



MACQUARIE
University

Department of Psychology

**Men's experiences of Counselling Program for
Perpetrators of Domestic Violence in Yogyakarta, Indonesia**

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**Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Master of Social Health
and Counselling, Macquarie University**

December, 2014

Statement of candidate

This work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. All the sources of information used in this research have been identified. This research was approved according to the Ethics Review Committee, Human Research, Macquarie University (Ref: Appendix A).

Signed: 

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Date: 19 December 2014

Acknowledgement

The author is very grateful to God Almighty for His graces and blessings, this study would not have been possible.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Danya Braunstein, for her excellent guidance and patience, and providing me with an excellent atmosphere for doing research.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Janet Conti and Adriana Glusman whose expertise, understanding, and patience, added considerably to my academic experience during my study at Macquarie University. I appreciate their vast knowledge and skill in many areas in Psychology, particularly in Narrative Therapy.

My deepest gratitude also goes to Director, Counsellors and research participants at Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre for their professional support in making this research possible.

My special thanks to my wife Gartika Nurani Erawan and my family for all their support and love. They were always supporting me and encouraging me with their best wishes

Abstract

This research aimed to explore men's experiences after completing counselling program for perpetrators of domestic violence in Indonesia. The project explored how male clients reconstructed an alternative identity and meaning, and how this affected the reduction of their violent actions and changing their abusive attitudes towards their wives. The research project was conducted through qualitative method using lines of enquiry informed by the paradigm of narrative therapy. Five participants agreed to participate in this research, including one husband whose wife declined to participate due to safety reason and 2 couples of wives and husbands who have completed the counselling sessions at Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre. Two wives joining the interview asserted that their husbands committing emotional violence, including verbal aggression and neglect showed changes and became more respectful and less aggressive. Restoring relationships and family harmony were the main motivation for their change as family and relationship are two integral parts of men's honour in Javanese society. However, the issues of clients' ambivalence appeared. The counselling process tended to focus on encouraging the participants to change their behaviours and placed little emphasis on exploring and deconstructing the effects of dominant discourse of being a man in their lives.

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1. Introduction

In 2007, Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre (RAWCC) launched a counselling program for perpetrators of domestic violence (Kurniawan, 2007; Ploem, 2010). This initiative was the first program in Indonesia which aimed at reducing the number of re-occurrence of domestic violence by engaging abusive husbands in a men's behavioural change program. This program is an effort to invite men to take responsibility for their actions with the view of ending violence against women by transforming husbands' perspectives, attitudes, and abusive behaviours. This program values relationships that are built on respect and non-violence (Hasyim (2010).

However, after seven years since the counselling program had been launched, only a few reports evaluated the effectiveness of intervention program. Additionally, there have been critiques and doubts from women activists concerning the outcomes of the program in changing men's attitudes and behaviours towards women (Saeroni, 2013). Saeroni (2013) suggests that involving men in counselling programs will not stop them from using violence. Indeed, instead of raising their awareness and responsibility, this program risks becoming a pathway for perpetrators to retain their personal interests and desires; for instance, to avoid legal entanglement or to get commutation, to avoid divorce and separation from their wife and children (Saeroni, 2013). In addition, in an internal survey in 2007, which involved staff at RAWCC before the program was established, about 90% of 32 staff members did not believe that a counselling program would be effective in changing men's abusive behaviours. They argued that the only way to change abusive men is by taking a legal action and giving them a deterrent effect (Rifka-Annisa, 2014b).

2. Issues regarding domestic violence in Yogyakarta

In Yogyakarta province, a special region of Java, 3041 cases of violence against women were reported to RAWCC during 2000 – 2006 (Hidayat *et al.*, 2010). More than 67% of these cases occurred in domestic areas in which perpetrators were reported having a close relationship with the victims (husbands, fathers, uncles or brothers). Moreover, only 10% of the reported cases had been brought to the attention of the police to get legal interventions since the victims were not willing to disclose all their abusive experiences (Hidayat *et al.*, 2010). This similar trend was also found in most other provinces in Indonesia in which only a few cases of domestic violence against women were processed legally (Hasyim & Kurniawan, 2008).

On the other hand, evaluation reports from women's organisations, when delivering services towards women survivors who were being abused by their partners, have found that there were many constraints on women to change their abusive situations (Hayati, Eriksson, Hakimi, Hogberg, & Emmelin, 2013). These constraints included the association with the dominant conceptualisation of being an ideal woman in Javanese traditions, which praises women's submission and obedience towards a man, particularly in a marital relationship (Hayati *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, a wife is required to be submissive to her husband. Once entering a marital relationship, a woman has the responsibility to fulfil her socially constructed gender roles of housekeeping, reproduction, and supporting her husband (Hayati *et al.*, 2013). There is a minimal space for her to expand her own life. As a consequence, the majority of women survivors lack access of economic resources to support their own life, which leads to their economic dependence on perpetrators (Hayati *et al.*, 2013).

In contrast, social construction of being a man in Javanese society has given a husband more power, status and control than his wife within the family (Hasyim, Kurniawan, & Hayati,

2007). Men are perceived as the leader and backbone of the family. They dominate and control economic matters and decision making (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). This situation leads to imbalanced power relations between the husband and the wife, which makes the husband liable to use power and control to deal with any family issue (Bograd, 1984, 1988; Pence & Paymar, 1993). As a result, many men end to choose to engage with a range of thoughts and thinking practices that are self-righteous, censoring and vengeful when family disputes occur (Jenkins, 1990). In the context of intimate partner violence, these destructive thoughts may act as a restraint to a man from stopping his violent behaviour and attitudes when conflicts within his family appear (Jenkins, 2009). These dilemmatic situations are characteristic of many Indonesian families in which the wife is fettered by traditional ideas of being a good wife, while the husband holds the traditional gender norms of being a man that accepts the use of power, control and violence as a way in solving family issues. This is likely to have caused the majority of cases of domestic violence in Indonesia that are difficult to be disclosed and reported.

3. Current reports on the evaluation of counselling programs for perpetrators in Indonesia

Today there are several women's organizations in Indonesia that establish similar programs on counselling for perpetrators to RAWCC. The counselling program includes 12 individual counselling sessions which consist of assessment and preparation, domestic and intimate partner violence, anger and stress management, communication, self-esteem, intimate partnership/relationship, engaged fatherhood, sexuality and intimate partner violence, culture and religion, gender and rights, substance abuse (drugs and alcohol), evaluation and support (Rutgers-WPF, 2012). The stages of change model, consisting of four major stages, namely pre-

contemplation, contemplation, preparation and action (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982, 1983) are adopted to guide counsellors in developing clients' motivation to change, from less motivated to having readiness to change (Rifka-Annisa, 2008). The adaptation of stages of change in the context of intervention programs for men who are abusive is largely based on attitudes of resistance versus motivation, blaming the victim versus acceptance of responsibility, reluctance to engage the treatment versus proactivity (Gondolf, 2011).

There are no studies, however, that can be found which focus specifically on evaluating the effectiveness of counselling program. As a result, after 7 years of running the program, the outcomes could not be achieved. On the other hand, some internal evaluation reports conducted by RAWCC from 2011 to 2013 revealed that the existing intervention program has not shown encouraging results in inviting perpetrators to change their behaviours and attitudes towards women (Rifka-Annisa, 2011, 2012, 2013).

In fact, from 79 male clients who attended counselling sessions at RAWCC during 2007-2012, only 34% of them were willing to continue the counselling sessions and showed positive changes in term of their behaviours towards their partners (Rifka-Annisa, 2012). Furthermore, only 1 male client of 15 cases reported to RAWCC was willing to join the counselling program voluntarily during the same period of 2007-2012 (Rifka-Annisa, 2012). Moreover, the counselling progress report from 2007 to 2011 showed that about 56% of 71 male clients involved in the program were reported to remain in the denial phase in which they tended to show resistance to taking responsibility for changing their abusive behaviours (Rifka-Annisa, 2011).

In addition, there is a significant gap between the number of abusive husbands and women survivors who benefited from the counselling program. Only 199 abusive husbands

joined the program, while 15883 women had reported their abusive cases and joined a counselling program for women survivors during 2007 – 2013 at RAWCC (Rifka-Annisa, 2013).

Table 1 demonstrates the comparison between the number of men and women who attended counselling sessions at RAWCC between 2007 and 2013.

Table 1. The number of men and women survivors accessing counselling program during 2007-2013

| No | Years | Number of male clients | Number of women survivors |
|----|-------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | 2007 | 8 | 242 |
| 2 | 2008 | 10 | 213 |
| 3 | 2009 | 16 | 203 |
| 4 | 2010 | 15 | 226 |
| 5 | 2011 | 22 | 219 |
| 6 | 2012 | 27 | 226 |
| 7 | 2013 | 21 | 254 |
| | Total | 119 | 1583 |

Source: Rifka-Annisa (2013)

None of these male clients who joined the counselling program were mandated by the law to participate in a behavioural intervention program (Rifka-Annisa, 2014b), even though there is a sentence within Domestic Violence Act that enables law enforcement agencies such as police, judge and prosecutor to obligate men identified as a perpetrator to attend a counselling program (Hasyim & Kurniawan, 2008). This problem of law enforcement in the context of intimate partner violence occurred due to the lack of priority from the law enforcement agencies in implementing Domestic Violence Act (Hasyim & Kurniawan, 2008) and cultural barriers in which marital conflicts, including domestic violence are preferred to be resolved through kinship consultations and private religious sessions rather than legal action (Hayati, 2013). Therefore,

these conditions lead to the problem of continuity of the counselling sessions by which the counsellors do not have the authority to enforce male clients to come or finish all sessions of counselling when they are unwilling to attend (Rifka-Annisa, 2014b).

4. Existing research of domestic violence intervention programs: Efforts in finding the most effective intervention program

Previous research on intervention programs for abusive men has focused on finding the most effective intervention model. These studies have been focusing on the outcomes of specific treatment models and methodology. Most of these studies have relied on police and counsellor records, and victim reports in obtaining data (Aldarondo, 2010; Grau, Fagan, & Wexler, 1985). These studies, however, have been conducted in a western context and the results provided limited empirical evidence to show which types of treatment model and research method are most effective and reliable (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005; Heise, 2011; Rosenfeld, 1992). Comparatively less attention has been directed to uncover treatment processes by inviting men to tell about their experiences during the counselling program, which may provide unique stories of the changes they made.

4.1. Common types of intervention programs

Most research has recommended several modes of treatment. These include legal based approaches such as protection orders and arrest policies (Rosenfeld, 1992), psycho-educational group formats which address power imbalance related to gender (Gondolf, 2007; Jennings, 1987), clinical interventions combined with unstructured group treatments (Browne, Saunders, &

Staecker, 1997), social learning and cognitive-behaviour based approaches and coordinated community based approaches (Aldarondo, 2010). Generally, these types of interventions target at the individuals, relationship and societal levels (Dahlberg & Butchart, 2005; Johnson, 2007) and incorporate various combinations of cognitive-behavioural and social learning based approaches (Gondolf, 1987; Sonkin, 1988).

4.2. Quantitative studies on intervention program for perpetrators

Dutton (1986) examined recidivism rates among fifty men convicted of wife assault in the U.S. The result showed that those men completing a 16-week treatment program had lower recidivism rate (4%) compared to men who were not treated (40%) for a post intervention period of up to 3 years. Similar results were also found in a group of military personnel who were compelled by their commandants to join a relationship skill training session over a period of 9 months after their violence was identified (Waldo, 1986). Those men completing the program were requested to complete a self-report that measured their progresses on relationship and communication skills (Waldo, 1986). The findings showed significant reductions in the number of abusive incidents and an improvement of communication skills for 6 months after referral (Waldo, 1986). According to Rosenfeld (1992), these outcomes demonstrated that court-ordered clients who finished the treatment were the most motivated and less treatment-resistant of all men coming into the criminal justice system.

In a meta-analysis study that reviewed several quantitative studies on the effectiveness of court-ordered mandatory counselling programs in reducing the rates of recidivism in the U.S, it was found that there was a slight statistical difference in re-offense rates between men who completed mandatory psychotherapeutic treatment and those who were arrested and untreated

(Rosenfeld, 1992). Those men who were arrested but not mandated to treatment programs showed re-offense rates that were no more often than men who were arrested and treated. This research did not give a clear statement whether intervention models that were reviewed were effective or not. The primary question of whether court-ordered treatment programs are more effective than other treatments, particularly legal interventions, remains unanswered. However, Rosenfeld (1992) indicates that involving legal approaches may not be sufficient to motivate men to change their abusive behaviour.

Feder and Dugan (2002) conducted an experimental study which compared men who were ordered to a 26-week mandatory treatment program with those who were not obliged to join a treatment program. This study aimed to determine the effectiveness of court-mandated counselling in changing men's abusive behaviours. The results showed that in men who engaged in both minor and severe abusive behaviours, no significant differences were found between men who were mandated to treatment and those who were not in terms of the rates of rearrests.

However, two comparison studies, which compared men who either received temporary restraining orders or permanent restraining orders, found no significant differences in re-offence rates between these two groups (Aldarondo, 2010). In contrast, Carlson, Harris, and Holden (1999) found a significant decline in re-assault rate among men with limited socio-economic resources who received permanent restraining orders within a year. These authors, however, emphasised that restraining orders are not “a panacea” which can be used effectively to substitute other treatment modalities, such as counselling group and psycho-education in stopping violence, and therefore they suggest that the correlation between arrest, protection order status and re-offence rates should be obtained (Carlson *et al.*, 1999). Increasing arrests solely as an effort to reduce re-abuse rate is imprudent (Carlson *et al.*, 1999) since some perpetrators may become

more abusive after legal intervention (Schmidt, 1996). Therefore, Rosenfeld (1992) argued that relying solely on legal-system intervention may not be sufficient to generate motivation to change among those men who are reluctant to change

These several studies which are reviewed, however, do not have sufficient explanations regarding factors that may explain the motivation of those clients who received a legally mandated treatment or arrest policies for refusing the treatment. In addition, from the outcomes which have been showed, particularly by men who were coerced by the authorities such as in a military unit (Waldo, 1986), the result is still unclear whether their motivation to change is due to obedience and loyalty to their commandants in order to reduce sanctions or their personal responsibility to stop violence. Moreover, since these studies only measured changes in practical skills such as communication with partners that men gained during mandated counselling programs, the changing perspectives and attitudes towards their partners remained unexplored. How they perceived their self and their wives in the relationship is under investigation. It may be important to get better understanding about the effects of court-ordered treatment on how men view themselves as a person, their partners and the treatment process when obliged to attend mandatory treatment programs. Further research is needed to explore whether men's views may relate to their motivation and readiness to change and the frequency of their violent actions towards their partners.

The majority of research studies reviewed above have measured the effectiveness of intervention for men who are violent from the perspective of researcher. Most of these studies tended to emphasise the importance of selected outcome measurements related to perpetrators' recidivism, such as counsellor and police records, victim reports and self-reports. Without minimizing the importance of these outcome variables of reduction in recidivism, few studies

have explored the experiences of men themselves during treatment and its efficacy for changing their perspectives and attitudes towards their wives and relationships, and how they experience and understand the process of change. Measuring efficacy of the treatments by the degree to which men conform to the stages of the designed intervention program may obscure these men's stories of change and risk disqualifying the knowledge, values and hopes of these clients who attempt to follow the intervention program.

4.3. Qualitative studies on experiences of men joining intervention program

There are at least two studies on men's engagement in intimate partner violence groups that seek to explore men's experiences of the intervention program which aims at reducing their abusive behaviours. One study, conducted in the U.S, examined that engaging men in the change process is a major challenge for counsellors in supporting abusive men toward positive non-abusive change (Chovanec, 2012). In this study men were interviewed and facilitators were assigned to use an instrument to measure clients' engagement. The result revealed that six of eight men interviewed stated that the "learning things" is an important factor in the engagement process (Chovanec, 2012). This term of "learning things" refers to new information that men gained as a result of joining the program, such as the words like denial, defence mechanism, anger management and the purpose of life (Chovanec, 2012). It also includes learning from each other's stories in the group and all facilitators observed the support exchanged between the men (Chovanec, 2012). This information enabled them to gain insight and reflect on their behaviours and the consequences of their behaviours. The new information kept these men motivated to continue the program (Chovanec, 2012). This study suggests that providing psycho-educational

process is an effective way to engage men in discussions without triggering defences or shameful feelings.

This study, however, did not give sufficient explanations for why client engagement had been measured by assigning counsellors to complete a group engagement scale rather than asking the men themselves to complete the scale. Instead of using clients' words, this study only focused on facilitators' words in elaborating emotions of the clients in the treatment. Therefore, this study tended to perceive clients as being unable to acknowledge their emotions, while counsellors perceived clients' anger as defensiveness. As a result, the meaning of anger for the men themselves was left unaddressed in this research.

Another qualitative study in Canada was an ecological analysis of the factors contributing to men's engagement in batterer's treatment groups (Roy, Chateauvert, & Richard, 2013). The study highlighted the interaction between men's characteristics, indirect environment (e.g., the organisation that provides the therapy) and the social system where men live that determined the engagement. If a man's characteristics (e.g., alcohol consumption) and different environmental factors (e.g., a social network that minimizes violence) present him with more constraints than resources, he is more at risk of encountering group engagement difficulties.

This study, however, tended to perceive participants as a passive subject having fixed personal characteristics and whose motivation was very dependent on the external situations with less emphasis on exploring how men's engagement changes over time and the efforts that men have made to engage in the program in each stage of the ecological model. It may be helpful to invite participants to clarify their willingness, what makes or restrains them from continuing to join the program.

5. How common approaches in evaluating a counselling program for perpetrators in a western context may not be relevant to an Indonesian context

Most studies reviewed above were emphasized through quantitative approaches and were conducted in the U.S by using police records and victim reports in a context in which mandatory counselling programs and legal system that manage domestic violent issues are well established. This approach, however, may not be applicable in Indonesian settings in which most domestic violent cases are not reported to the police because most women survivors tend to remain silent about their abuse.

Moreover, either quantitative or qualitative results obtained put little emphasis on exploring the social systems and traditions where men live and grow, which may be a strong influence in the way men behave and act. The discussions that appear in most studies reviewed tend to explore how individuals strive to meet the program expectations rather than how social and political situations contribute to what men are striving for during counselling sessions. What men have achieved as a result of counselling programs, whether they meet or do not meet the intervention program expectations, are not located in a socio-cultural context which may influence the efforts men gain and the way men respond to the counselling program.

Overlooking the socio-political context within society that influences men will result in narrowing the perspective in viewing men along with their everyday possibilities to make changes, hopes, positive intentions and socio-cultural factors that contribute to domestic violence and the effectiveness of intervention programs. This is, particularly, important in a collectivist culture such Indonesia (Hofstede, 1980, 2001), in which the self of the people is an extension of several social systems to which they belong (Bochner, 1994). The relationship between the self and others is viewed not as separate from the social context, but as more related and less

separated from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The definition of self-identity and personal interests is located in their community (Bochner, 1994). People in this culture tend to put the demands of their social context above their personal desires and to be more responsive to the expected needs of the community (Bochner, 1994).

In Indonesian context, people tend to experience relatedness with family and others as a fundamental part of themselves (Magnis-Suseno, 1997), and social interdependency becomes a prominent part of self-identity of the people (Eaton & Louw, 2000). Religion, spirituality, social and cultural norms in which these factors exist serve as a foundation of relationships and personal resources of the people (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). Social, cultural and political contexts may become significant factors that need to be considered when examining the effectiveness of counselling programs (Marsella & Yamada, 2007; Santos, Ferreira, & Chaves, 2001; Sumari & Jalal, 2008), and these factors may also bring implications in understanding men's responses towards domestic violence treatment programs.

6. Aims of the study

Previous studies that examined the effectiveness of intervention programs for perpetrators have tended to give little attention to the voices of male clients and their perspectives of on-going processes of change as a result of treatment programs. Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore the effects of a counselling program with particular focus on male clients' perspectives and to inquiry into change processes regarding attitudes towards wives and domestic violence.

The project will explore how male clients might reconstruct an alternative identity and meaning after joining the program, and how this affects the reduction of their violent actions and

changing their abusive attitudes towards their partners. Meaning, hopes and unique stories against violence will be identified. This enquiry seeks to more richly understand how these men's skills, competencies, beliefs, values, ethical standpoint, commitments and abilities might assist them in reducing their violence towards women. These lines of enquiry have largely been obscured to date as previous research has been primarily concerned with assessing behavioural outcomes to reduce recidivism rather than to enquire into how these men understand their behavioural change processes after completing intervention programs.

The wives who were the primary beneficiaries of the counselling program at RAWCC will also be interviewed to explore their responses to their husbands' change processes. Safety assessment of these women becomes the main priority before the interview is conducted. This project complies with the standard ethics requirements determined by the Macquarie University Ethics Committee.

7. Research methodology

The research project was conducted through qualitative method using lines of enquiry informed by the paradigm of narrative therapy (White, 2007). The narrative approach aims to understand people's lives which involve ways of co-creating these life stories in collaboration between the person and the counsellor/community worker (Pollio, 2001; White & Epstein, 1990; Winslade & Monk, 2008). In the context of intimate partner violence intervention programs, the narrative approach aims to assist abusive men by exploring the effects of power, privilege and entitlement of men on their behaviours within their relationships with women. These men were invited to freely determine if they choose to refuse rules of men's entitlement for themselves, their wife and their relationship (Hall, 2011). The lines of enquiry derived from this approach

were taken up in the research interviews to generate rich narratives about these men's experiences of treatment programs and to address the issue of their violence against their female partners.

7.1. Research participants

Five participants agreed to participate in this research, including one husband whose wife declined to participate due to safety reason and 2 couples of wives and husbands who have completed the counselling sessions at RAWCC. These participants were interviewed independently in order to keep the information confidential, and particularly to provide a safe environment for the wives to talk about their husbands. The sampling technique was purposive and the selection of potential participants was based on the age range between 24 and 40 years old. This range has been the most widely referred to RAWCC as clients (Hidayat *et al.*, 2010). All participants are Javanese people and live in Yogyakarta Province, Indonesia. All of them speak Indonesian as their first language. The types of violence committed by participants and the impacts of their behaviours on wives are depicted in Table 2.

Table 2. Types of violence and the impacts on wives

| No | Husband Name & age (pseudonym) | Wife Name & age (pseudonym) | Length of marriage (years) | Number of counselling session | Types of violence | Impacts of violence on wife |
|----|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Andy (36) | Sarah (33) | 7 | 7 | Emotional violence | Psychological impact, feeling stress and frustration |
| 2 | Agus (51) | Nanny (43) | 20 | 7 | Emotional violence | Loosing trust with the husband, asthmatic, diagnosed with Arrhythmia. |
| 3 | Whisnu (33) | - | 9 | 6 | Physical and emotional violence | |

7.2. Procedure of research interview

Approval for the study was required by the administrating Macquarie University's Ethics Committee. Once approved, participants were recruited through an advertisement attached on Rifka Annisa's quarterly bulletin (see Appendix B for research advertisement). Those participants who were interested in the research were asked to contact the researcher directly through emails or by phone to have a preliminary meeting. In preliminary meetings, risk and safety issues, confidentiality, and interview schedule were discussed (see Appendix C for research information and consent form). The interviews were semi-structured and followed a set of questions which focused on exploring these men's and women's experiences, personal meanings, and challenges as well as some of the positive outcomes of their participations in counselling programs. In particular, the focus was on participants' moments of strength (non-violent), preferred identity, hopes, values and ethical standpoint, autonomy and emotional vitality. The guided questions are provided in the appendix D.

7.3. Analysis

Interview data was coded through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher has taken a constructivist stance, acknowledging that the interview processes and subsequent analysis is where meaning is co-constructed through dialogue between the researcher and participants. Context and meaning are shaped through interview processes from which the information set is drawn and the interviewer plays an active role in generating and receiving information (Braun & Clarke, 2006). An analysis of the latent themes was conducted, with the intention to identify unique outcomes, values, hopes, preferred stories, and ideologies about gender, identity, socio-cultural context and experience.

There are six main stages of thematic analysis; however, analysis is not linear but a recursive process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The first step is reading over the transcripts to familiarize oneself with the data. The second step is developing initial codes for the data set, codes are applied to significant characteristics of the data. After generating codes, potential themes were developed. The coding scheme related directly to each main theme, and each main theme was given a number e.g. pre-counselling process was given code number 1. It is necessary for the researcher to remain flexible in developing themes. Changes happened frequently during the process of developing and reviewing the themes. The third step is naming the themes. Themes were identified as significant patterned responses. Most frequently, some themes were identified with sub-themes. After identifying the significant themes within the data, the final stage was the production of a report.

8. Findings and analysis

The thematic content analysis of client experiences upon the counselling program resulted in the emergence of three themes and twelve sub-themes. Each theme and sub-theme are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3. Main themes and sub-themes of men's experiences of the counselling program

| No | Main themes | Sub-themes | Descriptions |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Pre-counselling (problem saturated stories) | Being a man in Javanese society | Stubbornness is a way to relate; men are entitled to have an affair with another woman; a real man should be able to produce a child; men deserve to hit women. |
| | | Narrative of identity | Stubborn person, unfaithful husband, a weak person. |
| 2 | Counselling process (Reconstructing preferred identity) | Motivation to join the program | Family and marital relationships are considered to be something important, |
| | | Resistance and engagement process | Background of the counselling service, age of the counsellors, skills of the counsellors in building alliance |
| | | Self-disclosure | "I did something wrong" |
| | | Counselling outcomes | Insights and awareness |
| | | Preferred identities and motivation to change | A faithful and responsible husband, hope for the family |
| 3 | Post-counselling (new directions) | Unique stories | Trying to listen instead of arguing, willing to learn how to treat wife in a more positive way, a new commitment with wife |
| | | Ambivalence and wives' responses | |

8.1. Pre-counselling (Problem saturated stories)

Participants presented their problem saturated stories which were around the problems of communication with their wife, having an affair with another woman, and wanting a child. These stories convey the dominant discourses of being a man in which: men should be stubborn

when relating with others, particularly with women; men are entitled to have an affair with another woman; a real man should be able to produce a child; and men deserve hitting women.

8.1.1. Dominant discourse of being a man

When I was a student in a junior high school. I lived separately from my family. Only once a month my father came to see me. I did what I want to do. I did everything for myself. I chose my own school from middle school to high school... I survived. No one could ask me to do anything. (Andy)

I was a leader in my community, a respected person. I was still like in the age of 40's, 30's. This was common, doing naughty things, having an affair... (Agus)

But the point is that for a long time...for nine years, the main problem was that, I wanted a child. That's it. I wanted to have offsprings...wanted to have... a child [strong intonation]... This is really a big problem for a man! Very shameful! (Whisnu)

Andy has learned how to be a young man who was independent, unyielding, and competitive since he was in high school. He is a man who was able to overcome many difficulties and competitions in the high school. These characteristics of independence, persistence, and competitiveness were a way of survival since he lived separately from his family. He has adopted these characteristics as a way to build a marital life. As a result, these characteristics made him engage in argumentative situations with Sarah, which then evoked quarrels. Since Andy holds a social gender role as a husband who has more power and control than his wife, Sarah, this position made him tend to engage in a range of ideas, perspectives and behaviours that belittle Sarah. Jenkins (1997) asserts that these ideas and preconceptions that make men engage in a variety of abusive behaviours exist in a male dominated society that informs the beliefs about men's entitlement, power, and submission from those considered to be

in a lesser status such as women. Therefore, it was easy for Andy to use abusive language with Sarah when quarrels occurred.

Agus's story shows how the society constructs men's privilege whereby a man becoming a prominent figure and holding a high social status is given an exception or permission to do anything he wants related to women. Agus decided to have an affair with another woman and neglected his family. The privilege of men is a term to describe social and political benefits, rights or advantages that are available for men solely on the basis of their gender (Coston & Kimmel, 2012; Kaufman, 1999). Gender stereotypes are attached to men, which made men became associated closely with delinquency (Norland, Wessel, & Shover, 1981) and high risk-taking behaviours (Mahalik, Burns, & Syzdek, 2007), sin and seduction (Brannon, 2000), and a ceaseless interest in sex (Courtenay, 2000). These stereotypes made Agus believe that having an affair with another woman and breaching the commitment with his wife are something usual or normal for a man like him, who is a prominent figure in the community.

In Whisnu's case, it can be understood how the society defines the degree of manhood, which is determined through men's ability to produce a child. This story also tells about social expectations toward men's gender roles, which imply a message that being a man should be heterosexual and more superior to women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Donaldson, 1993). In Javanese tradition, women are portrayed as a garden or field in which men should have abilities to grow crops on it and produce fruits (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). Men's superiority to women should involve men's ability to make women pregnant. Mason (1993) emphasized that masculinity is traditionally considered to be connecting more to the man's ability to make a woman pregnant and then undertaking the role of father. Therefore, when a man like Whisnu is

infertile or is not able to produce a child, these conditions make him experience shame and a burdening impact on his self-esteem (Gannon, Glover, & Abel, 2004).

8.1.2. Narrative of identity

The stubborn person

He's such a cold person. He doesn't have...almost having no close friends, so he's cold. I received more affection from my parents and siblings. I was treating my husband like that but what I got were fights. In other words the longer it is the more uncaring. He is a person who doesn't care. He is always stubborn. I feel like a frustrated person. (Sarah)

Andy was expected by his parents to be an autonomous person by letting him live separately from the family. This effort is a part of men's gender role in society, which aims to comply with the gender role characteristics of a leader as well as a breadwinner in Javanese society. These characteristics include being strong, emotionally restricted, persistent and unyielding (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007; Hayati, 2013). These characteristics also relate to traditional masculinity ideology which expects men to adopt such standards and expectations including anti-femininity, emotional restrictiveness, competitiveness, toughness, and aggressiveness (Coughlin & Wade, 2012).

Andy brought these characteristics into marital life, which in turn, influenced the way he communicated with Sarah. He exercised emotional control at the expense of emotional intimacy with Sarah. However, Sarah perceived his communication styles as stubbornness since Andy, instead of listening and discussing, tended to argue and dominate the conversations. At first, the stubbornness may conveyed a meaning of defending his self-identity as a man by performing masculinity characteristics in the conversations, but as a result, the conversations turned into quarrels. The quarrels occurred within the context in which Andy held the gender role

identity as a breadwinner, which supported the husband's power and authority in the marriage and family. This position made him easily use abusive language in every conversation with Sarah. Consequently, the relationship developed between him and his wife became less intimate. Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1993) suggest that men who hold masculinity values rigidly tend to believe that relationship between men and women are adversarial, confrontational and competitive. These men are characterised by having less intimacy in their heterosexual relationships (Pleck *et al.*, 1993). Moreover, Coughlin and Wade (2012) found that traditional masculinity values negatively affects the quality of relationships among heterosexual couples. Men holding traditional masculinity ideology tend to base their self-concept in part on strength, domination, power and control (Corneille, Fife, Z, & Sims, 2012). These characteristics may help men develop self-confidence and self-esteem, but these can impede them in building intimacy and romantic relationships (Corneille *et al.*, 2012).

Unfaithful husband

We had a commitment. I gave my biggest trust to him, but then, he broke it. He was so ignorant and put me down. He blamed me as if I these were all my fault and I didn't treat him well as a wife. That's why he has another woman. (Nanny)

Agus is a prominent person in his community. This social position is associated with masculinity ideology, which brings privileges that enable a man to hold power, control and authority over women (Morgan, 2005). Agus developed an identity that reflects the values informed by his social position and class that promote conquest, competition, ownership and entitlement to power and resources, including women. His personal meanings of being a man and a leader intertwined with the sociocultural masculine values entrenched in his surroundings which inform a great man that he should be able to win the hearts of many women (Philaretou, 2001) and make an affair with them. In this case, Pleck *et al.* (1993) also suggest that men

holding traditional masculinity values that praise women's submission and subjugation tend to have more sexual partners, which then lead to permissive sexual attitudes and higher sexual infidelity. Therefore, Agus tended to perceive what Geiger (2002) explains that women are an object of conquest for male's desires, particularly for those men in a high social class and position.

A weak and temperamental person

I felt like, I saw myself as a weak person and I became temperamental. It was so embarrassing you know! Previously people said Whisnu was a strong person. I used to be a listener to my friends' problems, and then gave them solutions... But after facing a problem like this, why... why I become weak. (Whisnu)

The dominant discourse of being a father has influenced the way Whisnu developed the ideal self as a man. He entered marital life with an idealization of being a father and developed an ideal self-concept informed by this expectation. In Javanese culture, being a biological father is something honoured and considered to be an important part of men's developmental stages (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). A man who is able to produce a child and undertake the role of a father is considered to be a real man and ready to enter the adult realm (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). Therefore, becoming a father is a man's idealisation and an integral part of male identity.

However, after 9 years of marriage, the reality failed to match his expectation, and a great distress was felt. The ideal self as a man who is expected by the society to have an ability to make his wife pregnant and undertake the role of father conflicted with the situational meaning of not being able to become a father. As the identity of being a father is related closely to a sense of masculinity for many men (Morrell & Richter, 2004), Whisnu experienced shame and low self-esteem due to this condition. Since all people develop particular identities from their roles in the society, the community they belong to, and their individual characteristics (Burke & Stets, 2009), he reflected and compared his current condition to other men in the

community, and then perceived himself as a weak man who failed to function as a real man. He brought a sense of failure, which led to the feeling of shame. A number of studies suggest that anger and expressions of hostility are associated with the feeling of shame (Tangney, 1990; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992). The feeling of shame he experienced occurred in the context in which he took a role as a husband in a male dominated community. These situations caused him engage in uncontrollable behaviours such as blaming, beating and scolding his wife.

8.2. Counselling process (Constructing preferred identity)

In the counselling processes, participants brought their dominant narratives, expectations to the program and their positions in viewing the problems and the wives. The counselling program has provided a context for the participants to reflect and clarify their thoughts, beliefs and taken-for-granted ideas that might contribute to the development of the problems (Morgan, 2002). This study has identified five sub-themes of the counselling process: a) motivation to join counselling program, b) resistances and engagement process, c) self-disclosure, d) counselling outcomes, and e) defining meanings and motivation to change.

8.2.3. Motivation to join counselling program

I expected that the problems happened in my relationship could be resolved ... I came here to know what she actually wanted for me to do. (Andy)

My expectation was to solve the polemic in my family. We would like to tell our friends who were able to keep the dignity and confidentiality of my family, but I thought it was unethical. I don't want all of them to know about my situation. It will embarrass me and my family. (Agus)

I needed to share with someone and get advice, but I don't want everybody knows about this. I don't want to involve them, my family. (Whisnu)

Andy started joining the counselling program after his mother-in-law advised him to go to Rifka Annisa. He was reported to have undermined and degraded Sarah every time they were arguing. After having a sexual relationship with another woman, Agus was reported by his family. His wife, Nanny, often found Agus ignoring and neglecting her and children emotionally, physically and financially. Whisnu committed physical and emotional violence towards his wife every time they had discussions about having a child. His friends suggested that he should find a counselling service, and therefore he went to RAWCC.

Two factors that motivated participants in this study to join counselling program are family and marital relationship. In most Indonesian societies, family and marital relationships are considered to be the basic psychic unit of society (Geertz, 1961). Needs, motivations and values of the people are closely tied to their families (Geertz, 1961; Magnis-Suseno, 1997). It means that family also becomes an integral part of men's masculine identity and personal resources. The status of full adults for most people is gained through marriage and parenthood (Geertz, 1961), particularly for men (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). According to Barnes, Brown, and Tamborski (2012), men's honour is measured by to what extent he can defend and provide for his family. In line with this statement, in Javanese society, the success of man is determined through marital and family harmony (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007; Magnis-Suseno, 1997). Therefore, the desire to restore the marital and family harmony motivated the participants to join the counselling program, and this relates to their masculinity values.

8.2.4. Resistances and engagement process

It wasn't like...emmm...you know, Rifka Annisa works on Domestic Violence issues. It's just a communication problem that did not work appropriately... [Laughing]. (Andy)

Yes, indeed. From the age and knowledge, the clients are more senior than the counsellors. For me, a more senior can make the clients feel more confident in engaging in counselling sessions. People who are searching, or feeling confused, and then if they find a younger counsellor, it makes them hesitant. (Agus)

I know Rifka Annisa, a women's crisis centre. Emmm...a little bit unsure [laughing] but I needed some help at that time. (Whisnu)

Two issues of resistance appeared at the beginning of a counselling process, which are the background of the counselling service and the age of the counsellors. At the beginning, Andy and Whisnu were concerned about Rifka Annisa's background as a counselling service provider that works on domestic violence and gender issues. This background made them afraid of being judged as a perpetrator of abuse. One explanation is that the image of women's crisis centre that works on assisting women survivors becomes a barrier in engaging men in joining an intervention program provided by these types of agency (Rifka-Annisa, 2014a). This background may make men think that they will be judged and treated unfairly.

Agus stated that the age range of the counsellors reflects their experiences and skills. Indonesian society is a very hierarchical society in which young people should show their respect and obedience towards older people (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). In this society, the elderly are often positioned as people who are eligible to give advice to the young (Magnis-Suseno, 1997), particularly in solving marital and family problems. Therefore, he was feeling doubtful when knowing that the age of the counsellor was younger than his age.

I got a great acceptance. They did not treat me like a criminal. I didn't feel like being patronized. Sometimes it happens, a client feels patronized by a counsellor, but I didn't feel like that. (Andy)

They have empathy and knowledge. I felt motivated to speak. We were not having any serious discussions. I was not feeling threatened. He was not like a guru. We were just talking, just simply like a discussion. That made me feel comfortable. (Agus)

He was very professional, I mean, in term of confidentiality. He showed empathy. I felt confident to share my feelings. I didn't feel forced to choose the solutions, but he invited me to take a different perspective, and we worked together to map the alternatives. (Whisnu)

Despite some resistance that appeared in the early stage of the counselling process, skills and attitudes of the counsellors were a significant factor that reduced the impacts of resistance and contributed to the development of therapeutic relationship. Horvath (2001) suggests that skills of the therapists along with their personal factors influence the development of good therapeutic relationship with the clients, which in turn contributes to therapy outcomes.

Four skills of the counsellor that served as contributing factors were showing empathy, validating clients' stories, maintaining confidentiality and being egalitarian. These skills were very helpful in encouraging the participants to follow every session of psycho-educational activities. In addition, all of these skills performed by counsellors are congruent with the cultural rules and norms in Javanese tradition in which younger people should show respect and appreciation towards the elderly. These made participants less resistant.

Andy and Whisnu came to the counselling program feeling worried about being judged as a perpetrator. Whisnu may have experienced shame and low self-esteem because he had yet to be proven as a real man. However, great acceptance and non-judgmental attitudes of the counsellors made them continue to join counselling sessions. Agus was feeling doubtful about the age of his counsellor. However, empathy of the counsellor made him think that the counsellor has knowledge and experiences, and therefore he felt confident to continue the program. These skills of the counsellors helped participants to keep focused on their motivation in participating in the counselling program.

These findings are consistent with previous research that suggests empathy and non-judgmental approach are a basic approach for all form of resistances when working with domestic violence offenders (Levesque, Velicer, Castle, & Greene, 2008). Resistance is a natural process of change (Miller & Rollnick, 2002). It is an expression of defence which is attributed to uncertainty when a person is encountering something new or unpredictable situation, including treatment plans (Levesque *et al.*, 2008). These feelings are caused by underlying issues such as feeling worried about being conned or judged, wanting to stay in control, avoiding sensitive areas of personal life (Kissell, 1997), and worrying about losing a safe zone and sense of identity (Newman, 1994). Therefore, when working with the client who showed resistances, Miller and Rollnick (2002) suggest that the counsellor needs to avoid confrontation, and instead should “role with resistance” by showing empathy, validating client’s story and personal choice, being non-judgmental, and using a client-cantered approach, which then evoke self-motivational statement.

8.2.5. Self-disclosure

We often engaged in fights. It’s like when a person or my wife told me something. It seemed like words “why do you ask me to do something”. It was like they are giving me an order. Maybe because I could not understand women. I was born and raised in a very masculine family. (Andy)

I think she got trauma. She got the direct effects for what I did. And ... [deep breathing] I got a really bad image in my community...that was really bad for me! I made her depressed. Therefore, I have to find a therapy for her. (Agus)

She got the impact, her parents and my own parents as well. I became so temperamental... [Silence]... Yes I did. Not only words. Physically too. I’m afraid of [long silence]... since I have a family, I don’t want my family, friends and colleagues to be a victim of my behaviours. (Whisnu)

Participants did not deny the violence or blame their wives. They came to the counselling program with a confession of abusive events along with an expectation to solve the family problems and conflicts. Characteristics of perpetrators of intimate partner violence that

often deny the abusive incidents (Flinck & Paavilainen, 2008; Scott & Straus, 2007) or blame the partners (Henning & Holdford, 2006) did not appear in this study.

However, not all participants accepted the position as a perpetrator. Andy expressed that the stubbornness has served as a way to survive. He put his violent behaviours in the context in which they were considered acceptable and understandable. From feminist perspectives, it can be considered to be a part of minimisation (Scott & Straus, 2007) or “character of excuse “ (Edin & Nilsson, 2014). While in the field of criminology, these strategies are perceived as “techniques of neutralization” or “deviance disavowal” to avoid personal responsibility of the harmful incidents committed by perpetrators (Minor, 1980). This finding showed that his counselling process appeared not to address the issue of minimisation by inviting Andy to reflect and map the effects of his beliefs about the abusive situations on Sarah and himself, rather it focused only on changing behaviours and attitudes.

Other participants, Agus and Whisnu, were able to admit their violence and explain the impacts of their behaviours on wives and others. They described themselves as a “person who did something wrong”. Agus realised that the trauma his wife had undergone was a result of his behaviours. Whisnu admitted that he was a temperamental person and he used violence, emotionally and physically. These disclosures were followed by a sense of regret after knowing the impacts of their behaviours on wives, family members, reputation of the family and themselves. It implies that they still hold the values from their communities that consider, violence, conflicts and marital disputes to be factors that can damage the family harmony (Magnis-Suseno, 1997) and it can result in degrading man’s dignity as a leader of the family (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007).

Another reason is that all participants joining this study were those clients mandated or advised by their families, friends or people in their communities. This type of participants may illustrate a result of various interventions from their families and communities. For most people in Javanese society, family conflicts, including domestic violence, will be addressed through kinship discussions and private religious sessions (Hayati, 2013). Bringing the cases to the counselling service providers or authorities is the least preference (Hayati, 2013).

8.2.6. Counselling outcomes

Insight and awareness:

So, I used to be a person who didn't know anything about women. I felt everything was good until I finally realized that she wasn't happy with me. Now I know how to deal with this issue. If one person is behaving or acting like a child, the other person should become an adult. If one person wants to play a role as an adult, the other person should be a child. Don't let both of us act like a child or an adult at the same time. This can result in quarrels. We should know what role we need to take. (Andy)

I have been living 15 years in this relationship. I am a Muslim, and father for my children. I know my responsibility. I must try as much as I can, managing my family to be "sakinah, mawadah warahmah" [Arabic for peace, restfulness, honour, happiness and full of affection in the context of family life]. The key point is to understand each other, to accept each other, to know each other and to share our feelings. I should not act like a dictator, and should not force particular ambitions in my family (Agus)

All the things that happened were a test from God. It was a God's plan. I should accept what He wants. I have to pass this event without hurting many people. I believe that in every problem, there will be a solution. I don't want to be a superhero, so people don't judge me negatively, but look at the positive things about me. I'm sure Allah will show the way. (Whisnu)

This study invited the participants to explain what they have got from the program. The findings showed that participants gained insights about their problems and how to build a healthy communication and relationship, without engaging in a range of destructive ideas and behaviours. As the results of self-disclosure and these insights, they became aware of the gap between what they expected about a harmonious situation in the family and the opposite reality.

Therefore, restoring family harmony appeared to be the main factor that made them open to the new information.

Andy admitted that his communication styles that were not appropriate and abusive. He got an insight about the role he needed to play when having conversations with Sarah. In his understanding, there are two roles in communication, that is, the role of a child and the role of an adult. Both parties, husband and wife, should each take a different role. A quarrel occurs because both parties take the same role. Andy may have connected this new knowledge to his role as a husband in Javanese society. A husband must be able to be a good role model for the wife and children (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). This ability requires a man to be a mature person who is able to nurture family members in a good manner (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). He was willing to adopt this skill of communication in order to become a positive role model of the family by setting good examples to others. However, this strategy is often not helpful. Having different positions in communication and taking a role as a child or adult lead to power imbalance between both parties and this can cause one party to become demanding or degrade the other party (Berne, 1999). Therefore, Berne (1999) suggests that in a conversation, two persons should take the adult position in order to create a mature and equal relationship.

Agus described the importance of understanding and acceptance in creating harmony in the family. He was aware of the issue of power relation that can potentially influence a man in developing a negligent character. Agus realised that this way of thinking did not represent what his community believes about a good Muslim and a father who should not engage in marital infidelity and neglect the family. Whisnu expressed that he did not want to be “a superhero”. This implies that he tried to achieve something ideal that was beyond his ability, and this made him feel frustrated and become abusive. He reframed these experiences as a life test or God’s

plan by which he should follow and accept “His plan” without hurting others. In Javanese society, it is an Islamic belief that birth and death are parts of God’s plans, and whatever God does is the best for humans (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). This belief helped Whisnu accept his condition, having a child or not is a part of God’s plan.

Both participants, Agus and Whisnu, became aware of the negative impacts of masculinity discourse on themselves and family members. Since they come from a religious community where religion becomes a foundation and centre of life and relationship (Magnis-Suseno, 1997), they realised that some values from masculinity ideology do not correspond with their religious beliefs which teach about family harmony, acceptance of life and how to perform positive behaviours to others (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). It implies that religion and spirituality provide unique and personal coping skills in dealing with difficult experiences (Weaver *et al.*, 2002). This finding is opposite to the arguments that state religion is associated with extreme rules, values and judgments, which are all the things therapists are supposed to avoid in developing an open, value-free therapeutic environment (Prest & Keller, 1993).

8.2.7. Defining meanings and motivation to change

I am a faithful husband... [Throat clearing voice]. Before marrying her, we had been in a dating relationship for five years. I still have willingness...I told her “whatever you want me to be, I will do; but please teach me and you show me”. I came here to know what a husband should do and what attitudes that a husband should have. (Andy)

My family put their trust on me to be the head of the family and I have to be a responsible husband. I have to convince my wife and to restore her trust. These processes made me realized that a wife and a husband are like the left and right hand. They complete each other. At my age now, I should behave positively in the family and community. I should be more responsible for my wife and children. (Agus)

I believe...yesterday were lessons, today is reality, tomorrow is hope. My hope is, I want the best. Not only for myself, but for the people around me. I want to be that hope, to be the best hope for them and I have done many things for them. (Whisnu)

Andy described himself as a faithful husband. This identity tells about love and valuing relationship, two values that he still holds. He became aware that being a stubborn person does not fit with these values. Agus said that he is the head of the family that should be responsible for the lives of the family. This identity tells about devotion to the family. He became aware that having an affair with another woman and neglecting his wife and children are incongruent with the figure of a responsible husband. Whisnu described himself as a hope for their family and he has done many things for them. He realised that being a weak and temperamental person can damage this image as a hope for the family.

These findings are consistent with some studies that suggest for most people in Asia (Ma, 2000), particularly in Javanese society (Magnis-Suseno, 1997), family and marital relationships are a foundation of personal life where people devote their lives and love. Javanese ethics requires men to be responsible, faithful, and able to shelter and bring happiness to the family (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007) and this has been told and retold for many times. As wood (2001) points out, culture and society provide “vocabularies of understanding, motive, and significance” (p. 241), to guide people to construct meanings for their personal experiences. Participants may have referenced their preferred identities to these culturally acceptable narratives and values to enable them to make meanings upon their experiences. These preferred identities have become a guidance and motivation for them to change.

8.3. Post-counselling program (a new direction)

Identities preferred by participants have become a new direction that guides them to make changes in their relationships. After joining the program, they showed some changes in the ways they behaved and related with the wives. However, not all of them are consistent in

focusing on this new direction. One participant was able to keep “on the track” with his new direction. Two of them showed resistance and ambivalence. It was interesting to know from this study what changes participants made after completing the program and how their wives responded to upon these changes. Two sub-themes of post-counselling program are ‘Stories of change’ and ‘Resistances and wives’ responses’.

8.3.1. Stories of change

Now I am willing to listen her, instead of arguing with her. It is like I am using brakes to stop stubbornness. No more swearing. There should be an agreement in every discussion. I also learned to say “thank you”. This is something new that we don’t have before. (Andy)

Maybe she will describe me as a person who got back on track. I try to fulfil what she wants. Now, I often have a little discussion with her at night. I try to rebuild intimacy and provide a space for us to share and release our feelings, without rage. And I do household chores! (Agus)

I don't want to hurt anybody anymore, physically and emotionally. I want to say sorry [crying]... Now, I'm more excited to work, more energised to fight for what I want, what the people behind me want. I have started to pick up phones when she calls. Wanting to talk to her during that moment. At first, I didn't want to. (Whisnu)

Andy showed changes in his communication styles. He learned two skills of communication: how to listen instead of arguing, and how to say “thank you”. He wanted to create an “agreement” or understanding in every conversation to replace a “quarrel”. He wanted to change his image as a stubborn person, and showed that he is a faithful husband whatever happens in his relationship.

Agus wanted to change his image as an unfaithful and ignorant husband. He tried to rebuild trust with Nanny by making intimate conversations every night. He used the term “back on track” to describe his self after joining the program. He wanted to show that he is a responsible husband. Whisnu focused on making his family happy by providing what his family wants. He tried to start communicating with his wife in more respectful ways. He wanted to show that he is not an abusive person but a very responsible person in the family.

These findings showed that unique stories against dominant narrative of violence continued after the participants had completed the program. More respectful communicating styles and relationship building, were the themes of behavioural changes they made. Perhaps, these participants had recognised the existence of a problem and uneasy feelings in their relationships. It is because all of them were recommended by friends or family members to find counselling service providers. Feelings of uneasiness in a relationship, with a recognition that violence was a problem, are associated with the motivation to change (Roy *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, they may have readiness and plans to take initiatives in behaviour change. Moreover, the participants may have a very positive impression towards the counsellors and counselling processes, as a result of success in delivering empathy, egalitarian and non-judgmental attitudes. These have made a well-developed alliance. Brown and O'Leary (2000) found that treatment outcomes, as determined by decreased mild and severe emotional and physical violence, was positively associated with strong alliance in male batterer treatment program.

Another explanation is that shame is considered to be a moral emotion for Javanese people (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). Shame is a part of “self-conscious emotions” that is elicited by self-reflection and self-evaluation (Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007, p. 346). This emotion functions as an emotional barometer that provides salient feedback on social and moral acceptability. As conflicts within the family are considered to be a taboo and the reoccurrence of marital conflicts can make participants feel shameful in the society, they may anticipate this feeling and its moral and social consequences by keeping focused on their changes.

8.3.2. Wife responses and husband ambivalence

Sometimes I feel that stubbornness still exists inside me. Even though, I say I am willing to change, but sometimes my ego still appears. I know this is not good for my relationship, but maybe it was my habit when I was very young. (Andy)

Unresolved. If I may say my situation now. It is as if I am crossing a river using a bridge and I have only reached the middle. I have not reached the end yet. Still like crossing a bridge, not yet at the end. However, I want to do a good deed. The best for them. (Whisnu)

With respect to the stories of change the participants made, two of them, however, showed ambivalence. Andy changed the ways he communicated with Sarah, but he argued that stubbornness still exists in his self, even though he knew that it may bring negative consequences for his relationship. He may think that stubbornness is a characteristic attached to men, and he still wants to adopt this characteristic as a part of his identity in order to be regarded as a man in the community. Whisnu showed his commitment not to engage in abusive behaviours, physically and emotionally. However, he still feels uncertain about himself being not able to produce a child. He described this situation as unresolved.

Sarah acknowledged some changes that Andy had made some changes. Andy is now more caring and willing to listen than before. He has shown a decrease in frequency of quarrel and emotional violence.

Well, perhaps now he's more caring, He also wants to listen. But, it's not too much, like yesterday when I talked, he argued with me all the time. Why would he argue when someone is trying to tell him something? What I wanted is, for instance, having an open discussion and I need to feel comfortable. (Sarah)

However, when talking with Andy, Sarah did not get a sense of openness and comfort. She did not find a friendly, intimate and safe atmosphere when interacting with Andy since Andy still insists that stubbornness is a part of his identity. This way of thinking may still influence Andy when he approached Sarah. He expressed that stubbornness represents characters of

persistence and competitiveness, which made him feel a sense of manhood, characters rooted from dominant discourses of being a man in Javanese society (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). On the other hand, he realised that stubbornness does not correspond to the value of openness that he needs for developing an intimacy relationship with Sarah. Andy may experience two confronting situations between the desire to build an intimacy and to maintain stubbornness as a way of being a man. This confronting situation in which a person shows contradictory thoughts, attitudes or feelings is considered to be ambivalent (Levensky, Forcehimes, O'Donohue, & Beitz, 2007). Whisnu is ambivalent regarding his perspective in viewing himself as a man. The dominant discourse about a real man, which is measured by a man's ability to produce children still influences the way he perceives himself. Therefore, Whisnu may still experience a sense of failure as he is yet to be able to have a child.

These findings have informed that counselling process appeared to focus only on facilitating the participants to modify their behaviours by conforming to the stages of designed intervention in psycho-education and then adopting new skills and knowledge. However, some issues related to masculinity discourse and ways of being a man in Javanese society that gave rise to participants' problems seemed unexplored. As a result, the effects of what Morgan (2002, p. 88) describes as "taken-for-granted ideas" from the society on client's life remained unaddressed.

She used to perceive me as a person who is able to nurture. I am the head of the family. But after these conflicts, she may no longer trust me. And my children got the effect as well. I need to restore her trust at any cost. (Agus)

While two other participants showed ambivalence, Agus expressed a different experience. During the interview, Agus always placed a strong emphasis on his social position as a leader. The impacts of his behaviours on the family made him realise that what he did was not

consistent with the values of protecting and nurturing attached to his position as a prominent figure of the community as well as the head of the family. He may have found a turning point of life after completing the counselling sessions, which made him believe that he must change. Therefore, he did not show any signs of ambivalence about parts of his self and behaviours that needed not be changed.

Yes, there are changes, for example, he used to be ignorant and go out at night, but now he has chosen to stay at home with me and children. I appreciate that. I said to him, "I trust you, and you should keep my trust". I knew he was feeling regretful. Now he always says "sorry" after praying together. He is more religious. (Nanny)

Nanny stated that Agus was able to show his commitment to change. Agus has experienced a transformation from an uncaring husband to a family man. He realised that what he had done was not in accordance with the moral values attached to his social position and roles in the community and family. He is now more religious, close to the family and willing to be involved in domestic activities. Agus expressed a sense of regret and seriousness that made Nanny feel touched. Therefore, she started to open herself up to Agus.

This finding has offered a different perspective in viewing men's gender roles within society. An ideal man in Javanese society is an individual who has a socially constructed gender role as a leader or a prominent figure in the family and society (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007). Inevitably, from feminist perspective, this gender role gives men more power and control over women, which causes gender inequality (Braaf & Meyering, 2013). Some studies have revealed that this power imbalance causes men to engage in various types of violence against women (WHO, 2009). However, in this case, there are values and moral responsibilities attached to this gender role that serve as a guidance or coping resources for a man to reflect his behaviours and prevent him from engaging in abusive behaviours.

9. Discussions and Conclusion

This research has revealed several findings and analysis. Participants showed their unique stories against dominant narratives of violence. These unique stories illustrated an effort which the participants wanted to show to their wives, family and community their willingness to change. They showed changes in identities, from a stubborn person, uncaring husband, and weak person to their preferred identities as a faithful and responsible husband, and hope of the family. Two wives joining the interview asserted that their husbands who prior to counselling had committed emotional violence, including verbal aggression and neglect, now showed changes in behaviours and attitudes to be more respectful and less aggressive. Restoring relationships and family harmony became these men's main motivation to change as family and relationship are two integral parts of men's honour in Javanese society (Hasyim *et al.*, 2007), and their role to protect and nurture the family (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). On the other hand, the findings also showed that these values of protection, nurturing and responsibility attached culturally to men made them develop abusive perspectives that praise men's power, entitlement and privilege. Jenkins (2009) suggests that when abusive behaviours occur, violence can be abusive when the person who enacts it possesses a sense of entitlement or privilege in relation to others. This condition occurs in a social context in Indonesia in which the society praises women's submission towards men. Therefore, these situations made the participants believe a range of ideas that undervalue and underestimate their wives.

Counselling program was able to create a context which enabled the participants to reflect on their state of being and behaviours to their wives and gain insights about their identities. The initial stage was a crucial process that determined client engagement in the program and the continuity of further counselling sessions. Empathy, non-judgmental attitude,

reflective listening and validating clients' stories were the counsellors' characteristics that contributed to the development of alliance between them and the clients. These characteristics also made the clients less resistant and willing to open themselves up for new information from the counselling process. This finding is consistent with several studies that found empathy, non-judgmental standpoint, and validating clients' stories contributed to the greater client involvement in therapeutic sessions (Levesque *et al.*, 2008; Magill, Stout, & Apodaca, 2007) and the development of strong collaboration in partner violence intervention programs (Eckhardt, Murphy, Black, & Suhr, 2006).

Despite behavioural changes that clients showed, the issues of clients' ambivalence appeared in this study. Two participants showed ambivalence regarding their identities. Psycho-education used in the program was able to help the participants to gain insights and new skills of communication and relationship building. However, the counselling process tended to focus on encouraging the participants to change their behaviours and placed little emphasis on exploring and deconstructing the effects of dominant discourse of being a man in their lives. Jenkins (2009) suggests that in the cases of men who have abusive behaviour, focusing merely on behavioural modification or psychological disturbance can obscure the systemic factors such as masculinity ideology and power relation that support violence. Consequently, when a client tries to adopt new skills or to follow the instructions from the counsellor, he does little to reflect his way of being abusive, which contributes to violence, and to take responsibility for stopping his abusive behaviours.

Implications

These findings and analysis have implications for future intervention models when working with perpetrators of domestic violence. It may be helpful to focus not only on behavioural modification but also clients' ambivalence. Motivational Interviewing (Miller & Rollnick, 2002) is a therapeutic model that can be used when working with clients who show ambivalence to change. This approach has treatment protocols that explore ambivalence by raising a discrepancy between dilemmatic behaviours, attitudes or beliefs and personal goals, hopes and values, rolling with resistance, eliciting self-motivational statements, encouraging steps to change, and discussing commitment to abstinence (Miller & Rollnick, 2002).

In addition, the findings have showed that culture and society provide significance and understanding embedded in interactions. These can serve as resources for people to make meanings about their experiences and guide them to pass difficult life situations. However, the society also creates what Foucault (1980) describes as a "hegemonic discourse" about the "truth of our identities" that is repressive and inflexible. It constructs a moral standard which influences the way people perceive themselves as a person, but sometimes such a standard is not relevant to the reality or the current situations. This study revealed how the society constructs a dominant masculinity discourse that influences the participants' belief of what "a real man" should look like. Focusing only on behavioural modification seemed unhelpful in reducing the effects of dominant discourse about being a man in participants' life. Counsellors may employ deconstructing techniques from Narrative Therapy that aims to invite the clients to map the effects of beliefs or assumptions in people's life that have been taken for granted (White, 2007).

Perhaps, the most interesting finding from this study is how the participants made meanings of their experiences, which in turn helped them to reclaim their hopes about family and

relationships. Regardless of the therapeutic approaches used, this study showed that participants are an expert of their own life who has a good understanding of rich vocabulary that can be used to tell about love and harmony, two things that are opposed to the idea of violence. This is consistent with Erickson who suggests that people are life-long learners, and they will learn, grow and enrich their lives by handling it (Freedman & Combs, 1996). There are many possible experiential realities and alternatives in any situation. Without minimising perspectives that support the importance of criminal justice system in responding to perpetrators (McGregor, 1990; Portwood & Heany, 2007), focusing merely on criminal justice based approaches in viewing perpetrators, as it happens in Indonesia, will overlook their potencies that can be functioned as resources for them to change and take responsibility.

Limitation of study

There are some limitations in this study. Participants were clients who had been involved in kinship consultations or private religious counselling in their communities before joining the counselling program at RAWCC. They were advised by family members and friends to come to the service provider. Therefore, their level of motivation and readiness may not be the same as the clients mandated by the legal authority. As a results, they may not be representatives of the total population. Moreover, the principle of harmony in Javanese society obliges the participants not to discuss openly what they found unhelpful about the counselling process. Discussing the weaknesses of a person who gave help is considered to be something damaging harmony in the social relationships. Therefore, the information regarding what they found unhelpful about the program was very limited.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this study is to explore the effects of a counselling program with particular focus on male clients' perspectives, and to inquiry into the change processes regarding attitudes towards wives and domestic violence. The findings showed that there were unique stories against the dominant narratives of violence after participants have completed the counselling program. The unique stories told about changes in less abusive behaviours and in the ways participants construct themselves as a person who is a respectful person towards his wife. These changes that they showed have illustrated that, regardless of what therapeutic modalities were used, the clients could continually and actively re-author their lives.

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Appendix A



Research Office
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Fax +61 (0)2 9850 4465
Email ethics.secretariat@mq.edu

29 January 2014

Ms Janet Conti
Department of Psychology
Faculty of Human Sciences
Macquarie University

Dear Ms Conti

RE: Evaluation of counselling program for perpetrators of domestic violence in Jogjakarta, Indonesia

Thank you for your email dated 27 January 2014 responding to the issues raised by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities)).

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) delegated review of your response to the Ethics Secretariat. This research meets the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) and your application has been approved.

Details of this approval are as follows:

Reference No: 5201300845

Approval Date: 29 January 2014

This letter constitutes ethical approval only.

The following documentation has been reviewed and approved by the HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities):

| Documents reviewed | Version no. | Date |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Macquarie University HREC Application Form | 2.3 | July 2013 |
| Correspondence from Mr Kurniawan addressing the HREC's feedback | | Received 27 Jan 2014 |
| MQ Participant Information and Consent Form (PICF) | 1 | 27 Jan 2013 |

Recruitment advertisement

1

27 Jan 2013

Participant interview questions

undated

Standard Conditions of Approval:

1. Continuing compliance with the requirements of the *National Statement*, which is available at the following website:

<http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research>

2. Approval is for five (5) years, subject to the submission of annual reports.

First Annual Report Due: 01 February 2015

3. All adverse events must be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

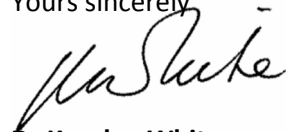
4. Proposed changes to the protocol must be submitted to the Committee for approval before implementation.

It is the responsibility of the Chief investigator to retain a copy of all documentation related to this project and to forward a copy of this approval letter to all personnel listed on the project.

Please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat should you have any questions regarding your ethics application.

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely



Dr Karolyn White

Director, Research Ethics & Integrity

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities)

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) (the National Statement) and the CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice.

Appendix B

Advertisement



Department of Psychology
Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109
Phone: +61 [\(02\) 9850 8019](tel:+61298508019)
Fax: +61 (02)9850 8062
Email: psychology.health@mq.edu.au

Research Participants needed

We are seeking 3 couples (husbands and wives) who had finished counselling sessions in Rifka Annisa to join in an individual interview for a research study on Evaluation of men's counselling program in Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre.

Criteria for participants:

1. Must be between 24 and 40 year-old
2. You must have finished counselling sessions in Rifka Annisa
3. You are willing to join in an independent interview

Participation in this study is voluntary.

Participants will be involved in an independent interview to explore the effects of the counselling process on male clients' perspectives and their wives, along with change regarding their attitudes towards partners. The research is particularly interested in identifying the meaning, unique outcomes and challenges, the male clients make of their experiences after joining counselling programs. Interview will last 60 – 90 minutes and be held in Rifka Annisa.

Participants will receive a flash drive as a reward and be reimbursed for their times.

Contact information:

If you are interested, please contact:

Aditya Putra Kurniawan

Mobile: +6181259181126

Email; aditya-putra.kurniawan@students.mq.edu.au

Research Advertisement
[Version no.1][27/01/2014]

Appendix C



Human Sciences
Department of Psychology
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109
AUSTRALIA

Information and Consent Form

Evaluation of counseling program for perpetrators of domestic violence in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

You are invited to participate in a study on issues on evaluation of the effectiveness of counselling program for male clients in the context of domestic violence issues. The purpose of this study is to explore your perspectives, along with change regarding your attitudes towards your partner and domestic violence. This research is particularly interested in identifying the meaning, unique outcomes and challenges, you made of your experiences after joining counselling programs.

This study is a research project conducted by Aditya Putra Kurniawan as part of his Master of Social Health and Counselling requirement at Macquarie University. This project is under the supervision of Danya Braunstein (danya.braunstein@mq.edu.au) from the Department of Psychology, Macquarie University.

Any information that will be gathered throughout this study will be strictly confidential (except if you report serious illegal activity or plans to harm to yourself or others). *The researcher, being a mandatory reporter and hence in case of disclosure of illegal activity or plans to harm yourself or others would be informed to the MS Suharti, Director of Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre who will take any necessary action to ensure safety.* Any identifying information will be removed and you will be asked to choose a pseudonym to replace your name in the publication of results.

If you agree to participate in this study, the interview will be for around 60 to 90 minutes. The interview will be audio recorded for transcription purpose only. During the interview, modifications will be made to potentially identifiable information to maintain your confidentiality. Any information that you do not want included in the final transcript will be deleted. Once the interviews have been transcribed by the researcher, the audio-tapes will be permanently erased. Only the researcher and his supervisor would have access to the transcripts. The given information remains confidential in which partners are not able to review each other's transcripts. If you decide to participate, you are able to withdraw at any time without the need to give a reason or consequence and any information you have provided regarding illegal activity cannot be withdrawn.

The results of this research will contribute to a master's thesis. Research findings may also be made public through articles in journals and possibly through the publication of a book. In all of these instances, data will be presented in a deidentified format. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Transcriptions, comments and quotations will therefore seek not contain anything that may identify research participants. Acknowledgements made in any publications will be general in nature.

A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request and you can request feedback from the study via email aditya-putra.kurniawan@students.mq.edu.au

The research project will be held by the Department of Psychology at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. Participation of this study is entirely voluntary. You are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence. The interview processes may disclose some emotional experiences. It may lead some psychological distress as you will talk about difficult experiences. You may need to consult with your counsellor regarding risks and benefits before deciding to join in this research.

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact of the committee through the Director,



Human Sciences
Department of Psychology
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109
AUSTRALIA

Research Ethics (telephone (02) 98507854, email: ethics@mq.edu.au Any complaints you make will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

You may also contact MS Suharti from Rifka Annisa as the local contact point for participants via email yu_harti@yahoo.com

I,, have read and understood the information above and any questions I have asked and have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S [OR PARTICIPANT'S] COPY)

Appendix D

Interview questions

A selection of these questions will be asked to each participant.

Experiences of program

1. I was wondering why you were interested in participating in this research?
2. Is it OK if we start with talking about your experiences of the program?
3. What did you find most helpful about the program? And why?
4. What did you find least helpful? And why?
5. How did you find counselling program that you were joining in? How far does this program meet your hopes and expectations?

Experiences and identity shifts over time and related to the intervention/s

6. Is it OK for us to talk about some of the experiences that you had that led to your decision to participate in this program?
7. How did these experiences invite you to act, think, feel, respond?
8. How did these experiences (using participant's words and phrases) affect how you see yourself as a person? Was this OK with you or not? And why?
9. Is it OK for you to tell me about some of the history of your relationship before you started in the counselling program? What is it like for you to recall those times?
10. How would you have named the problem before you commenced the program? How might you name the problem now? Has this changed and why?
11. What have you got in touch with about yourself as a person through the program? Has this been helpful or unhelpful or both? And why?
12. In what areas of your life / your partner's life have been changed as a result of joining in a counselling program?
13. What changes did you / your partner make?
14. What do these changes say to you about what matters to you (or what you value or what is important to you)?

15. Who might support the continuation if these developments?
16. How would you like things to be different? What does this say about what is important for you?
17. What is going on in your life that makes you want new possibilities and supports your hopes that things will be different in your relationship?
18. I was wondering what has stood out from our conversation today? What might this say to you about what matters to you in your life and in the future?

Additional open ended questions as appropriate to further explore emergent themes

If a theme is identified, interviewer may ask the following questions to assist further understanding of participants' meanings, experiences and self-understandings –

- a Could you tell me a bit more about X (client's words/phrases)?
- b What does/did X mean to you?
- c Is X helpful, unhelpful or a bit of both and why?
- d How does X affect how you see yourself as a person?

Appendix E



Department of Psychology, Postgraduate Office

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RETENTION OF ORIGINAL RESEARCH DATA AND AUTHORSHIP

Name: Aditya Putra Kurniawan

Course: Master of Social Health and Counselling

Title of Dissertation: Men's experiences of counselling program for perpetrators of domestic violence in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Date of Submission: 19 December 2014

I, Aditya Putra Kurniawan, undertake to retain original data
(Dissertation author)

associated with the above dissertation for five years until 19 December 2019
(Day, month and year – five years from submission date)

And, if I do not submit a manuscript for publication within two years of the date of submission mentioned above, I agree that my Supervisor may publish the research and may assume primary authorship, and I will be listed as an author as stipulated in the *2007 APS Code of Ethics and NHMRC guidelines*.

Signed: _____

Witness: _____

Witness Name: _____

Date: