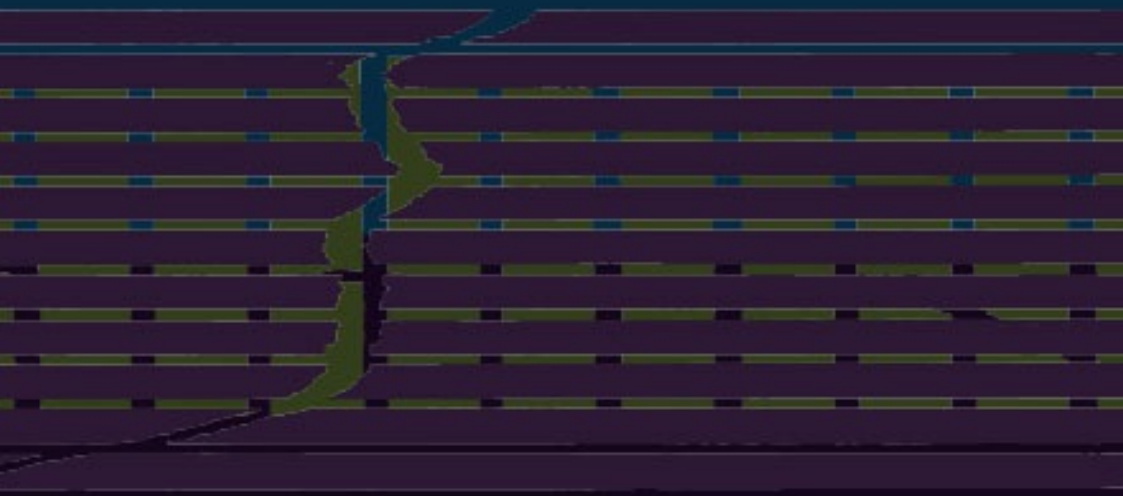
Working with Men who Batter



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National estimates suggest that half of American men become physically violent with a woman at least once. About 20% of men are violent regularly, perhaps once a month or more. Three out of four men use verbal abuse (psychological violence) as a mechanism of control in their homes (Gelles, 1974). Awareness of these statistics makes it extremely difficult to claim that men who use violence against women are deviant. They are neither unusual nor aberrant. This behavior is in fact part of the "normal" behavior of the American male. There is a great danger in any therapeutic approach that singles out men who batter as examples of psychological problems independent from the social origins of and support for male violence. This individuation of a social problem that is manifested by some, but not all, men is in essence a denial of responsibility by the professional who has not recognized in this violence a masculine behavior from which all men benefit through the perpetuation of power over women. Treatment of men who batter that remains focused on the culpability of the individual fails to deal with some very basic and essential elements in the search for men's health. This by no means is intended to deny that individual psychological problems are sometimes involved in men who batter. However, the social context of male power and control issues in an era of declining social and political power for many individual men often provides the more effective treatment modality.

What, then, are some of the social conditions that provide a context for battery? The simplest way to identify the core of the problem is to examine masculinity itself. What must men understand about the nature of their gender role to be able to begin changing it?

Robert Brannon's (David & Brannon, 1976) four factors that define contemporary masculinity ("no sissy stuff'; "the big wheel"; "the sturdy oak"; and "give 'em hell") inform us quite inadvertently about men who batter; in fact, they provide us a clear portrait. Fear of femininity is at the center of this man. All actions and views are taken in light of the need to demonstrate himself "not female" as completely as possible. No "real man" acts, thinks, feels like a woman. Interwoven with this is a behavioral pattern of egotism and self-centeredness, expectations of control and success, alienation from personal weakness, and the need to maintain separateness (independence) as more powerful than the desire to sustain

unity (dependence) (see Rubin, 1983). Masculinity also permits the use of violence in a context of proving manhood through daring, courage, and aggressiveness. The individual batterer uses violence at the level he deems necessary to make up for his sense of inadequacy, his perceived sense of loss of power or control, or as an outlet for his sense of rage at an unfair world in which he can never live up to the expectations of being masculine. In line with his fear of, sometimes hatred for, and envy of the feminine, he carries out his violence against the woman in his life, fulfilling social prescriptions found in institutional sexism.

The need to educate in the realm of gender roles is clear, confronting traditional perspectives and providing alternatives to them. It is essential to counteract the myth of male superiority. Recent studies have demonstrated that the more a person adheres to traditional sex-role expectations, the more likely he or she is to approve of the use of violence against the female in personal relationships (Malamuth & Donnerstein, 1984). Challenging these traditional assumptions can be very fruitful in producing change. An atmosphere is necessary in which *appropriate* uses of power are modeled, confronting the inappropriate power-over mode of human relationships. *How* therapists interact with the clients is often more important than *what* is actually said. Control and competition are exceedingly important to address in this context, as is the "win/ lose" syndrome, which applies modes appropriate to sports to our personal relationships. In fact, a constant reference to the social pressures for "John Wayne-Rambo" forms of masculinity is essential in leading men to a new model for being male.

Treatment

There are four perspectives that must be considered prior to the development of any treatment program for men who batter. Ignoring any of these issues can leave major gaps in the therapist's conceptual approach.

CHEMICAL DEPENDENCY

This issue *must* be confronted prior to any effective treatment for the issue of violence. As long as the chemical abuse continues, there is a "devil-made-me-do-it" denial that is available to the abuser. It is possible to attend an alcohol and drug treatment program concurrently with counseling to end violence.

DEPENDENCY ON THE WOMAN

There is more than one form that addictive behavior can take. Unhealthy dependency is often mutual; she on him for financial reasons, he on her for reasons of emotional expressiveness. As Pleck (1979) noted, many men perceive women's emotion-expressing ability as a power that women have over them. Men remain dependent on women to know and identify their feelings. There is also the dependency men have on the woman for her caretaking, nurturant role. He often arrives for treatment feeling lost and out of touch with his basic needs and feelings. This is a clear reflection of the emotional dependency men have upon women. It must be a focus of treatment to recognize that the socially and physically powerful male is emotionally dependent—in a sense, weak—and that this dependence can be a part of his control issues. Understanding this issue can also prepare us for the constant victim-blaming rationalizations used by men who batter.

CONTROL AND ITS CYCLES

The control issue is one of the most salient issues in this work. It stands far and above all else as a critical manifestation of male power confronting female power. Most men identify a major request in the entry interview. That request is to learn to "control" themselves. The best response is a paradox, "No, I will not teach you to control yourself. You already control far too much in your life. You control your feelings, you want to control your partner, your children. I want, instead, for you to learn to let go, even to surrender to what cannot be controlled. To let go of the need for control is essential in your search for health." Many claim they cannot control themselves in the moments leading up to the violent incident. It is essential to confront that claim, noting that the behavior is a control mechanism that is intended to bring the control back into the hands of the perpetrator of violence. (See Figure 21.1.)

Each man, in his search for some semblance of psychic health, denies the extent of his violence by noting that those who do worse things are the "real" wife beaters. "I never hit her with an open hand or nothin'. I just slapped her around a little." "I've never, like, put her in the hospital, you know. I only grab her, and push her and stuff." The denial is common; that other batterers, who go beyond *my* personal limits, are worse. Asking a man who claims to lose control, but who denies doing real damage, how he stopped himself from hurting her more seriously is quite instructive in identifying his behavioral limits.

The sad part, of course, is that the longer the battery continues, the more a man feels compelled to do to gain the modicum of control his violent behavior gains him (Ptacek, 1985). Women consistently report the steady worsening of the levels of violence used against them.

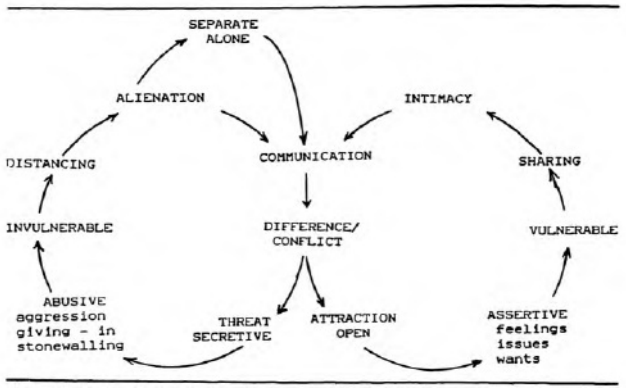

Figure 21.1 The Cycle of Intimacy

A variety of programs that do this work focus on "anger control" or teach a man who batters to have better "impulse control." It is singularly inappropriate to teach control to men who use violence as a form of control over those who the sociosexual system claims to be less powerful than men. Anger expressed against injustice is a valid, liberating, and wholesome emotion. Anger alone does not need to be oppressive. Violence and abuse are oppressive inherently. And blaming poor "impulse control" denies the entire relationship of control, power, and sexism. Battery has utility. It accomplishes something, whether it gets exactly what the batterer wanted or not is hardly the point. Violence shows those upon whom it is perpetrated that it can happen again, that the perpetrator is more physically powerful when "necessary," and that rebelling can lead to such violence at any time. Using violence to control a woman is not a question of "impulse." The act is consciously derived, it is purposeful, and it is—even if only temporarily—useful (Gondolf & Russell, 1986).

FEELINGS AND THE "MALE EMOTIONAL FUNNEL SYSTEM"

Men are, quite simply, taught to be emotionally inexpressive, except for the emotions connected

with anger. Awareness of one's other feelings as a male is a major step toward health, and toward the consciousness necessary to choose alternative behaviors. Traditionally, men are "testy" while women are "hysterical." Both emotional forms are rooted in our sex glands. Etymologically, testes are the source of such anger; wombs (hyster) are the roots of overwhelming negative emotions other than anger. With this sort of training, men tend to transform all negative or painful emotions into anger again and again (see Figure 21.2).

Men turn internal confusion and stress outward on the world, on their loved ones. Women tend to reverse the process, transforming angers into depression, turning worldly stress internally upon themselves. And men continue to label difficult feelings other than anger as female, girlish—as non-male. In the attempt to ignore or deny such feelings, men keep themselves in a constant state of rage. Emotional literacy, then, is a major prerequisite to the environmental and physical awareness necessary to unlearn violent behavior. And emotional literacy requires an understanding of the gender system that limits our development as full human beings.

Points of Theory

Various theoretical points concerning the way one works with men who batter are important to consider. The first is use of a group format, as opposed to individual therapy (Adams & McCormick, 1982). In a group, men are able at least to begin to deal with one of the most common issues men face—isolation. For men are severely emotionally isolated in this society, unable to turn to another man for support, largely due to the interconnection of homophobia and sexism. Fear of being gay, or of being thought to be, is a major block to male sharing. This joins with the emotional dependence on women as cultivators and expressors of men's feelings to nearly forbid any emotional interaction among men, unless it is greased by the universal social lubricant—alcohol. Therefore simply being in a (sober) group helps teach a new form of communication in a highly emotional situation. It also enables men to comprehend the social source of this behavior in masculine prescriptive behavior. As a man looks around a room with men of all types of backgrounds, educational levels, races, occupations, he begins to understand the universality of the behavior and can reject the typical individualizing of battery that takes the broader society off the hook. Individual work with man simply cannot do this.

Figure 21.2 The Male Emotional Funnel System

The sex of the therapists is a second point of theory. Many believe that men working with men is the preferred mode because of our experience with modeling new behaviors, and the easy gender association of men with men. Some programs utilize male/female teams in group leadership, stating the goal of modeling male/female interactions to the group participants. Others do not trust that male therapists alone can truly communicate anti-sexism to an all-male audience. Yet there is reason for concern that a solitary woman in a group of men is made too responsible for the effective expression of male feelings, and is made the watchdog for sexism in the group. Arguments run both ways. There are reasons for trying each, since it is clear at this point that no one has all the answers.

An important consideration of men working with men is to provide a means by which men who are not batterers can communicate the concept that all men are responsible for some men's physical violence against women. Each man benefits from the existence of such violence whether or not that individual

ever raises his fist in anger. It can prove very useful to redefine abuse, violence, and physical violence. As defined by Rape and Violence End Now (RAVEN, a St. Louis organization) *abuse* is any behavior that controls or dominates another person, or that prevents another from making an autonomous choice. "Peer" pressure, manipulation, name-calling or other verbal harassment, ignoring, lying, cursing, or mild threats all come under this heading. *Violence* is any behavior that *causes fear* in another person. These redefinitions are based on the *victim's* experience of the action, not on the *intent* of the perpetrator. Yelling, sudden movements, physical posturing, shaking of fists, threats of further violence, or breaking things are examples of violence—all clear violations of another person's psychic peace. But it is important to recognize that a look in one's eyes, or a tone in one's voice can instill fear with equal effectiveness, and should therefore be considered violent acts. Finally, *physical violence* is any of the above behaviors done with physical contact, and includes pushing and grabbing as well as hitting or using weapons.

At RAVEN, talking about abuse and violence in this manner permits us to move beyond the simplistic perception that physical violence is the only behavior we wish to change, and to move toward an understanding of power and control, which permits us to perceive the eternal dance of male and female conflict as a power struggle based in gender privilege and oppression. As women in the battered women's movement have pointed out, we will not have gotten very far if we only teach men not to use physical violence, permitting them to maintain their position of power over women by other means. Control by methods other than battery does not smell much sweeter, and decidedly does not contribute much to the emancipation of women from male power. Nor, for that matter, does the mere cessation of physical violence contribute to the removal from men of the felt need to exercise control over women and children. It is these perceptions that lead us to the awareness that all men benefit from the existence of physical battery, which enables some to maintain their positions of gender superiority without having to resort to the brutal forms of control; for some, it is quite sufficient, and equally effective, to maintain economic control. It is important that any therapist understand this concept, which forbids the scapegoating of the men who actually do commit battery as the only men who abuse women. It is this awareness that helps overcome the tendency to "individuate" the crime, which permits the male therapist to deny his own issues in the universal condition of gender inequality.

It is for related reasons that couple counseling is not advocated until a man has been through an extensive program, has given up his prerogatives to violence, and understands something of the nature

of the gender power struggle. It is equally important that a woman has had time to reestablish trust in the man's ability to choose not to be violent. For, as Kathleen Carlin, an advocate for battered women, once said to therapists, "It takes a certain amount of trust to say, 'I don't trust you.' " As long as violence, whether physical or emotional, is a possibility when the couple leaves the relatively safe confines of the therapist's office, how can any of us expect that a woman can be honest about her fears, or about the man's actual behaviors? (Bograd, 1986).

Careful thought must be given to the difference between teaching self-awareness and self-control. Men are already too much in control of society, their bodies, their feelings, and strive for that same level of control over women, children, or other men. Similar issues arise when we examine race and class. The man who comes for help seeking to learn to control his anger needs to be challenged immediately with the paradox of choice in his violent behavior. He needs to be told that he will not be taught to control anything more than he already does; the thesis here is that he needs to learn to let go, to give up the need to control that has gotten him in trouble in the first place. More than likely, he will not immediately understand this; some men never quite grasp the concept. If he claims to be out of control when he does the violence, ask why he did not do worse things, why he has the sense that he *only* did this, but never that. EMERGE (a Boston group) learned to ask a simple question to shock the realization of choice: "Why didn't you pick up a knife if you were so out of control?" The man's reaction, often one of horror, can be simply, "I didn't want to hurt her; after all, she's my wife." The point of this is that every man does exactly what he thinks he needs to do to regain control of the situation over which he perceives he is losing control (see Figure 21.1). Once he understands that control is at the center of the problems he is having, it is easier to communicate the need to release it to attain health for himself and a better understanding with his current or future partner. Awareness, not control, is the essence of transformation of male violent behavior—awareness of gender issues, of one's own body sensations and feelings, of stress levels, of "hot topics," of alternative forms of conflict resolution. Education and consciousness, which yields more choice —not limitation or constriction of choice—is the path to help men who batter become men who no longer batter.

A Model of Structure and Practice

As a model for a program for men who batter, a man will be followed through the steps of the

RAVEN program. His first contact is by telephone, through a 24-hour access emergency system, utilizing a professional answering service that will page a counselor on call for emergencies at any hour. The phone is answered in the office in normal business hours. It is useful to note that, contrary to initial expectations, a man normally calls for help the first time during the business day. It seems that men do not generally call during the crisis itself, but more usually after the woman has taken some step for her own protection, for example, after she has gone to a shelter, obtained divorce papers, or an order of protection. A woman calls the shelter during or very soon after the crisis, but the man has taken time to think, and has come to some realization that he'd better get help. Normally in this first contact, it must be explained to him that the counselor will not contact a missing woman who has allegedly gone to a shelter, will not inform her of the man's attempt to seek help, or intervene with her in any way. The helper is there to help him change the behaviors that led her to leave him, and that is all.

If the man is receptive to the services that we offer, he is invited to begin attending open group sessions immediately. RAVEN holds four of these open sessions each week, three on weekday evenings, one on a weekend morning. It is important that each man have an intake interview in the first week or so of his attendance. From long experience RAVEN decided that it is not necessary to have the intake prior to attendance in group. Some men prefer to have the individual meeting first; we are quite open to his own choice here. But it is very useful in prolonging attendance and in keeping men involved to permit them to begin instantly without any complications in scheduling. Previously, insisting that a man have the intake prior to attending group led to a dropout rate prior to intake that was much higher. It seems that responding to the crisis promptly has a beneficial effect on the man's attendance.

The Initial Interview

The intake session is primarily structured to explicate the program requirements, to set fees (which are based on income), to answer questions, to provide immediate "homework" and new ways of seeing the circumstance, to assess for substance abuse, to clarify group rules, to sign appropriate release forms, and to fill out demographic forms. It is important to give new information about the violence and his choices since about 20% of men who attend intakes never actually enter the group program. Realizing that this may be one's only contact with this new man necessitates that he be provided with the seed of a new idea to take with him. It is also of extreme importance to assess lethality—that is, to make your best

judgment as to the partner's safety, especially in the situations in which the man and woman continue to live together.

The Safety Planning Course

The RAVEN program has created a series of four classes in which a new man is instructed in some of the basic concepts he will need to operate effectively within our system. The classes are titled "Responsibility I and II," "Safety Planning," and "Self-Care." This class system was created to separate out the beginning participants from the intermediate, which enables us repeatedly to offer the basics without boring those men who have already learned this preliminary level of our instruction. It permits us to teach new men the basic concepts, after which they join with intermediate men in a group format where the basic concepts are being utilized effectively by those who have been around longer. RAVEN has produced a Safety Planning Guidebook to lead men through this course. The guide is provided to each new man in the intake session.

The first of the two classes on responsibility presents the redefinitions of abuse and violence as noted above. Responsibility itself is redefined as "the ability to respond" to situations, rather than to rely on traditional concepts of duty, burden or accountability (see Schaef, 1981). Responsibility is a choice in the present, not guilt about the past. This helps to clarify the reality that change is made up of consciousness plus action. Awareness of choice is empowering; guilt is disempowering. The continuum of abuse and violence is then presented to exemplify the range of behaviors to be changed. The first class concludes with the introduction of the concept of anger logs in which each man is asked to chronicle his occurrences of anger, examining each incident for common behaviors or issues and overlooked feelings.

Responsibility II reviews the first class, in particular the redefinitions. Then the cycle of violence, as created by Lenore Walker, and the cycle of intimacy (see Figure 21.3) are presented. The cycle of intimacy, developed by Mark Robinson of RAVEN, is quite useful in showing past patterns and future possibilities in developing intimacy in close relationships. Men seem to find this particularly helpful in showing responsibility as ability to respond to the stresses of conflict in our lives. Then the group discusses ways we deny responsibility for our behaviors. Such denials include blaming the victim, blaming an outside force, minimizing the extent of violence, forgetting, or outright lying. The session

ends by presenting the concept of self-disclosure as a path to health for men, emphasizing the necessity of disclosure in group if a man is going to make the group experience work for him.

The third session of class is the core of the RAVEN experience. "Safety Planning" is the creation of a concrete plan for avoiding the use of violence in the future through the examination of past incidents of violence to establish our own patterns in conflict, then to create a step-by-step path through stressful situations that illuminate as many alternative behaviors as possible at each stage of the way. RAVEN teaches the three-step mnemonic device called the ACE plan: *Anticipate* the conflict, *Create* alternatives for your behavior, and *Evaluate* your success. Anticipation means to know when you become abusive or violent; what are the issues, what are the physical signs, how does it feel—and, of course, to know it beforehand. Creation of alternatives begins with the simple Time-Out Plan, in which either partner has the right to call for a break from the developing argument to reestablish clarity of thinking or to seek safety. The time-out must be agreed upon *in advance* by the partners; it helps to agree upon time limits, the "safe room" that will be used, and the sign either partner can use that will indicate that a time-out is needed. Alternatives other than this one are individually developed according to circumstance. Evaluation is necessary in that it implies that some mistakes will be made.

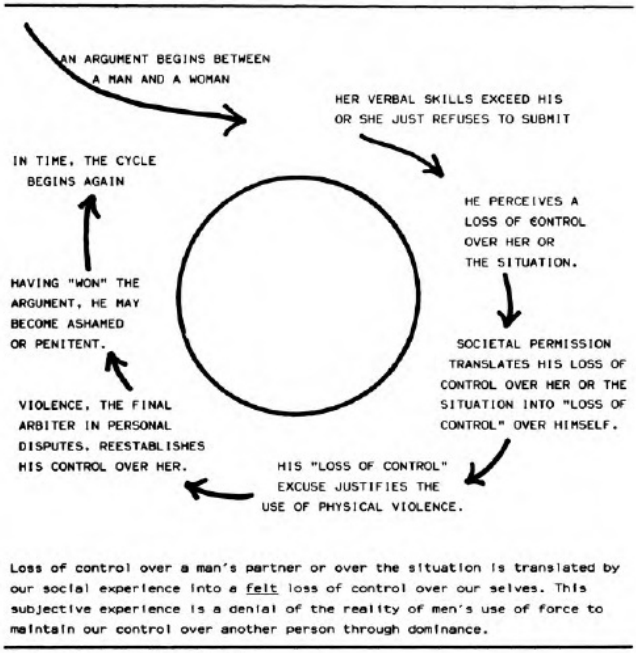

Figure 21.3 The Cycle of Control

Safety plans must be regularly updated. Quite probably, a safety plan that works in one situation will not work as effectively in another. As a man works to create a series of plans, he begins to come to the awareness that safety planning is really the development of a lifetime awareness of alternative choices to traditional behaviors that have been proven ineffective and hurtful. Awareness of the "right to choose" our conflict patterns is the key.

The fourth session of class is the self-care presentation. The session opens with a relaxation exercise that can be used anytime to defuse tension. As a means to increase physical awareness, ways are shown that men can better care for themselves (nutrition, aerobic exercise, sleep and rest, asking for help) as well as ways we usually don't take personal care of ourselves (drug abuse, work-a-holism, the fast-food habit, ignoring medical problems, etc.). Group members brainstorm ways they can add some caring activities to their lives, subdivided into four categories: physical, emotional, social, and spiritual.

Some focus is given merely to asking for help from other men in the group. Exchange of telephone numbers by members in the group is encouraged. It is not done much initially; however, the longer men stay with your program, the more likely it is that they will make some personal contact with other members outside of group itself. This session concludes with another example of a relaxation exercise, and the use of such "vacations" is encouraged anytime a man feels stress in his day-to-day life.

The Group Session

Each RAVEN group session is approximately two hours in length. The session begins with the check-in. Each participant, including the counselors, are asked to state a few details of their past week. Including the counselors in the check-in provides both a model of a nonviolent lifestyle and the recognition that no one's life is completely free of abusive incidents and behaviors. RAVEN helps men realize that no one is ever "cured" of the influence of traditional male behaviors, but that men can make many changes in their lives that lead to a reduction in confrontive challenges that become or threaten to become abusive or violent.

By the time the round of check-ins is over, a few men have identified issues they need to discuss. Newer men need to tell their stories often to present the reasons they are attending RAVEN. This is a search for validation and often is a misguided attempt to shift blame for their violent behavior onto their partner by showing just how awfully she has treated him. It is important here to clarify the meaning of responsibility immediately, to give a stroke for actually asking for help, and at the same time to challenge the notion that anyone else can be responsible for his own chosen behaviors. More seasoned members who have learned the ways of using the group and the framework for presenting their problems will usually have more specific incidents to discuss. Part of the facilitator's job is to maintain the focus on naming and clarifying the problem instead of giving advice. It is better to help men "better feel" as opposed to "feel better." Do not paper over the realities of power struggles and traditional gender differences in a desire to help an individual leave for home smiling instead of frowning. Toward this end, RAVEN has developed a "discipline for reflection" on a problem. After a group member has described a difficult incident, the group responds by first asking questions of clarification, to obtain a more complete understanding of the situation. Then the group reflects on ways that incidents or patterns in our own lives mirror what the man has described, after which the problem is named. The problem that

has been named in this manner becomes the center of the subsequent discussion. This method helps prevent the endless bog of advice-mongering that could, if permitted to happen, prevent any clarity from emerging out of the discussion. Giving advice is an excellent defense mechanism that permits the avoidance of recognizing the ways my problem is similar to your problem. Very simply, advice avoids self-disclosure.

Much of the group work is based upon the common needs expressed by the men in check-in. Group exercises can be easily developed out of commonly stated issues. Since group education is such a central aspect of our work, even work with an individual man can easily be used to educate the entire group by asking for group reflection and participation in the topic at hand. Many of the exercises led by the facilitator have to do with the immediate objective—modeling communication patterns and conflict resolution skills that can replace the old violent behavior. However, there are more diverse needs to be met. Men ought to leave having a better understanding of the gender system that places limits on the ability to choose behaviors not in keeping with prescribed rules of masculinity. A few exercises that facilitate that end follow.

MASCULINE-FEMININE BRAINSTORMING

"What makes a man?" is a good brainstorming session. Men are asked to describe the characteristics socially accepted as masculine. After a list is created, we review the list, noting characteristics that support violent behavior. We do the same for women, reviewing the list for characteristics that support victim behaviors or powerlessness. Then we create a list of characteristics that describe what we would like to become as men. This list usually includes positive characteristics from both of the earlier lists. After we discuss what our choices really can be, the men are asked to create a list of characteristics describing what we would like our partners to be. Very quickly, group members realize that we can use the same list that we created for ourselves. It is useful here to point out that the objective of such changes is not to make men and women the same, but to stop trying to make us so different. We are more alike than we are opposite; we are not opposite sexes, we are different sexes.

SUCCESS STORIES AND THE NEXT STEP

Men are asked to note the types of things they have successfully learned since coming to RAVEN, and to give examples of their successful application. A column of these concepts is kept on one side of the board. After the realization that we can all share in the successes of our fellow group members, we then make a new list of the current struggles in which we are involved. As that list is made, again the realization is reached that we are more similar than uniquely separate in our attempts to change old behaviors. This exercise is a cohesive one for group development.

HOW DID WE LEARN VIOLENCE?

Men are asked to talk about the ways they individually learned that violence was an appropriate male behavior, or what they think were the sources of their own violent behavior. Fathers, childhood abuse, street fighting, peer or family mistreatment of girls and women, the military, and media violence are commonly brought out. While this exercise is important to lay the foundation for understanding social supports for male violence, it is essential to make the point at the end of the exercise that many other men experience all these things and more, yet still choose not to be violent themselves. Not everyone who has all the traditional training actually decides to use violence against a loved one. This is yet another situation in which the awareness of choice can be brought to focal attention. The exercise ends with writing on the board, "We *choose* to be violent . . . or nonviolent." We assign 100% of the responsibility for men's behaviors to the men themselves, staying aware that none of us is entirely responsible for *beliefs* that allow us to choose to be violent. Confronting our attitudes—what we believe about the world— is a powerful catalyst for change. This awareness plus action will yield change. We can change our attitudes, and we can change our behaviors.

Summary

The counselor working with men who batter strives most obviously to become teacher for and brother to the men who come for help, and occasionally slips into the role of cop, parent, and therapist. Therapist is listed last here, which may seem an unusually low priority to admit. But it is placed last for a reason. It is not known what works best in facilitating nonviolence in men, but traditional therapeutic approaches are not the solution. In fact, some of the problems of psychology and social work—elitism, the hierarchy of knowledge and of health, individualizing of a social experience, inappropriate use of power

— make that tradition as much a part of the real problem as any number of secondary factors. Therapy must change to help people—men—in the best way possible. The reality that all men have been involved in the subjugation of women in some form must be faced before they can truly begin to help themselves or the men who come to them for help. All the answers are not known. However, listening to the leaders of the battered women's movement can teach more than any school, any workshop, any conference. Extensive contact with battered women's shelters in our communities must be developed, as safety for women and children must be the first priority. The love for men that motivates this work with men who batter must never be used as permission to conceive of this work as antagonistic to safety for women. Yes, men hurt. But men's emotional pain must always be placed in the context of the life-threatening violence done by men to women as a result of not knowing how to express or alleviate that pain. It is after men who batter have given up the privilege of utilizing violence to obtain control that a host of other issues inherent in contemporary masculinity become appropriate to face.

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