunca, yo nunca se lo hice. No le dije en ese caso entons ¿pa qué tengo mujer? Por eso te tengo a ti, dímelo si no te sientes competente pus nos dejamos y es lo mejor, asunto arreglado... o sea, yo no soy de esos hombres de que les ayuda a la mujer. Estoy criado de otra forma, o sea a mí nunca me criaron que yo anduviera en la cocina. Tú pensaras que todavía tengo otras ideas y que la chingada, a mí eso de que yo ayudarte a ti, pus para eso te tengo a ti. Dijera mi papá por eso uno se busca a la mujer para que haga todo lo del hogar.

Q.27

Interviewer:

¿Qué opinas de las mujeres que tienen hijos pequeños y trabajan como por gusto?

Informant NV12:

Pues no las critico pero sí yo pienso que sí se le debe poner atención a los hijos, porque o trabaja uno o trabaja el otro pero si ya ves que nunca sabes con quien dejas a los hijos.

Q.28

La niña a mí me sigue mucho. Porque yo llego y la mimo a la niña todo el tiempo. Por ejemplo llego ahorita y siento a la niña conmigo y le platico sobre lo que hice en el día.
[Informant NV15]

Q.29

Cuando ella nació no me gustó ni abrazarla. Como veía yo otros que hay que andan con sus bebés. Y hasta la fecha no me gusta a mí así andar ahí que pus que veo que algunos se vuelven locos que acá traen que a sus bebés. Aquí le digo tú ve a tus hijas, tú eres la madre... yo he sido muy ajeno así de andar ahí muy apapachándolas a las niñas.
[Informant V15]

Q.30

Yo me acuerdo que la comparación que hice con otras chavalas fue la forma de besar. Una de mis novias anteriores, la primerita me acuerdo no pus parecía este dragón, daba unos besotes! Y mi esposa no, mi esposa pues era tonta, bueno uno se da cuenta, al besarla mi esposa era bien tonta para besar. Y yo pensé: de seguro ésta nunca ha tenido novio. Y ya después le pregunté: ¿qué has tenido algún novio? No hasta ahorita no ninguno. No pues con más razón me encapriché de que tenía que ser mi esposa. Y esa fue, yo pienso, que esa fue la razón más fuerte por la que decidí casarme con ella.
[Informant V14]

Q.31

Pues todo mundo sabe que las mujeres son más calientes que los hombres.
[Informant NV11]

Q.32

Yo le digo a mi esposa: ¿sabes qué hija? Uno llega hasta que ustedes digan. No dice que el hombre es culero. Ni madres hija, siendo sinceros ustedes son más culeras que uno, la neta se la saben mejor que uno.
[Informant NV2]

Q.33

O sea si ya después ella me lo dijo: que tú anduviste con ésta, con ésta y con ésta. Sí le digo pero ¿sabes qué? Quieres que te de una respuesta correcta: la mujer, la mujer vale una vez, no tantas veces. Vivas con el hombre con el que hayas vivido pero nada más vales una vez porque de ahí te alejas tú de ese marido te ocupan los hombres como kleenex una vez y te tiran desde ahí. Como que te van catalogando de la fácil, facilita. Y uno de hombre no, un hombre así tenga 50 años se sigue casando. Fíjate la mujer nada más una vez, si duró bien con el muchacho y si no ya se chingó porque ya los hombres la usan le como kleenex, no pus esta pinche vieja coge culero, esta pinche vieja namás se tira como vaca y ahí cogiendo de dos aquí pus ¿ora quién?
[Informant V5]

Q.34

Que hombre no va a querer que su novia o su esposa sea virgen. Aunque es muy raro ya encontrar una chava virgen, ya es raro. Entonces yo digo que está bien para mí que sea virgen aunque no lo veo mal que ya no lo sean. Pues ya sería muy tonto el que pida virginidad si tú ya no lo eres.

[Informant V10]

Q.35

Para mí el haber tenido relaciones anteriores es como haberle fallado. Si porque yo me adelanté, en vez de haber tenido los dos la misma relación, o sea de haber perdido la virginidad los dos al mismo tiempo. Yo me siento hasta como culpable.

[Informant V14]

Q.36

Interviewer:

Y por ejemplo ¿ella ya había tenido relaciones sexuales?

Informant V6:

Sí.

Interviewer:

¿Y qué piensas de eso de que no haya sido su primera vez contigo?

Informant V6:

Pues me costó trabajo asimilarlo.

Interviewer:

¿Qué pensabas, qué sentías?

Informant V6:

O sea pus yo sentía feo no yo decía o sea pus a la mejor con gente que yo fui el primero me pude haber casado. Pus ella no sé a lo mejor lo disfrutaba mucho. Sentía celos se puede decir, pero ya con el tiempo que tenemos pues nunca ha habido así algo de que yo pueda pensar mal de ella.

Interviewer:

Oye dices que te costó trabajo pero cómo ¿ya no te cuesta trabajo o qué paso?

Informant V6:

Pues a lo mejor no lo he superado del todo no, pero o sea trato de superarlo no, si o sea como que ya no me afecta tanto, porque bueno igual y somos humanos no, digo igual y se equivocó... A veces yo le digo y tú o sea este le digo lo disfrutabas o pendejadas así. Ya después dices pus son pendejadas, porque pus realmente pus somos humanos ¿no?

Q.37

A veces que nada más nos daba uno, ya con eso. Hasta eso mi jefa no era manchada, no nos maltrataba así de a golpes. A la mejor 2 o 3 varazos fueron de escarmiento, a la mejor fueron duros. Hasta eso no era tan estricta, no era tan ruda... Mi jefe era bien agresivo y órale cabrones. Era bien canijo. No me acuerdo muy bien que me haya golpeado mucho pero sí cuando le pegaba bien duro a mi carnal.

[Informant V1]

Q.38

Informant V9:

Mi mamá estaba más al pendiente de nosotros y cualquier cosa que hacíamos mal, pues ya este estaba sobre nosotros: haz esto, no vayas mal en la escuela. Ya cuando eran problemas más fuertes ya le decía a mi papá: ¿Sabes qué? no entiende el niño y ya nos regañaba y nos golpeaba mi papá cuando nos portábamos mal.

Interviewer:

¿Pero tú mamá te llegaba a dar algunas nalgadas?

Informant V9:

Mi mamá sí.

Interviewer:

¿Quién más fuerte?

Informant V9:

Mi papá.

Interviewer:

¿Y luego tu mamá generalmente que decía cuando tu papá te pegaba?

Informant V9:

Pues me decía: ya ves te estoy diciendo que entiendas, que hagas esto. Ya luego a mi papá le decía: tú eres bien manchado con tus hijos, les pegas bien feo a tus hijos. No debes de pegarles así, está bien que les pegues pero no así.

Q.39

Mi papá es muy broncudo, pero además como sabía box pues peor. Yo soy todo lo contrario, yo soy como mi mamá. Pero sí es muy agresivo mi papá, también tengo un hermano que también es bien broncudo. Yo me acuerdo que mi papá me decía: pero hay donde te dejes, porque aparte de la chinga que te pongan yo te voy a poner otra chinga. Por eso más o menos yo también me trataba de defender.

[Informant V6]

Q.40

Ya pasó. Al rato llega su tío. Ella delante de mí no lloró pero nada mas vió a su tío y se puso a llorar. Le dice: me pegó [Informant V5]... pues hubieras llamado a la patrulla. Y ella le contestó: dice [Informant V5] que no tengo derecho, ya le dije a él que iba a llamar a la patrulla y él me dijo que él estaba en su casa, que él pagaba todo y que ¿cuál era el problema? A pues tiene razón, pues si él paga todo...

[Informant V5]

Chapter 9

Q.41

O sea que ¿por qué tiene esa actitud ante nosotros? No le importa lastimar a alguien, es por demás que yo me porte bien y me me esfuerce como hijo.

[Informant V7]

Q.42

Me pegó pocas veces más que nada porque mi mamá no lo permitía que me pegaran, porque si no me daba nada, no me atendía o sea no me daba nada, no me compraba nada, no tenía derecho ni por qué tocarme, según decía mi mamá eso.

[Informant V3]

Q.43

Interviewer:

Cuéntame esa en la que reprobaste las materias

Informant V2:

Por lo mismo que estaba bajo de calificaciones y aparte de que si reprobé unas tres materias. Pues si le molestó a mi papá porque nos decía que en balde que él se estuviera desvelando y matando y ustedes desperdiciando el dinero, que no aprovechamos nuestros estudios, no es justo. Y saliendo de la secundaria sí me puso dos, tres trancazos en las costillas.

Interviewer:

¿Así con el puño?

Informant V2:

Sí

Interviewer:

¿Ahí sientes que tenía razón tu papá o que no tenía?

Informant V2:

Sí, sí, pues imagínate reprobar tres materias por flojera pues si era justo.

Interviewer:

¿Y la otra la de las tortillas también consideras que estuvo bien o estuvo mal?

Interviewer:

Estuvo super bien porque de ahí ya no volví a jugar en vez de hacer lo que me pedían, aprendí la lección.

Q.44

Interviewer:

¿Qué opinas actualmente de que te castigaban de esa forma?

Informant NV3:

O sea muchas veces dicen: es que soy así porque así me trataron mis papás. Y yo digo no, yo soy de la idea de que pues si a ti te fue mal pues si está mal pues no lo hagas. Yo estoy tratando de a mis hijos no gritarles, no pegarles.

Q.45

Porque en primera mi papá me enseñó que a una mujer nunca se le debe de pegar. Él me dijo eso y sí se me quedó muy grabado.

[Informant NV11]

Q.46

Con la tercera o sea, de los de los de todos de hombre y de mujeres la tercera es con la que más se desquitó porque era la más, es la más desmadrosa le gustaba andar con un chingo de gueyes y así y asado.

[Informant V3]

Q.47

A ellas les pegaban más duro y más cuando anduvieron de novias, mucho más todavía.

[Informant V5]

Q.48

No quería yo acarrear agua y mi hermana la mayor me dice: ¿sabes qué? si no vas a acarrear agua te voy a chingar. Le digo: pues hazle como quieras pero yo no voy a acarrear nada. Y ese día me empezó a corretear que me alcanza y yo sentí que ya había brincado para bajar a la barranca y que me alcanza de las greñas y ese día me dio una pinche arrastrada de greñas.

[Informant V3]

Q.49

Interviewer:

¿Cómo se te hizo ya vivir con una persona?

Informant NV12:

Pues bien padre porque ella me apoyaba en todo... ella a pesar de que todavía trabajaba, llegaba llegaba de trabajar y preparaba la comida y lavaba mi ropa. O sea ella no desatendía la casa a pesar de que trabajaba, entonces dije no pus la tengo que valorar.

Q.50

Interviewer:

¿Por qué motivos han sido las discusiones?

Informant NV11:

Porque le veo una arruga a la camisa o al pantalón.

Interviewer:

¿Qué le dices?

Informant NV11:

Le digo, mira ¿sabes qué? Sabes que no me gusta traer arrugada la camisa, el pantalón lo quiero con la raya bien derecha, y pues luego se enojaba ella. Un día sí me desesperé y sí le dije pues ¿qué de plano estás muy pendeja? ¿qué no sabes planchar?

Interviewer:

¿Y qué te dijo?

Informant NV11:

Pues se enojó. Otra mujer digna! Aventó la plancha y se fue con su mamá. Como a las dos horas regresa y dice: es que mi mamá ya me va a enseñar a planchar bien. Yo dije: pues espero que lo hagas bien!

Interviewer:

¿Qué otras cosas son las que a ti te enojan?

Informant NV11:

Pues que tenga la casa tirada. Que esté fodonga ella, que mi hija esté sucia, todo eso.

Q.51

Interviewer:

¿Y cómo fue que llegaste a empujarla?

Informant V9:

Y esa vez de que la empuje ¿por qué fue? Ah! porque se había ido con sus amigas todo el día y llegó en la noche y había un relajo en la casa, un tiradero. Y si le dije: ¿sabes qué? ¿tú no vas a cambiar verdad? tú sigues igual sigues con el tiradero de siempre. Y sí, discutimos y sí la empuje sí se enojó.

Q.52

Interviewer:

Oye y ¿no han pensado en que ella trabaje?

Informant V13:

Ocasionaría más problemas.

Interviewer:

¿Por qué?

Informant V13:

Porque ella ya ganando su dinero pues... O sea si ahorita que no gana dinero me quiere traer molido pues ahora tal vez que ella esté ya ganando su propio dinero pues va a ser peor. Es por eso que no la dejo trabajar.

Q.53

Es que ya estando ella enojada pues es diferente, ya no es amorosa, yo siempre quisiera que fuera sumisa, amorosa y todo eso, y ella no. O sea si era así al principio pero ya de que fue abriendo los ojos pues ya no se deja o me reclama.

[Informant V11]

Q.54

Pero hay veces que se sale a platicar con la vecina y me deja a mí ya abandonado. Y hay veces que le digo: oye pues entonces ¿qué caso tiene que yo esté aquí? Es cuando yo siento que me falta atención.

[Informant V12]

Q.55

Una vez que se puso una minifalda le dije: oye ¿para qué te pones esa minifalda? ¿no ves que se te ven todas las piernas? ¿Pues entonces qué me pongo me dice ella? Pues ponte algo más que te tape más, algo que te cubra más los pies.

[Informant V14]

Q.56

En una ocasión salimos de su casa y por desgracia se viene semejante aironazo y le levanta la falda para arriba, una falta así medio sueltosona. Primero agarró su monedero y ya después se bajó la falda. Yo estaba bien preocupado, ay! no la vayan a ver y pues sí me molesté con ella.

[Informant V1]

Q.60

Interviewer:

¿Eres celoso tú?

Informant V4:

Pues a veces, ahora ya casi no, antes sí.

Interviewer:

¿Cuando sí eras celoso?

Informant V4:

Pues nada más cuando se arreglaba, pues sí ¿qué onda no?

Interviewer:

¿Pero qué le decías o qué?

Informant V4:

Pues que no me gustaba que se arreglara así, sólo cuando va conmigo pues sí... pero pues nada más me enojaba pero hasta ahí.

Q.61

Interviewer:

¿Y por qué te separaste?

Informant V8:

Teníamos problemas así fuertes, o sea la que era mi esposa no me dijo la verdad, o sea la saqué de blanco y ella ya no valía para mí.

Interviewer:

¿Qué quieres decir?

Informant V8:

Ya había estado con otro antes, ¿tú qué pensarías de eso?

Interviewer:

Pues ahí es cuestión de cada quien.

Informant V8:

Pero pues sí descubrí la verdad y pues ya no hay solución, ahí empezaron los problemas con ella.

Interviewer:

¿Cuánto tiempo llevabas de casado?

Informant V8:

Más o menos como un año... y ahí ya tuvimos problemas fuertes y ahí ya mejor decidió irse al pueblo y ya no regresó conmigo.

Interviewer:

¿Cómo fueron esos problemas?

Informant V8:

Pus o sea yo andaba un poco tomado y le pegué algo.

Q.62

De hecho cuando tuve un accidente aquí en la mano yo tenía ganas de tener relaciones con ella, entonces ella me decía que no que porque estaba malo de la mano. Entonces yo le dije: ¿sabes qué? estoy malo de la mano pero del pito no. Pero es que yo te tengo que cuidar me dice y le digo: no, vamos a hacerlo. Yo o sea con cariño ya le empezaba a hablar y ella: no que no y que no pues que no. Y ella como que queriéndome amagar. No le digo, a mí no me amenes ni tampoco me levantes la mano porque a pesar de que estoy malo de esta mano le digo de un madrazo no te me vas a levantar. Y me dice: ¿pues que a ver? Y a pesar de que estaba malo la empuje fuerte y cayó en la cama y abajo se quebraron las tablas.

[Informant V5]

Q.63

Interviewer:

¿Pero esa vez que fueron hasta la delegación qué pasó?

Informant V7:

No pus decía que yo le había yo pegado... empezó que no le compraba yo ropa... o sea me reclamó que no le daba yo nada y ora si que yo no era un rey para darle todo. O sea había

momentos que a lo mejor me iba bien en el trabajo y pues sí le daba lo suficiente y luego se compraba cosas. Pero luego se compraba cosas que no se debería de comprar (lujos) y pues no le alcanzaba, y yo no le podía dar más. Entonces fue por ese problema que forcejamos.

Q.64

Sí, llegaba tomado y entonces ella me empezaba a gritar y se armaba el pleitazo. Me decía ella: pero pues es que ya cada ocho días y pues que gastas el dinero, porque pues gastas dinero que podrías ocupar en otra cosa, como en el niño... que juntáramos dinero, que me lo gastaba todo tomando y pus sí, la verdad sí, yo sí me gastaba buen dinero tomando.

[Informant NV3]

Q.65

Para mí es buena la responsabilidad porque uno debe ser responsable con los suyos, porque te digo en la calle encuentras gente que por ejemplo prefiere a veces comprarse su cervezota y no comprarle un dulce a su niño o comprarle un sándwich a su hijo, incluso ahí lo lleva muchas veces sin zapatos o a veces con zapatos rotos pero eso sí para la cerveza sí tienen. Para mí es triste ver eso y yo prefiero no pasar situaciones de este tipo.

[Informant NV15]

Q.66

Interviewer:

Ahora tú me decías que sí llegaron a empujarse y todo eso ¿por qué eran?

Informant V13:

Prácticamente era cuando yo era briago ya llegaba tarde y tomado.

Interviewer:

¿Llegabas tomado?

Informant V13:

Sí llegué a empujarla, llegué a pegarle, golpes.

Interviewer:

¿Cuál era el motivo de los golpes?

Informant V13:

Pues porque ella me reclamaba, me decía que por qué llegaba tarde, que por qué tomaba y yo le contestaba pus que yo ne le pedía dinero para tomar entonces ¿qué? y es donde yo le pegaba a ella.

Interviewer:

¿Ya tenían hijos?

Informant V13:

Sí, apenas el primero, estaba chico el niño.

Q.67

Interviewer:

¿Y en general cómo se te hizo el inicio de la vida en pareja?

Informant NV14:

Se me hizo al principio un poco pesado porque no tenía yo responsabilidad, pero al cambio del tiempo me fui acostumbrando yo a ser responsable, porque yo no era muy responsable.

Interviewer:

¿Y ella te decía algo de que tú no eras muy responsable?

Informant NV14:

Sí, sí, me dijo: tienes que ser más responsable porque no veo que seas realmente responsable. Ella me empezó a hacer ver las cosas de que no me iba a dejar nada bueno andar con mis amigos y de ahí ya fui yo dejando a mis amigos a un lado y ya estuvimos nosotros nada más.

Interviewer:

¿Por ejemplo en qué no eras responsable?

Informant NV14:

Porque a veces entraba a un trabajo y me salía, luego buscaba yo otro trabajo, así anduve como un año en que ya más o menos me centré y además porque todavía ya casado mis amigos me iban a buscar y me salía con ellos.

Interviewer:

¿Sentías que te molestaba el hecho de que ella te reclamara esas cosas?

Informant NV14:

Hubo un momento en que sí, en que yo le dije: otra vez ya me vas a empezar a decir las cosas. Y ella lo único que me dijo fue: pues yo nada más te las digo por tu bien, si tú quieres entenderlas sino sigue con tu vida y no sé que va a pasar entre nosotros. Fue ya cuando empecé yo más a pensar las cosas.

Interviewer:

¿Algún pleito fuerte que hayan tenido por esa situación?

Informant NV14:

Pues fue cuando ya teníamos un compromiso con su hermano y llegaron mis amigos y me invitaron a ir a una tardecada y me salí con ellos y ella me dijo: no sales. Y dije: ahorita vengo y me salí. Entonces ya cuando regresé fue cuando me dijo: mira ¿sabes qué?, no sé que está pasando contigo, entonces ya fue cuando como que empezamos a gritar, fue la única vez que más o menos nos gritamos duro

Interviewer:

¿Eso más o menos cuándo fue?

Informant NV14:

De recién casados

Interviewer:

¿Y actualmente quién crees que tuvo la culpa de esa pelea?

Informant NV14:

Yo porque a veces nos ponemos a platicar y me dice ella: ¿oye te acuerdas cuando no eras responsable? ¿cuando preferías estar con tus amigos que conmigo? Pues sí (contesta él) Y quién crees que tuvo la culpa? (le pregunta ella). Y pues le digo que yo (contesta él) porque ya te digo, ya como pareja tenía que estar con ella porque ya mis amigos pasaban a otro término, tenía yo que estar con ella porque ya éramos una pareja.

Q.68

I: A ver cuéntame que pasó?

R: Fue por un desliz que tuve, se dio cuenta ella, o sea yo ahí la regué, pero pues ella me pegó, ella empezó a pegarme, yo al principio traté de detenerla, pero ya después pues también me enojé, me calenté y también le respondí y el niño empezó a llorar, muy, muy traumante...

I: Y por qué esa vez sientes que ella fue tan fuerte, que habrá pasado?

R: Sí porque como ella me lo dijo: yo siempre te tenía como ejemplo o sea con respecto a ser padre, marido y en ese tiempo yo pienso que me perdió toda confianza...

I: Ahora dentro de la pelea, cómo fue?

R: Ella me descubrió y ella se metió antes (a la casa), yo fui atrás de ella, primero estaba llorando, en eso agarró un sartén, me pegó un sartenazo más que dolerme pues no lo podía

creer. Y de ahí empezaron los manotazos de ella, yo traté de calmarla pero no. Ya de ahí ya empecé a pegarle también...

Q.69

Lo que pasa es que nosotros no hemos tenido mucha comunicación, o sea sí platicamos bien pero de que llego a la casa y decirle: ¿sabes es qué? Hoy me fue así, hice esto, etc., o sea no, no platico, o sea no sé, no, no, no me nace. Luego ella me dice: ¿cómo te fue hoy? ¿qué hiciste hoy? y le digo: no me estés molestando, sí nos falta la comunicación.
[Informant V9]

Q.70

Interviewer:

¿Y de recién casados llegaron a tener alguna discusión?

Informant V6:

Sí, de recién casados era como que me quería gritar y entonces le dije cálmate.

Interviewer:

¿Por qué te quería gritar?

Informant V6:

Pues no me acuerdo, como que me levantó la voz pero no me acuerdo exactamente por qué fue.

Interviewer:

¿Y qué le dijiste?

Informant V6:

Que no que pues estaba equivocada, que tranquila. Más que nada siempre cuando te casas los problemas son por el hecho de que muchas veces no estás acostumbrado a que alguien como que te quiera dominar, porque quieras o no lo mínimo pero te trata de dominar, más que nada fueron esos los primeros problemas.

Q.71

Interviewer:

¿Y eso lo platicaron con alguien?

Informant V11:

Sí pero no porque yo haya querido, sino porque de repente se dan cuenta de los moretones, no sé, o que de que: ay! me duele.

Interviewer:

¿Y sus papás no te dijeron nada a ti?

Informant V11:

Nunca, aunque yo le pegaba, nunca me dijeron nada sus papás. Ahora sí que le dicen: pues te tienes que aguantar, querías casarte...

Q.72

Interviewer:

¿Y por qué crees que nunca te dejó?

Informant V13:

Porque una vez me acuerdo que le dijo su papá: mira hija, te vas a ir con él, pero así como te vas a ir con él yo aquí no te voy a recibir. Mira, hagan lo que te hagan, te vas para afuera y ya es tu problema. Cuando estuviste soltera pues estabas a mi custodia pero ahora que ya

te juntaste con él pues que yo te recoja porque se pelearon ustedes pues no, aquí ya no entras a esta casa.

Q.73

Interviewer:

¿Ella no tuvo algún pleito con tu mamá o con tu papá cuando recién se fueron a vivir juntos?

Informant V2:

No, no, no, al contrario, si mi papá una vez me oyó discutiendo con ella de que no me daba de cenar y pues yo le exigía. Pues yo estaba cansado, cansado de estar trabajando todo el pinche día, inclusive le hablé fuerte y mi papá alcanzó a oír y me dijo: no pues el primero que se va ir de aquí eres tú, si la quieres correr te vas primero tú, yo aquí mantengo a mi nieta y a ella y tú te vas a la chingada. Y yo le dije: pero por lo menos déjame ponerle un chingadazo para que entienda que tiene que atenderme, por lo menos para que me de comer y ya después que haga lo que quiera.

Interviewer:

¿Y qué te dijo tu papá?

Informant V2:

Pues lo que dijo fue: si la madreas pues yo después te voy a poner en tu madre a ti. Ya fue todo.

Q.74

Interviewer:

En alguna cosa que no se puedan poner de acuerdo ¿cómo le hacen?

Informant NV7:

Pedimos opinión a mis papás o a sus papás, o sea, hay gente que me preguntan: ¿no te da pena? Y pues no porque o sea, porque va a dar pena si es una opinión nada más, incluso muchas veces hasta eso nos puede hacer mejorar.

Q.75

Interviewer:

Por ejemplo cuéntame el pleito más fuerte que han tenido desde que la conoces.

Informant NV12:

Fue precisamente por su familia, de que yo no me llevaba con sus hermanos. Entonces cuando

llegábamos a tener una reunión pues yo nada más así como estatua, yo a nadie le hablaba. En cambio, ella cuando está con mi familia a todos mis hermanos les habla. Bueno, con mi hermana como que ya no se lleva, tuvieron alguna discusión, pero pues yo espero que el día que se vean se van a arreglar porque a mi esposa le gusta mucho hablar y pues yo prefiero no meterme, sé que se van a hablar, yo estoy seguro que se van a arreglar entre ellas cuando se vuelvan a ver. Pero en cambio yo sí soy muy hermético con su familia.

Interviewer:

¿Y esa vez del pleito qué pasó?

Informant NV12:

Esa vez me dijo pues que no fuera así, porque si yo soy grosero con su familia la estoy lastimando a ella porque es su familia y ella quiere mucho a sus hermanos.

Interviewer:

¿Y qué le dijiste?

Informant NV12:

Pues le dije que por ella iba a cambiar, le dije: pues me caen gordos pero por ti les voy a hablar y voy a tratar de llevar bien y sí lo he intentado.

Q.76

Y se me queda viendo mi esposa y dice que ya vas a empezar a joder con tus chingaderas que
dices, no le le que tú la que estas haciendo estas cosas, no que sabe que, que esto no existe y me, me vol, me volvió a decir ya te dije que tu mamá con las almohadas se va a revolver. No esa vez, sí me prendió porque esa vez en la pelea anterior me quedé así o sea me quede así de pronto, o sea no reaccione o sea no no defendí a mi mamá de ellos o sea me quedé así entons hasta la fecha mi mamá sí me dice no quien sabe que ese día sí te quedaste como tonto no nos defendiste, pero me quedé así entons era para que yo hubiera reaccionado diferente no, y no me quedé así entons dice: ya ves como sí tu esposa te esta haciendo algo, te trae todo menso y esto y lo otro. Entonces esta vez sí me prendí y pensé en todas esas cosas. Haz de cuenta que me dijeron: ¿sabes qué? dale en la torre. Pero no sé que me pasó esa vez, no sabes que que me entró que haz de cuenta que me dijeron: ¿sabes qué? ya dale en la torre ya ya estuvo no ya dale en lo que caiga ya dale en la torre, si la matas la matas si no este a ver que pero ya ya dale un fin a esto no. Entons este que me dice no que ya vas a empezar con tus con tus chingaderas no le digo tu eres la que estas haciendo esas chingaderas no que esto así es, entons tu eres la que estás chingando a mi mamá, pus ahorita vas a ver a la chingada no y groserías y sí le dí dos cachetadas y luego la aventé a la cama.

[Informant V9]

Q.77

O sea se cayó así se empezó a poner morada y ya me espanté y dije ya en la torre ya le dí en la torre, se empezó a poner morada. No podía respirar sí me sacó de onda. Chin ya la maté.

[Informant V9]

Q.78

Ya después empecé a pegarle también, se puede decir puñetazos pero no en lugares así de cara, no en lugares sensibles, ahí no. Yo me fijaba donde le pegaba.

[Informant V11]

Q.79

Interviewer:

¿Eras muy celoso?

Informant V10:

Sí, sí. Era extremadamente celoso, incluso hasta cometí el error de morderla y de darle de cachetadas varias veces.

Q.80

Interviewer:

¿Y ella en ese momento estaba muy enojada?

Informant NV6:

Sí, sí, sí esa vez inclusive me rasgo la camisa y me tiro una cachetada, sí, o sea cabrón y yo pues aguantando. Yo no hacía nada, claro o sea uno como hombre pues aguanta los trancazos y pues sabes que tranquilo, tranquilo, tranquilo y ahí quedo, o sea ya no paso a mayores.

Q.81

Interviewer:

¿Y en esos momentos que has estado más enojado con ella nunca te dieron ganas de darle un golpe?

Informant NV6:

¿Qué si me dieron ganas? Sí, sí obviamente, pero te digo porque ya es tanto el enojo que dices ¿pues que onda no? pero o sea nunca, nunca, nunca lo hice.

Q.82

Interviewer:

Por ejemplo ¿por qué no lo hiciste?

Informant NV7:

Yo no tuve esa educación dentro de mi familia, o sea, me dieron las ganas de hacerlo pero no lo hice por la educación que recibimos dentro de nuestra familia.

Interviewer:

¿O sea qué pensaste en ese momento? ¿En ese momento pensaste todo esto?

Informant NV7:

Sí, o sea, digo sí a mí no me lo hicieron, y si a mi mamá no se lo hicieron y a lo mejor su papá no se lo hizo a ella, yo con que derecho ¿no? Y muchas veces me detuve.

Interviewer:

¿A poco tal cual todo esto pensaste en ese momento?

Informant NV7:

No, no, no, no todo lo piensas en ese momento. O sea pero en esos problemas me pongo a pensar: si le pego a lo mejor le dice a mis papás, mis papás ¿qué me van a decir? ¿Qué? ¿yo te di ese ejemplo? pues mejor no lo hago. O lo llegan a saber sus papás y van a decir: si yo no le pego ¿tú por qué le pegas? O sea pienso diferentes cosas pero no pienso todo al mismo tiempo.

Q.83

Informant NV7:

Muchas veces me quedo callado y dos, tres horas pasan y sigo enojado y ya después ya se me baja un poquito el coraje. O muchas veces me salgo de la casa, me salgo a fumar un cigarro a la calle, ya me tranquilizo y ya vamos a platicar. Cuando estoy muy enojado ella ya me conoce y le dijo: mejor ya no voy a discutir ahora. Y ella se queda callada, no me dice nada, ya sabe que me voy a salir, o que me voy a ir. Me voy al billar una o dos horas y ahí estoy tranquilo y ya hasta que me controlo ya me regreso a la casa, ya platicamos más tranquilo y ya corregimos lo que estuvo mal.

Interviewer:

Y por ejemplo esa última vez que me contaste ¿por qué no te saliste a echarte tu tabaco?

Informant NV7:

No, mejor me quedé en casa y ya ella tampoco me dijo nada. Me quedé en el cuarto viendo la televisión y ella se quedó en la cocina viendo unas cosas. Y ya hasta que llegó que nos acostáramos ya en la cama platicamos, ya no hubo ningún problema, ya en la camita lo resolvimos rico.

Appendix IX

Letters of information for participants and consent forms

Letter of information for participants in the Survey

Dear Sir,

We would like to invite you to participate in a study about men's health and family issues in Mexico. This study will help us to better understand the problems within the family, mainly within the relationship. We hope that the results of this study will contribute to the development of programmes and policies to prevent family conflicts.

If you agree to collaborate with us, we would like you to participate in a survey, which includes questions about yourself in general, your childhood, your family, your friends, your attitudes and beliefs, your relationship with your current partner and the conflicts that you have had with her. The survey could be carried out in work hours with previous authorisation of your supervisors.

Some of the questions asked during the survey are quite personal and if you feel uncomfortable with any of the questions, you can decide not to answer them. At all times your participation is completely voluntary. This means that if you change your mind about participating at any time during the study, you can just stop participating without giving a reason. All of the information that you give us will be kept confidential and only the researchers will have access to it. That means that whatever you answer, no one will be able to find out. We want to emphasise that this study is completely separate of your work and I repeat the information that you give us is absolutely confidential.

If you agree the results of this research will be communicate to you. Thank you for your attention to this letter. If you require further information, please contact me. If you agree to your participation, please sign the attached consent form.

Yours sincerely,

Manuel Contreras
Primary Investigator

Consent form

- I have read the information sheet concerning this research about men's health and family issues in Mexico led by Manuel Contreras, and I clearly understand what will be required of me if I take part in the study.
- My questions concerning this study have been answered by Manuel Contreras.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving reason.
- I understand that for the interviewer will arrange a suitable time and place to conduct the interview without affecting my work.
- I understand that the information is completely confidential and only the researchers will have access to it.
- I understand that I could contact to the researchers for further information required.
- I agree to take part in this study.

Name

Signed

Date

Letter of information for participants in in-depth interviews

Dear Sir,

Thank you for participating in the survey. As part of the same study about men's health and family issues in Mexico we would also like to invite you to participate in another activity, called an in-depth interview. Your participation in this activity is very important, as it will help us to better understand the problems within the family and we hope that the results of the study will contribute to the development of programmes and policies to prevent family conflicts.

If you agree to participate in this activity, you may be invited to be interviewed by one of the researchers. You may be interviewed from one or two times, with each interview lasting from 45 minutes to 1 and half hour. During the interview, you will be asked to talk about yourself, your childhood and adolescence, your friends, your family and your relationship. The interview will be tape-recorded. The interview could be carried out in work hours with previous authorisation of your supervisors.

Some of the questions asked during the interview are quite personal and if you feel uncomfortable with any of the questions, you can decide not to answer them. At all times your participation is completely voluntary. This means that if you change your mind about participating at any time during the study, you can just stop participating without giving a reason. All of the information that is discussed in any of the interviews will be kept confidential and only the researchers will have access to it. We want to emphasise that this study is completely separate of your work and I repeat the information that you give us is absolutely confidential.

If you agree the results of this research will be communicate to you. Thank you for your attention to this letter. If you require further information, please contact anyone of the researchers. If you agree to your participation, please sign the attached consent form.

Yours sincerely,

Manuel Contreras
Primary Investigator

Consent form

- I have read the information sheet concerning this research about men's health and family issues in Mexico led by Manuel Contreras and I clearly understand what will be required of me if I take part in the study.
- My questions concerning this study have been answered by Manuel Contreras.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving reason.
- I understand that for each interview, the interviewer will arrange a suitable time and place to conduct the interview without affecting my work.
- I understand that the information is completely confidential and only the researchers will have access to it.
- I understand that I could contact to the researchers for further information required.
- I agree to take part in this study.

Name

Signed

Date