

**POSITIONS CONSTRUCTED FOR A FEMALE THERAPIST
IN MALE BATTERERS' TREATMENT GROUPS**

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PÄIVINEN, HELENA: Positions constructed for a female therapist in male batterers' treatment groups

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The aim of this study was to examine how male batterers regard to a female therapist in their group treatment. Of interest were the socially constructed positions for a female therapist. This study intends to examine what kind of positions the batterers construct for a female therapist in their speech and how the female therapist reacts to invitations to take up these positions. Attention was paid also to the male therapist's positions in these situations. The topic was approached from a social constructionist and discourse analytic point of view and Grounded Theory was used as the method of analysing the data.

The data consisted of five therapy groups for male batterers, each of which gathered fifteen times at the beginning of the 21st century. The groups have been implemented as a part of a Finnish batterers' treatment program in Jyväskylä, Finland. The program functions as a collaboration of a crisis centre called "Mobile" and the Jyväskylä University Psychotherapy Training and Research Centre. Overall there were 26 men participating in these five groups and each group had a female and a male therapist as leaders. The therapy sessions had been videotaped and the researcher transcribed the significant sections of the tapes into text files for further analysis.

The female therapist was many times positioned primarily as a woman in the groups. The positions of a woman were constructed in three dimensions: The female therapist was positioned as a representative for the women in general; she represented the men's spouses and she was offered positions personally as a woman. Positions of woman were often based on constructed difference between men and women. The positions were in accordance with the constructions male batterers are known to have about women. The female therapist could diminish the difference constructed between men and women by taking up or repositioning herself to positions that challenged the men's discourses. The male therapist usually positioned himself to support his co-worker. On the other hand he took part in the positioning of the female therapist as a woman in some of the discourses. Cooperation between the therapists is essential in treatment of batterers.

Working with batterers is simple for neither a female nor a male therapist. The results of this study give support to the model where there is a female therapist leading male batterers' treatment groups. The female therapist can make the men see their spouses' point of view and alleviate the process of feeling compassion towards them. She can also modify the men's constructions of women by taking up positions that challenge their production in the discourses.

Key words: male batterers, intimate partner violence, group therapy, female therapist, social constructionism, gendered positions

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Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli tarkastella, miten lähisuhteissaan väkivaltaiset miehet suhtautuvat naisterapeuttiin ryhmämuotoisessa hoidossa. Kiinnostuksen kohteena olivat naisterapeutille sosiaalisesti rakennetut positiot. Tämä tutkimus keskittyy siihen, millaisia positioita lähisuhteissaan väkivaltaiset miehet rakentavat puheessaan naisterapeutille ja miten naisterapeutti reagoi näihin tarjottuihin positioihin. Huomio kiinnitettiin myös miesterapeutin asemoitumiseen näissä tilanteissa. Aihetta lähestyttiin sosiaalis-konstruktionistisesta ja diskurssianalyttisestä näkökulmasta ja aineiston analyysimenetelmänä käytettiin Grounded Theorya.

Tutkimusaineisto koostui viidestä terapiaryhmästä, joista kukin kokoontui 15 kertaa 2000-luvun alussa. Ryhmät on toteutettu osana suomalaista väkivallan hoito-ohjelmaa Jyväskylässä. Ohjelma toimii kriisikeskus Mobilen ja Jyväskylän yliopiston psykoterapian opetus- ja tutkimusklinikan yhteistyönä. Näihin viiteen ryhmään osallistui yhteensä 26 miestä ja niissä kussakin oli vetäjänä nais- ja miesterapeutti. Terapiaistunnot oli videoitu ja tutkimuksen aiheen kannalta merkittävät kohdat transkriboitiin videoinneista tekstiksi.

Naisterapeutti asemoitiin ryhmässä ensisijaisesti naiseksi. Tämä tapahtui kolmella tasolla: Naisterapeutti asemoitiin edustajaksi naissukupuolelle yleensä; hän edusti miesten puolisoita ja lisäksi hänelle tarjottiin positioita henkilökohtaisesti naisena. Naisen positiot perustuivat usein miesten ja naisten välille rakennettuun erilaisuuteen. Naisterapeutin positiot olivat samansuuntaisia kuin naiskuvat, joita lähisuhteissaan väkivaltaisilla miehillä tiedetään olevan. Naisterapeutti pystyi pienentämään rakennettua eroa miesten ja naisten välillä asettautumalla hänelle tarjottuihin, sopiviin positioihin tai repositioimalla itsensä positioihin, jotka haastoivat miesten diskursseja. Miesterapeutti asemoi itsensä yleensä tukemaan työpariaan. Toisaalta hän osallistui naisterapeutin asemoimiseen naiseksi osassa diskursseista. Terapeuttien välinen yhteistyö on olennaista väkivaltaisten miesten hoidossa.

Väkivaltaisten miesten kanssa työskentely ei ole yksinkertaista kummallekaan, ei nais- eikä miesterapeutille. Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset tukevat mallia, jossa väkivaltaisten miesten terapiaryhmiä on vetämässä naisterapeutti. Naisterapeutti voi tuoda esiin puolisoitten näkökulmaa ja edesauttaa miehiä tuntemaan myötätuntoa heitä kohtaan. Hän voi myös muokata miesten naiskuvia asettautumalla positioihin, jotka haastavat näiden kuvien rakentumista miesten diskursseissa.

Avainsanat: väkivaltaan syyllistyneet miehet, lähisuhdeväkivalta, ryhmäterapia, naisterapeutti, sosiaalinen konstruktionismi, sukupuolittuneet positiot

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Pro-feminist approach in treating male batterers

Programs for intimately violent men have been developed mainly in North America and Europe but later also in Nordic countries. The programs are based on a wide range of different philosophies, theoretical orientations, and practical methods. Traditional views have seen violent men and women or their interaction as abnormal, distinct from the “normal” men and women (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). The problem has been seen in couple interaction, controlling anger and feelings, connected to men’s traumatization and psychopathology, alcohol abuse or biology (Wolfe & Jaffe, 1999). In this study intimate partner violence is considered from a pro-feminist point of view as an expression of power and control of men over women (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). In pro-feminist treatment programs violence is seen not as an abnormality. It is normal men who behave violently towards their spouses to maintain the domination of men in the society.

Pro-feminist approach sees intimate partner violence as a problem in the structure of society. Construction of masculinity is being used as rationalization of male violent behavior (Hearn, 1998; Orme, Dominelli, & Mullender, 2000). The men themselves would have a choice to respond in different ways; they can opt to act non-violently. In feminist viewpoint the men’s violent behavior is learned in the patriarchal culture, in the socialization of men (Wilson, 1996). Traditional socialization encourages men to associate power, dominance, strength, virility and superiority with masculinity, and submissiveness, passivity, weakness, and inferiority with femininity (Scully & Marolla, 1993). The difference between women and men is not just a neutral one. It is founded on ‘otherness’ (de Beauvoir, 1999). Masculinity is often constructed through difference to femininity (Badinter, 1993; Skeggs, 1993). Therefore masculinity may be considered as a defense against the qualities of ‘others’. To be like man is to be not like woman. In constructing masculinities, fear and desire of otherness become central and this also constructs what is femininity (Hollway, 1984).

Violent behavior is underpinned by the attitudes and beliefs that women are inferior and subservient to men and that particularly in private relationships men have certain rights over women

(Hearn, 1998; Schmidt et al. 2007). Taken for granted power relation to women is a way of affirming one's sense of being a man. Hearn states, that an important aspect of men's power is the use, potential use or threat of violence. To end the phenomenon of intimate partner violence it is not only individual men who have to stop acting violently but the whole society's definition of masculinity has to change. The cultural approval of men's right to control others has to be challenged and reversed. This is why neither the work should be limited to individual men but to the wider community (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Orme et al. 2000).

The pro-feminist treatment programs criticize traditional psychotherapies in treating violence against women. Couple and family therapies have been experienced negatively by the victims and these therapies are seen as maintaining men's dominant position in family and making violence invisible. In pro-feminist treatment programs the focus is in making the men responsible for their violence (Dobash & Dobash 1992). In the programs men are educated to identify different modes of violence in their own behavior and to change their oppressive beliefs and attitudes towards women (Partanen, 2008; Wilson, 1996). They are educated to change their masculinity. There have been arguments on behalf and against efficacy of the pro-feminist programs in treating intimately violent men (Dominelli, 1999; Babcock, Canady, Graham, & Schart, 2007). The research on what works in the treatment programs and if the programs work is not clear.

From the feminist point of view the work done with men is done because of the needs and wish of the woman, not of the man who is treated (Orme et al. 2000; Wilson, 1996). The women may wish the men to change; they may be worried about the man and see him also needing help in the situation. They also hope that the situation would change and the family could stay together. Usually violent men do not voluntarily seek help to change their behavior, as they do not define themselves having a problem (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh, & Lewis, 2000). Still there are both voluntary and court mandated treatment programs. Batterer programs are only one part of preventing violence against women and they should never be set up in isolation. They need to be linked with other services that are helping women be safe. Treatment of intimate partner violence has largely and rightly concentrated on ensuring the safety of women and children, the victims of violence (Dobash et al. 2000; Holma, 2001; Orme et al. 2000; Wilson, 1996). As the men are considered responsible for their behavior, the victims' safety can be ensured by treating the men's violent behavior, not just offering the women a refuge. Treating only the victims of violence can also validate assumptions that the victim might have co-responsibility on the violent acts (Orme et al. 2000). This may maintain a victim blaming atmosphere in the treatment

of intimate partner violence and the work done is driven away from changing the men's behavior. In the end the only way to stop violence is that the men stop being violent (Cavanagh & Cree, 1996; Wilson, 1996).

Group treatment is seen productive in many programs for treating intimately violent men (Austin & Dankwort, 1999; Brooks, 1998; Dobash & Dobash 1992; Dobash et al. 2000; Gondolf, 2002; Orme et al. 2000; Partanen, 2008) and it is nowadays the most common model for treating intimate partner violence. It has been recommended that the treatment of intimately violent men should contain both individual and group work (Holma, 2001). The benefit in group treatment is that in group while sharing their own explanations of their violent behavior and listening to those of others the men may better understand the issue of intimate violence and their own violent behavior (Holma, Partanen, Wahlström, Laitila, & Seikkula, 2006; Partanen, 2008). Talking is the most important tool in the treatment programs for batterers (Dobash et al. 2000; Partanen, 2008).

1.2. Jyväskylä model for male batterers

This study relates to a Finnish batterers' treatment program which was established in Jyväskylä, Finland, in 1995 by the crisis centre named "Mobile", in collaboration with the Jyväskylä University Psychotherapy Training and Research Centre (Holma et al. 2006). The program is pro-feminist oriented but also features from different therapeutic orientations are included to the treatment (Partanen, 2008). Jyväskylä model for men is closely connected to programmes for women and children. The model for the program has been influenced greatly by a Norwegian treatment program called Alternative to violence (ATV). Treatment of male perpetrators begins with an intervention and individual sessions with one of the male workers in the crisis centre (Holma et al. 2006). This phase lasts from one to six months. Men need to complete the individual sessions before entering the group treatment which is organized in the Jyväskylä University Psychotherapy Training and Research Centre. The group sessions are conducted by two therapists. At first the dyad was male/male but there have also been female/male dyads in the groups. Earlier the treatment groups were closed and the group treatment consisted of 15 sessions, each 1.5 hours in duration once a week. Later the groups have changed to open-ended which means the men commit themselves to at least 15 sessions and the group is regularly refilled. When starting the group treatment men have to see their violent behaviour as unjustified action and the process of taking responsibility of it has to have started. There is no system of mandatory

treatment in Finland and the men come to this program voluntarily. Only 13% of the men, who start the program, start the group treatment. It is a problem to get the men to undertake longer treatments. Batterers' programs should last minimum for a year and short programs can be classified as dangerous as they create an illusion of the man being non-violent (Holma 2001).

The research on the group treatment in the University of Jyväskylä has concentrated especially on the language use of the men from discourse analytic, narrative and dialogical point of view. For example justification and naturalization of violence towards women (Partanen, 2005), victim positioning (Partanen & Wahlström, 2003) and the batterers' explanations to their behavior (Ajo & Grönroos, 2005) have been studied. Kapanen (2005) researched how the men talk about women in the groups. Four different discursive constructions of women can be recognized in the talk of the men. Women are presented as provocative persons which makes them co-responsible for the violent incidents. Second women are seen as undependable, who can leave the man unexpectedly. Violence is the result of uncertainty and fear of abandonment. Thirdly, women are constructed as mysterious creatures that man cannot fully understand. This mysteriousness refers especially to emotional changes the women go through in the course of their menstrual circle. Lastly the men talk about powerful women, who have verbal superiority over men. The men's verbal inferiority excuses their use of physical violence. The interests of this study are largely based on the study of Kapanen. As the men's violence towards women is seen as based on the inequality of genders in the society and as the men seem to have different attitudes about women than of men, these power relations can be assumed to come into play in a treatment group with a female therapist as well.

1.3. Female therapist in male batterers' group

There are conflicting arguments on behalf and against a worker of the opposite sex in treating batterers (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). In some feminist approaches it has been argued that men should be responsible to do the work to change themselves (Wilson, 1996). Others do not trust the men to do the job themselves and women workers are seen important to prohibit male bonding and plotting in groups (Austin & Dankwort, 1999; Wilson, 1996). There are increasingly female/male dyads and having both a female and a male therapist in the group seems to have its advantages. How the gender of the worker affects the therapy of intimately violent men has not been studied very much, and the results and

findings to date are neither comprehensive nor unanimous (Tyagi, 2006). Still it is argued that the organization and planning of the treatment programs has to be gender-conscious (Caoyette, 1999; Tyagi, 2006). Helping women and men, victims and perpetrators separately is one way of gender-conscious work. The effect of the gender of the therapist or worker should be taken into account as well.

In psychotherapy research the gender of the therapist has been found a poor predictor of therapy outcome for both male and female clients (Blow, Sprenkle, & Davis, 2007; Blow, Timm, & Cox, 2008; Bowman, Scogin, Floyd, & McKendree-Smith, 2001, Okiishi et al. 2006). It has been suggested that how the therapist deals with processing gender issues in the therapy seems to be much more important than the gender itself (Blow et al. 2008). Psychotherapy research has consistently demonstrated that the strength of the client-therapist alliance is significantly related to positive outcomes in therapy (Babcock et al. 2007; Blow et al. 2007; Dinger, Strack, Leichsenring, Wilmers, & Schauenburg, 2008). The gender of the therapist, as well as other geographic characteristics, has only a minor if any effect on the alliance (Dinger et al. 2008). However as intimate partner violence is considered as a gendered issue involving attitudes and power-relations it may be assumed that the gender of the therapist has some affect on the group functioning and alliance (Tyagi, 2006). Building an alliance with batterers in a treatment program may be difficult also because treatment of intimate partner violence requires a different from traditional psychotherapeutic approach. The therapists have to confront and challenge the men, sometimes strongly and the real client of the program is the victim of violence at home (Babcock et al. 2007). Also the participants may lack real motivation to change, which is also a requirement for positive outcome.

It may be argued that because of its gendered nature the violence against women is difficult to go through with a worker of the opposite sex especially at the beginning of the treatment (Nyqvist, 2001). Still, it has been noted that it may be easier for men to engage in therapy when the therapist is a woman (Cavanagh & Lewis, 1996; Deering & Gannon, 1995). Men may be used to express closeness and dependence (Deering & Gannon, 1995) and to talk about intimate, personal aspects of their lives (Cavanagh & Lewis, 1996) to women: their female partners, and mothers for example. It has been considered important having a female leader in the group because she keeps the women's perspective and experience at hand in the otherwise masculine group (Tyagi, 2006; Wilson, 1996). She can also confront the men with the impact of their behaviour better than a man (Wilson, 1996).

Working with batterers is considered challenging for women (Adams & Caoyette 2002, Banks 2008, Caoyette 1999, Dominelli, 1999; Tyagi 2006). The female therapist may encounter objectifying

and invisibility (Caoyette, 1999). Her comments may be given less value by generalizing them to represent all women or she may not be noticed at all: she can be made invisible. The men may also express their negative attitudes towards women when there is a female therapist in the group (Adams & Cayouette, 2002). The participants may interrupt, challenge or ignore the female therapist. She can be made responsible for the effective expression of male feelings and a controller of sexist speech as well (Long, 1987).

The female therapist may become an object of over-protectiveness or other approaching from the group participants' side (Caoyette, 1999; Deering & Gannon, 1995). This may reach even outside the group setting and this is why the female therapist has to draw clear lines to the group participants. Experiences of exceeding limits, generalizing of women and not being respected because of one's gender may cause feelings of being depreciated, insulted and objectified (Banks, 2008). The negative behaviour towards the female therapist is seen useful though (Adams & Caoyette, 2002). As it occurs in the group setting, it can be pointed out, brought into discussion and compared to the men's negative behaviour and attitudes towards their spouses. In Jyväskylä model the experiences of a female/male therapist dyad have been of two kinds; the female therapist has been seen to encourage men to talk about their intimate relationships, but on the other hand the female therapist may become target of sexist expectations (Holma et al. 2006).

It has been stressed that in the treatment programs for intimately violent men, the therapists should take a strong leadership position over the group participants (Partanen & Wahlström, 2003; Tyagi, 2006). Particularly the female therapist is expected to assume an active role in psycho education and in the therapeutic processes. In treating violence the therapist is also called for an adaptable moving between the psychological and moral standpoint (Partanen, 2008). Empathetic understanding and challenging take turns in the work of the therapist. For a female therapist it may be especially difficult to find a balance between these positions (Caoyette, 1999). Too empathetic a female therapist may be considered weak and a too challenging one a man hater. Representing her gender and the authority a therapist requests special skills from the female therapist.

Having a male therapist in the group is also important as he can model modern masculinity and exemplify more flexible role expectations to the men, which may advantage the change process of the group members (Deering and Gannon 1995). For male workers, working with male batterers requires that they acknowledge their own masculinity in order to be able to confront men's violent behavior and make men to take responsibility of their doings (Orme et al. 2000). The male therapist must be able to

share the leadership with a woman and to behave respectfully and equally with a female therapist (Caoyette, 1999; Dominelli, 1999). The male therapist may face challenges in his work when the group participants try to ally with him or strongly offer him and not the female therapist the role of a leader. One of the greatest benefits of having a female and a male therapist in the groups is that it is a model of cooperation and sharing the leadership between the two sexes (Adams & Cayouette, 2002; Austin & Dankwort, 1999; Caoyette, 1999; Tyagi, 2006; Wilson, 1996). When working well, the model gives the group members an opportunity to observe how a man and a woman can get along with each other and share power. The group members see and observe a woman in a deviant form the stereotypical position of ruler and authority alongside with the male leader. Still this all is not easily accomplished nor is that the men would relate what they see modelled to their own lives (Wilson, 1996).

1.4. Discursive approach

This study connects itself to the tradition of researching speech in treatment groups of intimately violent men. Discursive approach can be classed under the epistemological tradition of social constructionism (Gergen, 2009). Discursive psychology or discourse analysis sees reality as constructed in language and language reflects this reality (McLeod, 2001). Our use of language is a performance which makes things happen and constructs the reality we live in. The language the men use has a significant role in sustaining and approving the violence towards women (Adams, Towns, & Gavey, 1995). In their everyday discourses men justify and naturalize their power position to women and construct the violence towards women as natural and self-evident. Intimate partner violence is a discursively maintained social practice. According to Hearn (1998) men's violence towards women is both material and discursive. It involves both violence and talk about violence.

From the discursive perspective language is not taken to be simply a tool for description and a medium of communication, but as social practice, as a mode of doing things (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Discursive perspective to language differs from conventional orientations in three major ways. It sees talk and language as action, as behavior. It emphasizes talk as the event of interest in social and psychological research, this meaning that the phenomena of interest are constituted in and through discourse. Thirdly discursive perspective emphasizes variability. Talk constructs different versions of world and is oriented to different functions; variability is therefore to be expected not only between

persons, but within persons. Participants use variability to construct their talk for different purposes, for different audiences and for different occasions. It has been argued that batterers do not believe that women have the same right as men to argue, negotiate, or to debate (Cawanagh & Lewis, 1996; Dobash et al. 2000). The women's verbal superiority is often experienced as a threat to the man's authority in the family and physical violence is used to return the power-position of the man (Dobash & Dobash, 1998; Hearn, 1998). The men feel themselves verbally incompetent. Also this is why researching speech is essential in the context of intimate partner violence.

Generally discourses are represented as broad patterns of language use, written or spoken (Coyle, 2007). Diverse meanings have been ascribed to the term. Potter (2004) sees discourse as action-oriented, situated and constructed. Action-orientation means that discourse is concerned with actions and practices and it is put together to perform actions as parts of broader practices. Situated characteristic of discourse means that discourse is taking place in certain context which set the conditions for the discourse. Discourse is constructed out of words, idioms, rhetorical devices and so on. Discourse also constructs and stabilizes versions of the world. This way discourse is both constructed and constructive.

People are both producers of and produced by discourse (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Discourses make available positions for subjects to take up (Hollway, 1984). *Positioning* means a process in social interaction, where individuals become produced over and over again in the various discursive practices in which they participate (Davies & Harré, 1990). Still the very same person is experiencing and displaying these different aspects of self. It is one and the same person who is positioned in different ways in conversations and who at the same time can negotiate new positions in the same discursive practices.

In this research the concept of position is used to analyze the interaction in the group context. *Position* can be looked at as a loose set of rights and duties that limit the possibilities of action (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003). This way positioning someone, even oneself, affects the repertoire of accessible acts to that person. Positioning limits how much a person can say or do at a certain moment. Positions can be multiple and shifting compared to conventional views of self. Position helps to focus on the dynamic aspects of encounters and not the static, formal and ritualistic aspects that the use of for example role would serve (Davies & Harré, 1990). Talking of positions instead of roles fits within the framework of the idea about social phenomena as socially constructed and reconstructed (Harré & van Langenhove, 1991).

Positioning can be interactive meaning that what one person says positions another (Davies & Harré, 1990). It can also be reflexive so that one positions oneself. Positioning another person happens by giving him a part in the discourse, explicit or implicit. Positioning can be intentional but also unintentional and even unconscious (Harré & van Langenhove, 1991). The speaker in a way *invites* the other speaker to take part in the story line of the discourse by taking up the offered position. This way the speaker makes available a subject position that will be taken up by the other speaker in the normal course of events (Davies & Harré, 1990). In this case the person becomes positioned by the first speaker. When one takes up a particular position, the person inevitably sees the world from the perspective of this position. Positions are always relational, that is by positioning someone in a certain way someone else is thereby positioned relative to that person (Harré, & Moghaddam, 2003; Hollway, 1984). One can also refuse positioning and reposition oneself or others. All in all, the person understands her/himself as continuous and unitary. That is why contradictory positions are experienced problematic and they are to be reconciled. Still, there are normative expectations in every level of positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990).

Positioning does not solely involve the discursive production of selves as individuals, but also selves as members, representatives and mediators of groups (Tan, & Moghaddam, 1999). A person's history as a subjective being must include her or his personal story, not just as a relatively unique and isolated individual, but as member of a constellation group. One belongs to the world through certain classes and not others and sees the world through this position (Davies & Harré, 1990). For example taking up position as a subject or an object is not likewise possible for women and men in practices that can be understood in gender-differentiated discourses (Hollway, 1984). There are specific positions for categories of "woman" and "man" in traditional discourses. Also other dimensions of social difference, such as age or race intersect with gender to advantage or disadvantage taking up certain positions. In this study special interest is paid on how gender affects the positions offered to a female therapist in a treatment group for male batterers.

1.5. Aim of the study and the research questions

This study deals with positions that are constructed for a female therapist in male batterers' treatment groups. The forming of the research questions was guided by data but also the earlier research done in the Jyväskylä model and the personal interest of the researcher had their effect on it. It is of interest how the positions are offered; how the female therapist is invited to take up a position in the discourse at hand and what these positions are like. Also it is considered how the female therapist reacts in these situations. Does she take up the offered position or reject it and so change the discourse. As well the male therapist's attendance in these discourses is paid attention to.

The research questions are the following:

- What positions are constructed for a female therapist in groups for male batterers?
- What position she takes up after invitations? Does she accept or reject the offered positions?
How does she reposition herself?
- What positions the male therapist takes in these situations?

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Data and participants

The data in this study consists of videotaped group sessions from five groups for male batterers. The groups took place in Jyväskylä at the beginning of the 21st century. Each of the groups gathered 15 times weekly and each session lasted one and a half hours. Put together the data comprises of 75 sessions that is to say 112.5 hours of videotaped material. The men had made a contract about the use of the videotaped group sessions in research. These five groups were chosen as data because they are the first ones in the Jyväskylä model in which one of the two therapists was a woman. After these groups the therapists have been men.

All in all there were 26 men of whom two (in different groups) dropped out during the first half of the treatment. There were 3 to 7 participants in the groups. The attendance to the sessions varied from one to seven participants. The female therapist was absent in five of all the 75 sessions. In the preceding interview to the group treatment the men were asked whether the presence of a female therapist in the groups would affect their attendance. None of the men reported that the female therapist would affect negatively neither the group nor their attendance to it.

The men were aged between c. 25 to 56 years old. The mean of ages was about 39 years. Half of the men (14) were married to the woman towards whom they had acted violently. Four were living in a common law relationship and two were dating the woman they had battered. Three men had a divorce process going on at the time of the group and three had broken up the relationship they had been violent in. Thus most of the men were still together with the woman they had battered (the last time). All but one man had children, own or from their spouse's previous relationships. Half of the men (13) had one or more children with the woman they had been in a relationship with and battered latest.

The majority (22 men) estimated that they had acted violently longer than a year and of them 11 estimated that the violence had lasted longer than three years. 16 of the men described having been violent one to three times during the last 12 months period. Six of the men had been violent 4 to 10 times. The rest (four) described having been violent over 10 times within the last year. Police had been

called for half (14) of the men when they had been behaving violently. Seven of the men had been charged for their violence or they had been convicted of it.

The therapist-dyads varied in the groups. The female therapist in the first group was an employee of the crisis centre Mobile. The female therapist in the rest of the groups was employed in the Jyväskylä University Psychotherapy Training and Research Centre. There were two different male therapists as well. One was facilitating the first three groups and the other one the last two groups. Both the male therapists were employees of the Jyväskylä University Psychotherapy Training and Research Centre.

2.2. Method and research process

The method of analyzing the data was Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The original inventors of the method, Glaser and Strauss (1967), describe Grounded Theory as discovering of theory from data that is systematically obtained from social research. Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only develop from the data, but are systematically polished in relation to the data during the course of the research. Grounded theory is a method that has gone through a lot of arguments and there are different opinions of how to do it in practice. It can also be considered as a way of thinking and conceptualizing the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Grounded theory as an approach and a method suited the interests of this study. It allowed approaching the data without already existing theories and it also gave tools to classifying the data.

Generating a theory involves a process of research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The underlying operation in the process is joint collection, coding and analysis of data. This process is called *the constant comparative method* of analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In practise this means that more data is constantly collected and it is analyzed and compared to previous analyses in order to further clarify the relationship between variables and to make the classifications more precise. In the end a core category should be found on which the new theory is built.

2.2.1. Data collection

It has been argued that the researcher should delay literature review to enhance her/his naivety and sensitivity to the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). There are also views that literature preview does not contaminate the emerging categories but is necessary to be sure the topic is not already studied and understood (Payne, 2007). In this study the literature was reviewed already at the beginning of the process. Still the researcher tried to stay open-minded and let the data guide the emerging theory. As the data consisted of videotaped group sessions the analysis was started by watching the first group's sessions and making notes of what was talked about in the group. From the beginning personal interest of the researcher was channelled to studying the attendance of a female therapist in male batterers' groups and especially how her gender affects or is regarded to in the groups. It was already clear that in the limits of a thesis it was not possible to compare groups that had a female therapist to groups which were led by male therapists only. Therefore the data was approached more openly and in search for the research questions.

After watching all the sessions from the first group, it had become clear that there was material for studying the position of a female therapist in male batterers' groups. After this the researcher continued watching tapes of other groups, keeping her concentration purely on the female therapist and how she was performing in and approached in the groups. Notes were written about the significant discourses where the female therapist's gender was brought into question in the groups, where the female therapist was talked to, talking or otherwise performing in. Notes included both the participants' and the therapists' speech as well as some of the paralinguistic elements that were considered essential by the researcher. Because of the large amount of data only the significant extracts were transcribed into text form. Also grounded theory research does not demand studying the prosodic, paralinguistic or extralinguistic elements of the data (Payne, 2007) so the word-level of the speech was seen sufficient to the analysis. Still the voice of the participants was wanted to preserve so the notes were written word-by-word. Transcribed notes comprised of 75 pages.

At the beginning the significant sections were chosen by paying attention to the female therapist's positions in the group. It soon became obvious that the gender is the aspect that differentiated the female therapist from the men and that it affects the positions offered for the female therapist. After having watched all the sessions once, more exact criteria were formed for how to collect and initially categorize the extracts essential to the interest of the study. The criteria created are the following:

- *Female therapist is asked something as a woman. In which discursive context this happens?*
- *Female therapist comments something as a woman. In which discursive context this happens?*
- *Female therapist differentiates herself or is differentiated from the other group members because of her gender. In which discursive context this happens?*
- *Female therapist's attendance to the group is taken under discussion.*
- *Cooperation of the (female-male) therapists as an example (good or bad) of cooperation between the sexes.*

The last criterion was made based on literature reviewed on the group therapy for battering males. Attention was also paid on the male therapist in how he related to his female co-worker and how he was treated by the group participants since there is evidence in the literature that the group members may try to ally with the male therapist because of his gender (Austin & Dankwort, 1999; Caoyette, 1999; Dominelli, 1999; Wilson, 1996). Later, cooperation of the therapists and allying with the male therapist were excluded from the research questions of the study and attention was paid only on the positions of the male therapist in the discourses in which the female therapist was offered positions.

2.2.2. Coding and analysis

On the basis of the criteria, initial categories of the ways the gender of the female therapist was performing in the groups, were created. This phase can be called open coding (Payne, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and it was done by reading the notes repeatedly and labelling the text extracts under one or more themes that arose from the text. Coding the data was done with a word-processing program (Microsoft Word). At first there were 35 classes which overlapped each other on many places and were not so strictly constructed following the criteria but more of intuition.

The data was returned to after the first round and creation of the criteria and it was watched again, except for the fifth group. There were good notes from the group five made in the first round of watching the tapes already. It had been the last group that was watched. Then the criteria had been built up, so it was already effecting the data collection. While watching the videotaped data for the second time, the classes were studied more carefully, some new instances were coded and overlapping classes were integrated into more a common one. The new classes were tested with the written data again that it would fit in it and the criteria. Sub- and upper categories were formed paying attention to the

'goodness of fit' of the categories, which means they were not forced but applicable to the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). While watching the tapes the second time also saturation of the data was sought, meaning that no additional data would be found to create new categories. Categories can confidentially be held as saturated when the researcher sees similar instances over and over again (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

While doing the constant comparison of the data the research questions started to crystallize. The concept of positioning was taken as a tool to conceptualize the phenomenon and finally the aim of the study was formed to be studying of the positions constructed for the female therapist in these groups for male batterers. Finally the core category was constructed and it was named *the positioning of the female therapist as a woman*. The female therapist was many times offered gendered positions as a woman in the groups and it was decided to study these positions more carefully. Three lower categories to the core category were found and these categories have their own subcategories. It was studied what kind of positions were constructed for the female therapist and if and how she accepted the offered position. The invitations to take up a position were examined in relation to whether they left the female therapist with the possibility to reject the offered position and to reposition herself or not. Also the male therapist's positions were studied in these situations.

3. RESULTS

The female therapist was many times offered positions as a woman in the groups for male batterers. The men saw her as a woman in the groups and constructed her positions according to that. There were three subcategories found to this core category of *a woman*. The female therapist was invited to the group discourses to *represent women in general*; *a specific woman*, in this context spouse or a girlfriend; or *herself personally*. These categories are presented with illustrative text extracts from the transcribed data. The ways that the female therapist uses to respond to the offered positions as well as the male therapist's positions are summarized in the end of this chapter.

The text extracts have been selected to best describe the category that they represent. The extracts are chosen from different groups, sessions and group participants to best cover the data. The text extracts from the group discourses are translated freely from Finnish to English. The original extracts in Finnish are attached to appendix A. Especially central parts to interpretation in the extracts are printed in bold. The five therapy groups have been numbered from I to V using roman numerals. The sessions are numbered from 1 to 15. The approximate starting time of the extracts is given in minutes and seconds after the group/session information. This way II/3/30:00 means the third session of group two, thirty minutes after the session's beginning. In the text extracts FT is used for the female therapist and MT for the male therapist. The participants' and their spouses' as well as the therapists' names have been changed to prevent the identification. (Brackets) are used to sign communicative elements, other than speech. Some notes of the researcher are given inside ((double brackets)).

3.1. Invisibility of the female therapist's gender

There were many group discourses where the female therapist was differentiated from the other women that were talked about, for example women who have become victims of violence or just women in general. The men talked about "women", "the women" or "those women" and "they", when they talked about the opposite sex in general. This was done by the therapists as well. This kind of rhetoric ignored the gender of the female therapists who was present and possibly taking part in the discourse.

Extract 1

(II/4/39:39-)

Kalle: **They're** such devils **those women!** **Themselves they** don't argue, **they're** not faulty to the arguments, **they're** totally innocent.

Here Kalle is talking about women in quarrelsome situations. He sees the women acting in a way that the fault is left to the man. He talks about "they" and "those women" and does not position the female therapist as one of these women.

3.2. Representative of women in general

One way the female therapist was positioned as a woman was that she represented the female gender in general. Then she was seen as different from the group members and the male therapist. The female therapist was counted into the group of women in these discourses. She was expected to have a different way of looking at things because of her gender. She was also identified as different biologically, mentally, and for example in her needs.

3.2.1. One of "you women"

Sometimes the men clearly included the female therapist to the group of women in their speech. The female therapist became a representative for one of "you women". The invitation to this kind of positioning was sometimes tacit but in some cases it was strong and demanding.

Extract 2

(IV/14/83:05-)

Aki: **You have to make such gods of yourselves, damn it, that we always have to pray everything from you.**

MT: **This was now directed to you Maija ((FT)).**

FT: (laughter) Yes, clearly.

MT: **So would you like to give some answer to this?**

(Laughing)

FT: It comes to my mind at least that I can't imagine that way, **that your wife would always** be forbidding you from doing things. That do you hear the other side of it?

MT: What would the other side be?

FT: Well, I think that that like why it becomes, or how you always get the experience of, or why the situation always end up **in the other person forbidding and forbidding** and forbidding. Perhaps she in

other ways like. That you go and do and things. **Then the other side is often left out here in the group a bit like that you don't hear it. We don't hear her side.**

Aki: I could do homework for the last session. I can take a recorder into my pocket and do such homework that I would have this kind of a little plan with boys, I could even negotiate for a while.

In extract 2 Aki has become agitated and finally accuses the women of being goddesses from whom one has to ask everything. Aki would like to travel with friends but his wife does not want him to go. Aki uses the pronoun “*you*” (plural) when he talks about women. This way he positions the female therapist as a representative of the group of women. Aki’s agitation has a strong reference to the quarrel at home before the group session. The male therapist takes part in construction of the discourse and by explicitly directing the accusation to the female therapist invites her to take up the offered position as a representative of women in general. The female therapist tries to bring up especially the wife’s point of view and defends that, but Aki is keeping his stance still.

Explicit positioning seemed to happen when the men were either agitated or had had a conversation especially with the female therapist in the session. When talking with the female therapist the men might have slipped up to speak about “*you women*”. Explicit accusing was not common in the group discourses. The position as a representative for women in general was usually constructed more sensitively and indirectly than talking about “*you women*”.

3.2.2. Voice of absent women

Having a female therapist in the groups was considered as a good thing by the men. They were interested in hearing the female therapist bringing women’s point of view into the group discussions. The men considered women to look at things differently and this different viewpoint was asked from the female therapist explicitly.

Extract 3

(IV/14/76:00-)

Aki: Sometimes there’s been very much male point of view, that **you haven’t brought very much women’s point of view**, not even by taking a risk.

FT: **Would you have been interested in hearing what I think as a woman exactly?**

Aki: Well, I feel like, that at some point **it would have been quite a good stir to that nest.**

Ville: **Maybe it would have been quite good.**

In this extract from the fourth group Aki comments that the female therapist has not brought a lot of women's perspective into the group discussions. Hearing *women's point of view* could be a good thing. Here the female therapist was invited to represent different, gendered point of view, but in a positive way. She did not have to defend any single woman or women in general. Also in other groups the men considered women's point of view as enrichment for the group and since the female therapist was seen as a representative for women in the group, talking as one became her assignment there. When explicitly asked for the women's perspective, the invitation to join the discourse as a woman was quite strong. Still it was not compulsive and the female therapist was left with the choice to bring or not to bring the women's point of view to the discourse.

Extract 4

(IV/15/88:00-)

FT: Intense discussions there's been and disagreements, but that they've gone so that at least it feels like you've gotten something out of them. And debates too, fiery spirited.

(Laughter)

Kai: **Has the folks been divided according to gender here every once a while?**

FT: How? What do you mean?

Kai: Well, just that as the women have been missing here, that **have you been taking it, as a substitute?**

FT: Well, yes I've been thinking sometimes that how much, when in a certain way **one sits here as a woman and listens to you speaking about violence towards women**, that how much **I get like such feeling that as a substitute I myself face the violence there then.**

Aki: **At least you have a good relationship as home as you've learned what men are thinking** (Laughing and speaking one on the other) or **then you know exactly that if you want what you can evoke a quarrel of.**

(Silence)

Kai: Now I start to think about your motives when you are here. ((Laughing, joking and the group end.))

The position of the female therapist also caused confusion at times. In the extract 4 the participants are evaluating the group in its last session. The presence of the female therapist is brought into discussion once again. Kai starts pondering whether the female therapist has been representing the absent women in the group. The question is directed to the female therapist explicitly and she takes up the offered position by describing her feelings about the group work as a woman. Kai constructs the position of the female therapist as a *representative for the absent women*. He does this by asking, not stating as fact. The position is not taken as definitive but it is questioned. After that Aki positions the female therapist as a *partner in close relationship* outside the group and offers viewpoint that the group has been a good learning environment for her. Then he also offers the female therapist an alternative position of *provocative partner* in her personal life. The female therapist is positioned either to represent the absent women or herself as an empathetic or provocative partner in a relationship outside the group. She does

not react to these invitations and the group is ending. This is also an example of how the offered and taken positions changed sometimes very quickly. Representing herself personally is presented later.

3.2.3. Strange and different

As well as having a different perspective the men saw women as a biologically, mentally and in other ways different gender. It was common when men justified their violent behaviour by accusing the spouse for behaving unpredictable and unintelligible especially before and at the time of their menstrual period. There was a long discussion about women's menstruation and hormonal changes in the first group in the data and the female therapist became positioned a specialist in this topic because of her gender but also *biologically different* herself.

Extract 5

(1/6/64:30-)

MT: Do you get thoughts like it's hard to understand women?

(Laughing)

Janne: A bit like that.

MT: **Strange things happen in woman's head** elsewhere too.

(Laughing)

FT: Yeah, yeah (laughter) do the women explain.

MT: It hasn't been possible to present this in the group this way before.

FT: Do the women use their period to benefit? Do you have such a feeling?

Vesa: Dunno, many thinks are so inexplicable. Women are so individual that one behaves oddly, another doesn't.

MT: Does the inexplicability bring distance? **I would feel like that at least.**

Vesa: Well yes, then the relations tighten up.

Janne has told about a situation at home when his girlfriend forced him to clean even though he was ill. Janne could not understand her behaviour. Later she had explained her behaviour with having her period. In extract 5 the male therapist also constructs women as acting strangely sometimes. When the female therapist takes part in this discourse the male therapist notices the novelty of the situation. He invites the female therapist to join the discourse more explicitly by pointing out that she may have something new to give to this discourse. The female therapist was given a special position by the group members as well in this discourse. They were having more eye contact with the female therapist and listening carefully when she explained about the premenstrual syndrome for example. Both the therapists took a personal position in this discourse.

Extract 6

(I/6/85:10-)

FT When it comes to **the men's menstrual circle, observe yourselves now. Don't you have any hormonal changes, not similar to what we women have**, but for example being edgy. **Our women's hormonal functioning is a bit like over-advertised I think.**

(Silence)

MT: Do you think that it gives motives for many kinds of things?

FT: Well, yes.

(Silence)

FT: And then I was thinking to relieve the nightmares that you have here too.

MT: **Yes, and if someone is cross, there may be some other reason too.**

Later in the same session the female therapist takes up the offered position as one of the *biological women*, as one of “us”. She speaks from her personal perspective as a woman and differentiates herself from the others in the group. The female therapist uses the pronoun “you” (plural) of the men and adds herself to the group of women by speaking about “we”. From her specialist position she tries to change the men’s image of women as unpredictable and hard to understand. By making the men think about their own hormonal changes the female therapist tries to make the gap between men and women smaller. In the biological discourse the difference has grown large. It becomes apparent that the men are not enthusiastic to take up the offered position. They keep silent and the male therapist is the only one to comment and support the idea of the female therapist. The male therapist supports his co-worker’s view here. In the following group sessions the topic was talked about again but only one of the men started to recognize hormonal changes in him as well. Still this made the gap between genders smaller than in the beginning of this conversation. Menstruation and women’s hormonal changes during a month were not discussed elsewhere in the data in the extent they were discussed in this group.

Women were also found thinking in a different way than men. Women’s logic was how the men designated the women’s peculiar way of thinking. The men referred to women’s logic when their spouse had said or done something that the men could not understand. When talking about women’s logic some of the men started to apologize to the female therapist for what they had said. The same thing happened with generalizing women. The men started constructing the female therapist a position of *a watchdog for sexist speech* in the group. They watched their words for not to tease her.

Extract 7

(V/2/79:20-)

Jaakko: So like the one who causes the violence, so actually is itself afraid in that situation and the fear then causes fear in the other as well and, and then it provokes back so that both are afraid and the other uses violence and the other her mouth in that situation. **So that women's logic (shows nagging with his hand). Sorry ((Looking at the FT with laughter)).**

FT: **Justly apologized** (laughing). **I'm full of those women's logic-stories.**

Jaakko: **No that, I didn't really mean that, but well somehow man's logic is more that logic of action, that you have to get something released somewhere. That when you realize that you take the second place on the verbal then at least I have such.**

FT: Do you feel like that?

Jaakko: That I got totally pulled in that situation. That then it starts to make me furious that damn it I have the means that I'm not gonna take the second place to women, that again I'm being pulled, that what is this. Doesn't a man have right to be angry?

MT: **Is there a difference in being angry and being violent?**

Jaakko: Yes of course there is. You can be angry and you should be but you cannot cross the line to being violent in your behaviour.

MT: So the answer to the question whether a man may be angry is yes.

Jaakko: Yes, yes but you can't lift your hand against anyone. For example I should have said yesterday that now I'm really pissed 'cause of what you said. That I'm angry, but I couldn't say that.

In group five one of the men has proposed a theory that the fear of the woman, the victim of violence provokes the man to behave violently. He was trying to understand his behaviour. Extract 7 shows how Jaakko takes this idea further and suggests that both the parties are afraid. The man reacts physically violent and the woman with her words. This is what Jaakko designates women's logic. He identifies that account as lowering women and apologises for using this saying from the female therapist whom he recognizes to represent the female gender. Here the female therapist reacts by saying there was reason for apologizing and by doing so accepts the position as representative for the female gender and as a woman personally. After that the conversation turns to power issues and the male therapist points out the difference between feeling angry and being violent. As the female therapist's presence halts Jaakko's justifying explaining of the violence, he has to start giving reasons to his statements.

Sensitivity towards the female therapist was not always a rule in the group discussions. The female therapist also reacted to the men's sexist comments herself without a specific invitation. The differences of men and women were often brought into discussion in the data.

Extract 8

(III/6/50:30-)

Eero: ((Eero has read that men and women are built differently)) **Man has the basic needs that should be fulfilled, respect from the wife, sex and so on. Woman has different needs. There is tenderness, will to take care.**

FT: At least **I say as a woman that it sounds very sexist to think like that. That someone would deny me that I wouldn't have for example similar sexual needs to some man, or different.** It sounds very sexist to divide, that men and women would have so clearly different needs.

Eero: I don't, I've read somewhere, not that, that all the women would be categorized under the same label. Everyone is an individual.

MT: **I'd like to take the conversation into the direction, whether you as men have different standards from the surroundings?** Do the expectations of being the head of the family and so on come from outside?

Eero: It's not difficult to say that I clean at home. It came to my mind when you said the head of the family. **One of the women's basic needs it to experience safety.**

FT: I see, and the men don't have this?

Eero: Yes they have but it creates women safety if the man is the head of the family, like in balance. In the end the man takes responsibility of the decisions that are made together. That creates safety to wife and children.

MT: Last time we were speaking about insecurity in a relationship. It went quite differently. You were afraid of losing your spouses.

In extract 8 the female therapist confronts Eero's statement that men and women would have been built differently and would have different needs sexually among others. The female therapist positions herself as a representative for women and judges Eero's comment as sexist. She takes personal position and denies differences in sexual needs between genders. This makes Eero confused and he tries to conciliate. Male therapist tries to go back to previous subject but Eero sticks to his argument and starts to moderate it by speaking about the different needs of women and men again concerning the need for safety. The male therapist tries to take the conversation from general level to the personal level of the participants and reminds Eero that the men themselves have been talking about feeling insecure and fear of losing their partner.

3.3. Representative of the spouses

The female therapist was invited to bring the women's point of view to the group discussions. She was also representing the men's *wives; spouses; and girlfriends' point of view* and making their possible experience of violence more concrete to the men. The female therapist was eager to represent the spouses especially when there was a reference to spouses fear.

Extract 9

(III/11/24:00-)

FT: Do you think that **Eija ((spouse)) would have dared to say** she doesn't want to leave?

Sauli: She should have dared.

FT: It's a different thing to should have dared than would she dared.

Sauli: There wasn't supposed to be anything to be afraid of.

FT: You think she would have dared?

MT: Do you mean that what if she was afraid of?

FT: **Already the previous things might have been stronger to Eija, what if she wanted to please?**

MT: Sometimes women who have been battered at home quite easily adjust.

Sauli: The more serious thing happened after this.

FT: **Even though you feel that the previous wasn't that serious thing, it might have been that for Eija still.**

(Silence)

Sauli: Well I've given up shooting now.

Sauli has been telling about an argument that started after he took his girlfriend with him for hunting. His girlfriend would not have wanted to go but told about it only afterwards. The female therapist takes the point of view of the spouse and tries to make Sauli see that even if he thinks there was nothing to be afraid of for Eija in the situation she might have been afraid to say how she feels about going. Eija may have had a different experience of the previous violent attacks too. The male therapist tries to help his co-worker to make the men see that the spouse may see things from a different perspective than the men do. Fear is an aspect that the therapists often bring up in the group discussions.

Extract 10

(V/1/74:30-)

MT: **Is Liisa ((spouse)) afraid of you nowadays?** ((FT tries to say something here too))

Jarno: **What if I ask her** (points at FT with his hand). **Would you be afraid of me, what you've been listening to now, what I've been telling you.**

FT: **Yes I'd be afraid**, I was just about to say that **it must have been quite a scary situation to Liisa** the kind of, when you described that, that you've lifted her up from hair and called her names in a certain way. What you said that look at yourself now slut, and it must have been quite a humiliating and scary situation.

Jarno: Yeah, surely it doesn't disappear in a couple of months.

When talking about fear in group five the male therapist asks Jarno whether his girlfriend is still afraid of him. Jarno turns the question to the female therapist and asks her whether she personally would be afraid of him after hearing about his violence. There is a reference to the relationship between Jarno and his girlfriend and the female therapist answers not only from her own side, which was asked, but she also speaks out what Jarno's girlfriend might have felt. In this example Jarno is explicitly offering the female therapist a position as *a fearing girlfriend*. The female therapist is trying to get the men to see the violent situation *from the spouses' perspective*.

The fear-discourse was not always accepted. The men sometimes downplayed the fear and even got irritated that the fear aspect was brought up in the discourses. This happened especially in the early group sessions. Later some men started to accept the spouse's perspective more and the difference between the men's and women's perspectives decreased. The female therapist also brought up the spouses' point of view when concerning other issues than fear. Even though the group therapy was not aiming at improving the participants' relationships, issues concerning everyday life came into question every once a while. Then the female therapist was able to bring the absent partner's viewpoint into the discussion the same way as in the fear discourse. Because of her gender the female therapist was many times able to depict what the spouse may have been going through.

3.4. Representing herself personally

The female therapist was invited to bring not only her point of view as a representative of women or a specific woman, but also her own opinions to the group discourses. The men constructed their discourses in the way that the female therapist was strongly offered positions she had to take up personally as a woman. The female therapist's presence in the groups was discussed as an organizational issue and as a possible threat to her wellbeing. The female therapist was also strongly constructed erotic or sexualized positions in the groups for male batterers.

3.4.1. Woman in men's group

It was common that the presence of the female therapist was discussed in the groups and especially in the context of whether it might or might not have some effect to the group that *there is a woman present in the sessions*. This way the female therapist was explicitly positioned as *a female facilitator* giving special weight to the gender. It was often the male therapist who started questioning whether it is significant having a female therapist in the groups.

Extract 11

(II/10/85:05-)

Kalle: You have to stand out from the crowd; you have to have something to charm someone with.

Dressing-up is one to get women totally, you know. And hair.

Pasi: **There you have a woman sitting next to you, so just ask.**

MT: **Is it significant that the other leader here is a woman?**

Kalle: I haven't even. One time I left here, I even hadn't remembered the whole camera.

MT: No but a woman.

Kalle: Well women are lovely, they.

MT: **No but does it make a difference that Maija ((FT)) is in on this?**

FT: Or that here would be two men.

Pasi: **Actually its better like this way that the other is a woman and the other a man.**

Jani: **Yes it is.** Two women would be too much already. Then they would get nothing out of us.

Kalle: Think about two big men in there. All the time stabbing us in the back, you are bad men, bad men.

Here Pasi positions the female therapist to represent a woman by remarking to Kalle that *there is a woman* sitting next to him. Kalle has been talking about how to charm a woman. Pasi sees the female facilitator as a woman and an object of charming. The male therapist continues this discourse by taking the offered position under a closer look. He asks the men whether it is significant that the other group

leader is a woman. At first Kalle does not understand that the question relates to the female therapist. It seems that Kalle has not positioned her so strongly a woman than the others in this discourse. The men regard the presence of a woman as positive and balancing to the group. They find two women would be too many as well as two male therapists. This attitude towards the female therapist was common throughout the data. The men did not find it problematic that there was a woman in the groups as they had reported also in the preceding interviews. The difference between the female therapist and the men was short when the presence of the female therapist is discussed as an organizational aspect. Seeing her as *someone to charm* is discussed later.

Extract 12

(IV/14/75:45-)

MT: **Has there been difference in the sessions when Maija ((FT)) has been absent?**

Aki: For two seconds I already thought about it. That not in the topics at least.

(Lots of speech one on the other)

MT: So probably there hasn't been difference in the topics at least.

Aki: Should I say that **a good guy among us** as we haven't even noticed.

Ville: I haven't noted it at all like that **as there's a woman** one couldn't speak about these things.

In this discourse the male therapist does not position the female therapist as a woman when he asks the question about whether there has been difference between the sessions when the female therapist was present or absent. Still he brings up that there is a possibility that the presence of the other therapist may have some effect to the group; that there is something special in the other group leader. The female therapist is present on this session. This kind of pondering was never done about the male therapist. Aki says the female therapist is a good guy among the men. This comment connects the female therapist to the group of men, which is quite exceptional in the context of these groups. Here the distance between the men and the female therapist was for a while on its shortest. After this Ville positions the female therapist to represent a woman but in a good sense.

3.4.2. Weak being or a man hater

At times the men regarded to the female therapist gender sensitively and protective. It was seen possible that discussing a topic like intimate partner violence might do her harm.

Extract 13

(II/10/90:40-)

Jani: You again, are such a laid-back chap, but **for that young woman I am a little bit afraid.**

MT: Why?

FT: What are you afraid of?

Jani: I'm being cured from this or it's tried and the fellows are for great support. **This young woman gets sometimes a man or already has one and then always thinks when this one might beat me.**

FT: Are you worried that I'll end up being attacked violently?

Jani: **You hear this and that when leading these groups.** It's like brainwashing, dropping water on a tin roof when you suck these things all the time **you'll become, sorry, this is not personal now, but such a dried-up researcher who's deathly scared of and avoiding men.**

In extract 13 Jani starts a new discourse about the possible effects of discussing intimate partner violence to the female therapist. He is worried about how the female therapist can bear to listen to the issues talked about in the groups. He constructs the female therapist a position of a young woman who might become a dried-up researcher who is scared of men.

Extract 14

(II/10/95:00-)

FT: **I'm really interested that do you think that you don't need to worry about Matti ((MT)) even though he always hears the same things as I do, and you have to be worried about me?**

Kalle: **You are weaker.**

FT: **In what way am I weaker?**

Kalle: Of your strength, in a way, I don't know.

FT: If I'm physically.

Kalle: Then you can be mentally stronger, okay I admit that.

FT: If I'm physically weaker does it mean that I'm also mentally weaker?

Kalle: No no.

MT: **It came to my mind that they are afraid that you'll start to hate men.**

(Lots of speech one on the other)

FT: Apparently this was a right interpretation as everyone so woke up.

The female therapist brings up her curiosity on that the men are not afraid the group discussions might harm the male therapist too and not only her. Kalle takes part in the discourse and constructs the female therapist a position as *weaker than a man* and that way more *vulnerable*. He constructs difference between strong men and weak women. Kalle generalizes being physically weaker to being weaker mentally as well. The female therapist does not approve of this position as *a weak person* and corrects the generalization. Finally the male therapist suggests that the men might be afraid that the female therapist starts to hate men. This raises a lot of discussion and the female therapist figures the suggestion was right. The group participants are afraid that she might become *a man hater*. The position constructed to the female therapist is weak and vulnerable to fear which may cause that the

female therapist would start being afraid and hate men. Later in the session the female therapist repositioned herself as a *professional*, not only a representative of female gender in the group.

Extract 15

(II/10/95:00-)

FT: May I say here in the end still. That when one **as a woman** listens to violence it cannot leave you unaffected, or anyone. Of course it's a tough topic. **Anyhow I consider myself a professional**, who can think these things in her mind still. **It's pleasant and good that you're worried about me as a woman**, because then I can assume you're worried of other women as well and don't want to be violent towards them. If you through me can think how it might feel.

The female therapist finds it pleasant that the men are worried about her as a woman because then one can assume that they are worried also for other women and do not want to hurt them. In later sessions Jani also brought up that the men only were afraid for the effects on the female therapist. Otherwise he considered the presence of her in the group as a positive aspect.

3.4.3. Sexual partner or object

In the group discourses the female therapist was divested most of her professionalism and the difference between her, a woman, and men was constructed largest when she was approached as sexualized. Approaching occurred in the level of speech but also physically and it reached outside the group setting too. Sexualized positions were constructed outstandingly in every but the first group. The men talked about charming women and used the female therapist as an example of such focus of conquest in group two (see extract 11). Earlier in the same group the female therapist was positioned as *a possible dating partner*.

Extract 16

(II/9/67:36-)

Pasi ((to FT)): Should ask you, as we've been here, that if we were a little younger and handsome, **would you dare to start being with any of us?**

FT: Well that's a good question.

Kalle: But we are still handsome, right.

FT: It's a good question really. Sometimes when one listens to those stories of yours, one can understand **why for example Kaija ((Pasi's spouse)) has been afraid of Kalle, your ex girlfriend. I would think about whether I would dare.**

Kalle: Quite well said.

MT: **It's not sure at all that you would dare?**

FT: **I'm not sure, I would surely think that.**

Kalle: But you have education, right. **You could train the man.** (Laughing)

FT: Is that what you think?

Kalle: Yeah but it's a good question really.

FT: **I would think about whether I'd dare.**

Esa: I have one friend who has just left from her ex-husband because he's been violent.

Pasi asks the female therapist whether she would dare to start dating some of the men in the group if they were younger and more handsome. First the female therapist answers from the spouses' position by saying it is understandable that Pasi's and for example Kalle's girlfriends have been afraid. The male therapist keeps his question fixed at the female therapist herself and asks her personal opinion again. The female therapist is strongly called for answering from her own perspective in this discourse by the men and the male therapist. Kalle says humorously that the female therapist could train a man as she has education. He sees the female therapist different from just any woman. This discourse was returned to many times in other sessions of this group. Here the female therapist had some chance to reject the offered position. Sometimes rejecting was made almost impossible. In group four the female therapist was objectified to a man's gaze.

Extract 17

(IV/9/65:50-)

Kai: You have to have a little sensitivity to see that **weird creature which, if not pregnant, has it's period.** So you should keep up somehow, maybe sometimes go to the side to take a look, but you should not go like ahead. But one thing is missing here, that one offends the other's being, so that, **like Elli ((spouse)) is really sensitive if I look at other women.** If my head turns like this and stops like this **((Kai moves his gaze and stops at the female therapist)) So one sees it already that if I glance at Maija ((FT)), Elli asks directly whether it was someone I know.** Elli somehow takes it as an offence. It doesn't have to linger, **I don't need to stare at any boobs or bottom, but just like that, stop there.**

In this extract Kai talks about looking at other women which his girlfriend does not like and gets offended of. He uses the female therapist as an example, an object to look at to depict what he means. Taking the female therapist as an example like here positioned her as *a passive actor, an object* of the men's attention and gaze or other actions. She was positioned straightforward and not given the choice to either take up or reject the position.

The female therapist also became a target for physical approach and charming. At the end of group four one of the men asked if he may hug the female therapist, there behaving not as he would towards a group leader or he did towards the male therapist but as he would towards a woman he is intimate with. After one of the groups the female therapist was given a bucket of flowers which can be interpreted as charming her as a woman as the male therapist was not approached this way.

In group five the approaching of the female therapist reached *outside the group sessions*. The female therapist was explicitly harassed as *a possible dating and sexual partner*. The limits of a group leader were crossed totally and she was approached as a woman only.

Extract 18

(V/9/61:00-)

Jaakko: I can tell, **I sent Maija ((FT)) and sms. What do you think about it?**

FT: Can you tell what the message contained?

Jaakko: **I asked if we could meet outside the group that it would be nice to chat. And Maija answered that it's inappropriate.** I thought you either answer or not.

FT: What was the idea you had there?

Jaakko: That we could chat and so on.

MT: Was that the whole message?

FT: **There was also that if I'm like single, that it was also aimed at me personally as a woman.** So it was a bit different content than you tell now.

Jaakko: Well, so it was.

MT: For me it would have meant that if you had met, someone's coming to the group, possibly Maija's would have been impossible.

FT: **Would have changed from an equal leader to a dating partner.** What were you thinking when breaking this kind of a basic rule?

Jaakko: Weakness, as it's been so tough.

FT: **From my point of view it included belittling as a group leader as I was approached as a woman. I work here, so it was offensive to me personally.**

Jaakko: I apologize and can quit the group if so.

MT: **It's not about that, interesting is how this handling now affects, and what would have happened if the date had occurred.**

Jaakko had approached the female therapist with a short text message in between the group sessions asking whether they could meet outside the group and whether she is single. This approach was ventilated in the following group session. The female therapist brings up the topic. Jaakko has positioned her as a possible dating partner and target of intimate approach instead of an equal group leader to whom he has a neutral relationship. She felt undervalued and offended and tells about it in the group. She rejects the offered position and repositions herself as an employee. The male therapist supports his co-worker in sorting out the situation.

3.5. Other positions and repositioning by the female therapist

The female therapist was constructed also other positions than the one of a woman in the groups. She was positioned as group leader, professional, specialist and as one responsible for work done with women in the crisis centre. Sometimes when offered gendered positions the female therapist had to emphasize and reposition herself to these other positions which correspond to her job in the group. The female therapist also rejected the offered positions by taking up some other gendered position in the discourse. When invited to represent women in general in discussions that had a reference to situations at home, she often took the offered position but brought up the spouses' perspective especially and tried to defend it. The female therapist took the spouses' perspective also when she was invited to represent herself personally. Sometimes when the men were speaking in a sexist discourse the female therapist was provoked to defend women's or the spouses' point of view without a specific invitation too. She also spoke from personal perspective and denied some of the men's sexist ideas.

The intensity of the invitations to take up the offered position varied. At times they were inconspicuous and other times more explicit. The female therapist was invited more carefully to take a position in intimate discourses and more demanding in discourses that made the men agitated or that were negatively oriented. When the invitation was positive or sensitive, it was easier for the female therapist to choose whether to take up the offered position or not.

3.6. Male therapist's positions in the discourses

The male therapist took different positions in the discourses where his co-worker was positioned as a woman. He took part in position construction by explicitly directing men's invitations to the female therapist and asking her to respond as was invited. He positioned his co-worker to a special position by starting discussions about her being in the group. The male therapist often brought up her gender as an issue in the group sessions. On the other hand the male therapist gave support to the female therapist on difficult situations. For example he showed his agreement with his co-worker or tried to lead the conversation from general level to the situations in men's own life in heated discussions.

4. DISCUSSION

This study dealt with the discursively constructed positions for a female therapist in treatment groups for male batterers. It was of interest how the men would regard to a female therapist in their treatment. The aim of the study was to find out what kinds of positions are offered for a female therapist in these groups and how the female therapist reacts to the invitations to take up these positions. Also the male therapist's positions in these situations were taken under a closer look. The topic was approached from discourse analytic and social constructionist viewpoint and the data was analyzed with methodological tools of Grounded Theory.

It has been stated that because intimate partner violence is a gendered issue the gender of the therapist may play a part in its treatment (Tyagi, 2006). The results of this study support this argument. Female therapist in male batterers' groups was many times offered positions to take up as a woman. Being a woman defined her more than her professionalism. There were three lower categories found to this *core category of a woman*: the men positioned the female therapist to represent *women as a collective group*; *the spouses and their perspective*; and *herself personally a woman*.

The gendered positions offered to the female therapist based primarily on constructed differences between genders. The female therapist was positioned to represent biologically, logically and of its needs different gender. In addition she was considered to have a different point of view from the one of men. Personally she was considered weaker than men who were constructed as strong. Difference on personal level was also constructed when the female therapist was sexualized in the group sessions or even outside them. These results are in accordance with the view that man and masculinity are constructed on the difference to the female gender (Badinter, 1993; Boonzeier & De la Rey, 2004; Skeggs, 1993) or difference to an 'other' (de Beauvoir, 1999). Constructing the women different and impossible to understand is also one way of justifying violence against them (Partanen, 2005). Sexualisation of therapeutic relationships has been studied as transference especially within psychoanalytic approaches (Deering & Gannon, 2005; Gornick, L. K., 1986; Koo, 2001; Potash, 1998; Russ, 1993). Men may feel unaccustomed to self-disclosure and to feel in control they may objectify their female therapist and relate to her as a girlfriend or a lover.

The constructions of women studied by Kapanen (2005) in a batterers' group can be detected in the positions the group members offered to the female therapist in the data of this study. According to Kapanen, batterers see women negatively in many ways especially at the beginning of the group treatment. Kapanen found that batterers construct women as different from men, oddly behaving and hard to understand. They see women also as provocative persons and users of verbal power. The female therapist was positioned to represent this kind of a woman in this study. Kapanen describes also the changes in the men's constructions of women to more positive ones towards the end of the group therapy. It has been stated that maintaining stereotypical images of men and women that correspond to the values of the hegemonic masculinity is a part of legitimizing the position of being in power that men have in the society (Adams et al. 1995). Change towards more positive attitudes to women has been connected with striving at nonviolent relationship with the partner (Schmidt et al. 2007).

Positioning as different, as an 'other' and according to constructions the batterers have of women made it challenging for the female therapist to keep up the leader position she had in groups. The gap between genders was largest when the female therapist was seen as one of different gender and as a sexual object. On its shortest the gap was when the presence of the female therapist was discussed as an organizational aspect of the groups. She was even called a good guy among the men. The female therapist could use the positions that placed her more similar to men. She could reposition herself as a professional group leader to remind the group members that she is not only a representative of women there. The female therapist had to work from a double position; leader position strongly coloured with the expectations referring to her gender. The results of this study are in line with the literature about challenges in the work of a female therapist in male batterers' groups. Caoyette (1995), Potash (1998) and Tyagi (2006) have noticed that a female therapist has to keep up clear limits to the group members as they may try to break them. In this study sexualized position was especially vulnerable to breaking limits to the therapist. Because of her gender also finding a balance between an empathetic and a challenging approach may be difficult for she is easily judged as either weak or a man hater (Caoyette, 1999). Invitations to defensive positions were most challenging in this aspect.

Hollway (1984) has stated that men and women have specific positions available in traditional gendered discourses. This seems accurate in the light of the results of this study, even though difference between therapists was not studied in particular. The position of the female therapist was explicitly discussed in the group which was not done with position of the male therapist. The expectations to the position of the female therapist seemed to be ambiguous. The female therapist had to balance between

the different expectations and conflicting positions constructed for her. The offered positions also changed very quickly sometimes. The variety of positions offered to her as a woman was also a benefit to the female therapist. She could reposition herself in the discourses and change the storyline that was creating difference between men and women and that was producing the men's constructions of women. She could challenge the men's constructions and lead the discourses towards ones that profit attitudinal change towards women by taking up or repositioning her to a fitting position. She could for example let the men hear women's point of view to different issues and this way confront the negative constructions of women. She could also bring in her personal point of view to confront generalization. Since the men see women as provocative users of verbal power (Kapanen, 2005) repositioning herself to positions that change the men's discourses may be a useful and functional means for a female therapist in treating male batterers. Explicit challenging by the female therapist may provoke the men.

Positions are dynamic and allow persons to move in between them (Davies & Harré, 1990). The chances for the female therapist to reposition herself depended on the quality of invitations to take up offered positions. Some invitations were very compulsive and explicit and others sensitive and indirect. Sometimes it was difficult not to take the offered position if the invitation was very explicit. Also objectifying the female therapist took her away the possibility to reposition herself.

A female therapist may have a great advantage in starting the process of empathy for the victim, which is an important factor in preventing future violence (Holma et al. 2006). In this study the female therapist often used the spouses' perspective to confront the men's speech. When representing the spouses she was able to make the men think how their spouse might be feeling and thinking. Importantly the female therapist could bring up especially the experience of fear which was used to differentiate men's and women's violence from each other. Also the men's fear of the effects on the female therapist was regarded as an improvement in the attitudinal change of the men. As the aim of treatment is to help the men adopt a new kind of masculine identity (Partanen, 2008) it is important to interfere the batterers' constructing of masculinity based on difference to women. A female therapist may have a great advantage in opposing these constructions.

There was also a positive side in discussions of differences between women and men. All in all the men saw a woman's presence in the group as positive. Sometimes the men were also very curious of women's perspective. Then the female therapist did not have to defend anyone and there was a possibility to lessen the gap between the genders. This decreased the men's possibility to explain the violence by difference and the therapists seemed to purposefully use that possibility. The male therapist

could also use the positions offered to his colleague. He could bring up the female therapist's double positions as a leader and a woman. He could discuss and emphasize the female therapist's positions that made the gap between genders smaller. Gendered positions yield co-operation between the therapists. It was noticeable in this data that a good relationship and cooperation between the therapists is very important in leading batterers group as has been stated in earlier research too (Adams & Cayouette, 2002; Austin & Dankwort, 1999; Caoyette, 1999; Dominelli, 1999; Tyagi, 2006; Wilson, 1996).

To gain reliable results the study was carried out following the criteria of qualitative research (Elliot, Fisher, & Rennie, 1999; McLeod, 2001; Tindall, 1994). The research process is described in detail and the results of the study are represented with illustrative and authentic data extracts. This way also the voice of the participants and not only the researcher is brought to be heard. In addition the reader can keep up with the forming of theory and gets the possibility to judge the reliability of the study. According to the constructivist viewpoint there is no one objective reality, but several different constructions of reality. This way the information gained in research is only one representation of reality. The aim of qualitative research is to understand and represent social phenomena, experiences and actions of people in different situations, not making generalizations (Elliot et al. 1999; Tindall, 1994). Still it can be assumed that the results from five different groups resemble some of the processes in other batterers' programmes too.

Qualitative data is open to many different analyses and interpretations and the researcher unavoidably affects the results (Elliot et al. 1999; McLeod, 2001; Tindall, 1994). Even though awareness of this ensures that data and not the researcher's presumptions are leading the theory formations (Payne, 2007) the researcher can never totally give up her/his own perspective (Burr, 1995). It can be argued that as a woman the researcher sees the male participants' angle differently than a male researcher would have done. On the other hand this study deals with reactions of a female therapist as well. Also the researcher shares the cultural environment with the group participants, which gives evidence to assume that she has some ability to understand and interpret the discourses in the data.

Triangulation, that is, using more than one researcher, data source or method can improve the quality of qualitative research (Foss & Ellefsen, 2002; Tindall, 1994). Lack of triangulation can be seen as a deficit of this study. There was only one researcher and only one method was used. The researcher in this study kept a research diary to keep on track on how her understandings were formed and to be reflexive towards her thoughts and emotions during the analysis. Intimate partner violence is an issue

that raises lots of emotions. The quality of the research has been tried to improve by discussing the analysis with the supervisor and colleagues as well. The weakness of the videotaped data was that it did not allow the researcher to observe closely what was happening in the group at the level of gestures, gazing and expressions. Information from this level could have brought some extra to the analysis. Also for example interviewing the female therapists might have given new insights to the process of positioning in the groups.

In this study the concepts of woman and man have been used as dichotomous as the men in the groups use them. It is worth to mention that there are different kinds of women and men. Also other geographic characteristics, like race, age or status may affect the interactions in the groups. There were differences between and within groups. Some men invited the female therapist to take up positions as a woman more than some others. Also some positions were more prevalent in certain groups. This study is not comparing men and the groups though. It would be interesting to study how one man's constructions of the female therapist change during the group process and how the female therapist's repositionings function in that process. It might give new understandings to the treatment process and a female therapist's position in it. Maybe the change in offered positions could reflect the change in the man's attitudes towards women and development of his new masculine identity.

More research is needed in the field of treating male batterers. The therapists' experience and actions would be important to study further. Leading a batterers' group is unproblematic for neither a female nor a male therapist. It would be important to know more about how the therapists' genders work in groups so that it could be used to assist and not hinder the treatment. Studying the processes from point of view of therapists of both genders could give useful information on how to support them and develop their work. This study supports the model of having a female leader in batterers' treatment groups. A female leader can represent the men's constructions of women and by repositioning herself promote changing these constructions and men's attitudes towards women. Female and male leaders bring different but equally valuable perspectives into the group. It is important to develop treatment programs as the information of treatment processes increase. There should be enough education and support for the therapist from their organization and also the relationship between co-workers should be taken care of and checked regularly.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The original text extracts in Finnish

Extract 1

(II/4/39:39-)

Kalle: **Ne** on niin piruja **ne naiset!** Ite **ne** ei väännä, niissä ei oo mitään syytä niihin riitatilanteisiin, **ne** on ihan pulmusia.

Extract 2

(IV/14/83:05-)

Aki: **Teidän** pitää tehdä ittestänne perkele jotakin jumalia, että meidän pitää aina rukoilla kaikki teiltä.

MT: **Tämä nyt tuli Maija ((FT)) sinun suuntaan.**

FT: (Nauraa) niin selkeesti.

MT: **Että haluisitko sinä jonkin vastauksen tähän antaa?**

(Naurua)

FT: Mulle ainakin tulee mieleen, et en voi kuvitella sillä tavalla, **et sunkaan vaimos ois sua aina** kieltämässä, sua tekemässä. Et kuuletsä sen toisen puolen siitä.

MT: Mikä se toinen puoli olis?

FT: Niin mä aattelen, et se, että niinku miks siitä tulee, tai miten aina tulee se kokemus et, tai miks se tilanne menee aina siihen, **että se toinen kieltää ja kieltää ja kieltää.** Kai hän muullakin tavalla niinku. Et sä meet ja teet ja asioita. **Niin se puoli jää monesti täällä ryhmässä vähän niinku, et sitä ei kuule. Sitä häntä-puolta ei kuulla.**

Aki: Mä voisin tehdä kotitehtävän viimeiselle kerralle, voin ottaa nauhurin taskuun ja tehdä sellasen kotitehtävän, et mulla ois tällanen pien meno poikien kanssa, voisin vaikka neuvotella vähän aikaa.

Extract 3

(IV/14/76:00-)

Aki: Välillä kun on ollu tosi miesnäkökulmaista, **Et oo tuonu kovin hirveesti naisnäkökulmaa, ees uhallaskaan.**

FT: **Oisitko ollu kiinnostunu kuulemaan mitä mä ihan naisena ajattelen?**

Aki: No musta tuntuu, et jossakin vaiheessa **olis ollu ihan hyvä sohasu sinne pesään.**

Ville: **Ehkä ois ollu ihan hyvä**

Extract 4

(IV/15/88:00-)

FT: Kiihkeetäkin keskustelua ollu ja erimielisyyksiä, mut et ne on menny sitten, ainakin tuntuu, et niistä on saatu irti sitten. Ja väittelyäkin, tulisieluisuutta.

(Naurua)

Kai: **Onko väki jakautunu sukupuolen mukaan täällä välillä?**

FT: Kui? Mitä sää tarkotat?

Kai: Nii näitä vaan, **että kun täältä on naiset puuttunu, et ootko sä saanu tuta, niinku sijaisena?**

FT: Nii, kyllä mä sitä välistä mietin, et miten paljon kun tietyllä tavalla **tässä naisena istuessaan kuuntelee kun te puhutte naisiin kohdistuvasta väkivallasta** niin miten paljon **itelle tulee niinku semmonen olo että sijaisena kohtaa tietyllä tavalla kohtaa sitä väkivaltaa tässä sitte ite siinä.**

Aki: **Sulla ainakin on hyvä suhde kotona**, kun oot oppinu mitä miehet ajattelee. (Naurua ja päällekin puhumista) tai sitte **tiedät ihan tasan tarkkaan että jos mistä haluat niin saat riidan aikaan.**

(Hiljaisuus)

Kai: Nyt mä alan miettiä sun motiiveja kun sä oot täällä. ((naurua, vitsailua ja ryhmä loppuu.))

Extract 5

(I/6/64:30-)

MT: Tuleeks sellainen ajatus, että naisia on vaikee ymmärtää?

(Naurua)

Janne: Tuli vähän sellainen.

MT: **Ihmeellisiä asioita tapahtuu naisen päässä muuallakin**

(Naurua)

FT: Nii, nii (naurahdus), selittääkö naiset

MT: Tätä ei oo ennen ryhmässä voinu tällä tavalla esittää.

FT: Käyttääkö naiset hyväksi tätä kuukautiskiertoansa? Onks semmonen tunne?

Vesa: En tiä, on moni asia niin selittämättömiä, naiset on niin yksilöllisiä, **et joku käyttäytyy oudosti, joku ei.**

MT: Tuoko selittämättömyys etäisyyttä? **Mulle ainakin tulis sellanen olo.**

Vesa: Kyl joo, silloin kiristyy ne välit.

Extract 6

(I/6/85:10-)

FT Mitä **miesten kuukautiskiertoon tulee, tarkkailkaa nyt itseänne. Eikö teissä ole mitään hormonaalisia muutoksia, ei samanlaisia kun meillä naisilla**, mut esim. pinnan kiristymistä. **Meidän naisten hormonitoiminta on vähän niinku ylimainostettua mun mielestä.**

(Hiljaisuus)

MT: Ajatteletko että siitä saadaan syitä monenlaiselle?

FT: Niin kyllä

(Hiljaisuus)

NT: Ja sit aattelin lieventää kauhukuvia, mitä täälläkin on.

MT: **Niin ja jos joku on äkäinen, siihen voi olla muukin syy.**

Extract 7

(V/2/79:20-)

Jaakko: Nii elikkä se joka aiheuttaa sen väkivallan ni itse asiassa se ite pelkää siinä tilanteessa ja se pelko aiheuttaa sitte toisessa myös pelkoa ja sit se provosoitu takas että kumpikin pelkää ja toinen käyttää väkivaltaa ja toinen käyttää suuta siinä tilanteessa. **Eliikkä sitä naisen logiikkaa (näyttää kädellä nalkutusta). Anteeksi** ((naurahtaa katsoo FT:lta))

FT: **Syytäkin pyytää** (naurua) **Mä oon kurkkuani myöten täynnä noita naisen logiikka-juttuja**

Jaakko: **Ei se, en mä sitä oikeesti, mut siis jotenkin semmonen et kun miehen logiikka on enemmän sitä toiminnan logiikkaa, että pitää niinku saaha johonkin purettua jotakin. Et kun huomaa että jää siinä sanallisessa toiseksi mullon ainakin aina jotenkin semmonen.**

FT: Tuntuuks susta siltä?

Jaakko: et mua vedettiin kuusnolla siinä tilanteessa. Että sit mua rupee raivostuttaa, että perkele, on mulla keinot, etten rupee jäämään akkojen kanssa toiseksi. että taas mua vedetään kuusnolla, et mitä tää oikein on. Eiks mies saa olla vihainen?

MT: **Onko vihasella, vihalla ja väkivallalla eroa?**

Jaakko: On on tietenkin, vihanenhan saa olla, ja pitää olla, mutta ei siitä saa mennä väkivallan tasolle se käyttäytyminen.

MT: eli vastaus on että saa olla vihanen.

Jaakko: Saa niin niin mut eihän sitä saa kiinni käydä. mun ois pitäny esim. eilen sanoa että mua ottaa nyt niin hirveesti päähän kun sä sanoit toleen, että mä oon vihanen, mutta en pystyny sanomaan.

Extract 8

(III/6/50:30-)

Eero: ((Eero on lukenut, että miehet ja naiset on rakennettu eri tavalla)) **Miehellä perustarpeet, jotka pitäis täyttyä, vaimon kunnioitus, seksi ym. Naisella eri tarpeet, siin on se hellyys, halu huolehtia.**

FT: Mä ainakin sanon naisena, että se kuulostaa tosi seksistiseltä ajatella noin, että joku kieltäis minulta, että mulla ei ois vaikka samanlaisia seksuaalisia tarpeita kun jollain miehellä, tai erilaisia. Se kuulostaa tosi seksistiseltä jaotella, että olis niin selkeästi miehellä ja naisella eri tarpeet.

Eero: Emmä, oon jostain luku, en sitä, et kaikki naiset laitettais johonkin lokeroon. Jokainen on yksilö.

MT: **Haluaisin viedä keskustelua siihen suuntaan, että onko miehenä teille erilaisia vaatimuksia ympäristöstä?** Odotukset perheen päänä olemisesta ym. tulee ulkoa?

Eero: Ei vaikea sanoa esim. että siivoa himassa. Tuli mieleen kun sanoit, se perheen pää. **Yksi naisen perustarpeista on kokea turvallisuutta.**

FT: **Ahaa, eikö miehellä ole tällaista?**

Eero: On, mutta sehän luo naisille turvallisuutta, jos mies on perheen pää, sillai tasapainossa. mies viime kädessä kantaa vastuun yhdessä tehdyistä päätöksistä, se luo turvaa vaimolle ja lapsille.

MT: **Viimeks puhuttiin turvattomuudesta parisuhteessa, meni aikalailla eri tavalla. Te pelkäsitte menettävänne puolison.**

Extract 9

(III/11/2400-)

FT: Aatteletko, että **Eija ((spouse)) ois uskaltanu sanoa**, ettei halua lähteä?

Sauli: Olis pitäny uskaltaa

FT: Se on eri asia kun pitäny tai uskaltaako

Sauli: Ei pitäny olla mitään pelättävää

FT: Aattelet, että olis uskaltanu?

MT: **Tarkoitatko niin, että jos hän pelkäsi?**

FT: **Voinu Eijalle olla vahvempia jo aiemmat jutut, jos hän halus miellyttää.**

MT: **Joskus naiset, joita on pahoinpideltu kotona, aika herkästi mukautuvat**

Sauli: Vakavampi juttu kävi tän jälkeen...

FT: **Jos susta tuntui, ettei se aiempi ollu niin vakava juttu, se on Eijalle voinu kuitenkin olla.**

(Hiljaisuus)

Sauli: No mä oon nyt luopunu ampumisharrastuksesta.

Extract 10

(V/1/74:30-)

MT: **Pelkääkö Liisa ((puoliso)) sua tänä päivänä?** ((FT koettaa myös sanoa jotain tässä))

Jarno: **Jos mää kysyn häneltä** (viittaa kädellä. FT:a) Pelkäisitsää mua, mitä sä oot nyt kuunnellu, mitä mä oon sulle kertonu.

FT: **Kyl mää pelkäisin**, mä meinasin sanoa äsken, että **varmaan on ollu aika pelottava tilanne Liisalle** semmonen että, kun sä kuvasit tota, että sä oot nostanu tukasta kiinni ja haukkunu tietyllä tavalla, mitä sää tanoit, että kato nyt lutka ittees ja. se on varmaan ollu aika nöyryyttävä ja pelottava tilanne

Jarno: Nii, ei se varmaan parissa kuukaudessa häviä.

Extract 11

(II/10/85:05-)

Kalle: Pitää erottautua joukosta, pitää olla jotain millä hurmata joku. **Pukeutuminen on yks millä nainen saa ihan kato.** Ja hiukset.

Pasi: **Siinähän sulla istuu nainen vieressä, niin kysy nyt.**

MT: **Onko merkittävää, että täällä on toinen vetäjistä nainen?**

Kalle: Mä en oo ees. Yks kerta kun lähin täältä, en koko kameraa ees ollu muistanu.

MT: Ei kun nainen

Kalle: Ei no naisethan on ihania, nehän

MT: **Ei mut onko merkitystä sillä, että Maija ((FT)) on tässä nyt mukana?**

FT: Vai että täs ois kaks miestä

Pasi: **Oikeestaan parempi näin että toinen on nainen ja toinen mies**

Jani: **On on.** Kaks naista ois jo liikaa taas. Sit meistä ei sais mitään irti

Kalle: Aattelkaa kaks jörököllimiestä tossa. Koko ajan tulis puukkoo selkään, te ootte pahoja miehiä, pahoja miehiä.

Extract 12

(IV/14/75:45-)

MT: **Onko ollu eroja kerroissa, jolloin Maija ((FT)) ei oo ollu paikalla?**

Aki: Kaks sekuntia kerkesin miettiä, et. Ei ainakaan aiheissa.

Paljon päällekkäin puhetta

MT: ei ainakaan puheenaiheissa todennäköisesti oo ollu eroa

Aki: Pitäiskö sanoa, et **Hyvä jätkä meiän joukossa**, kun ei oo huomannukaan.

Ville: En oo noteerannu yhtään silleen, et **kun on nainen** niin sen kuullen ei vois tällasesta puhua.

Extract 13

(II/10/90:40-)

Jani: Te ootte taas semmonen rento heikki, mutta **tuon nuoren naisen puolesta minä vähän pelkään**

MT: Miksi?

FT: Mitä sä pelkää?

Jani: Minua parannetaan tästä tai yritetään ja kaverit on hirveenä tukena. **Tämä nuori nainen saa joskus kaverin tai on jo, ja sitten aina milloin tämä mahtaa vetää mua turpaan**

FT: Ootko huolissas, että mulle käy niin, et joku on mua kohtaan väkivaltainen?

Jani: **Kuulet sitä sun tätä kun vedät näitä ryhmiä sä kuulet sitä sun tätä.** Se on kun aivopesu, vesitippaa peltikattoon. kun sä imet koko aika näitä asioita niin **susta tulee. Anteeks tää ei oo nyt henkilökohtainen, mutta sellanen tutkijakorppu joka pelkää hirveesti ja karttelee miehiä.**

Extract 14

(II/10/95:00-)

FT: **Mua oikeesti kiinnostaa, että aatteletteko sillä tavalla, että Matista ((MT)) ei tartte olla huolissaan vaik se kuulee samat jutut aina ja minusta täytyy?**

Kalle: **Sä oot heikompi**

FT: **Millä tavalla mä oon heikompi?**

Kalle: Voimiltas, sillai että, en tiää

FT: Jos oon fyysisesti

Kalle: Niin voit olla henkisesti vahvempi, okei mä myönnän kyllä ton

FT: Jos oon fyysisesti heikompi niin tarkottaako se et oon psyykkisesti heikompi?

Kalle: Ei ei

MT: **Mulle tuli mieleen, että he pelkää, että sä alat vihaamaan miehiä?**

(Paljon päällekkäin puhetta)

FT: Tä ilmeisesti oli oikee tulkinta, kun kaikki noin heräs

Extract 15

(II/10/95:00-)

NT: Saanks mää tähän loppuun vielä sanoa. Et kun **naisena** kuuntelee väkivaltaa niin ei se voi olla vaikuttamatta tai kuka tahansa. Totta kai se on rankka aihe. **Kuitenkin pidän itseäni ammattilaisena ja ammatti-ihmisenä**, joka pystyy kuitenkin näitä asioita mietimään mielessään. **Miellyttävää ja hyvää, et ootte minusta huolissanne naisena**, koska sit voin olettaa että ootte muistakin naisista huolissanne, ettekä halua olla väkivaltaisia heitä kohtaan. Jos te pystytte mun kautta ajattelemaan, et miltähän tosta tuntuu.

Extract 16

(II/9/67:36-)

Pasi ((FT:lle)): Pitäis kysyä sulta, kun ollaan täällä oltu, että jos me oltais vähän nuorempia ja komeita, niin **uskaltaisitsä olla kenenkään meidän kanssa?**

FT: Toi onkin hyvä kysymys

Kalle: Ollaanhan me vieläkin komeita

FT: Toi on oikeesti hyvä kysymys, joskus kun kuuntelee noita teiän juttuja, niin voi ymmärtää, **miks esim. Kaija ((Pasin puoliso)) on pelännyt tai esimerkiksi Kalle, sun entinen tyttöystävä. Kyl mä mietin et uskaltaisinko.**

Kalle: Aika hyvin sanottu

MT: Ei oo ollenkaan varmaa, että uskaltaisit?

FT: **En oo varma, kyllä mä mieltisin, että.**

Kalle: Kyllähän sulla on koulutusta. **Sä voit sit koulia miehen.** (nauraa)

FT: Niinkö sä luulisit?

Kalle: Niin mutta, toi on oikeesti hyvä kysymys.

FT: **Kyl mä mieltisin et uskaltaisinko.**

Esa: Mulla on yks ystävä, joka just on lähteny entisen miehen luota kun se on ollu väkivaltanen.

Extract 17

(IV/9/65:50-)

Kai: Pitää vähän olla herkkyyttä nähä se **outo olio, joka jos se ei oo raskaana, niin sillä on kuukautiset**, niin sitä pitäs sitten perässä pysyä jotenkin, ehkä välillä käydä vähän rinnalla vilkasemassa, mutta niinku eelle ei sais mennä. Mutta yks tästä puuttuu, se että loukkaa toisen olemusta sillä, että, niinku **Elli ((puoliso)) on hirveen herkkä, jos mä katon toisia naisia.** Jos mun pää kääntyy näin ja se pysähtyy näin. **((Kai liikuttaa katsettaan ja pysähtyy naisterapeuttiin)) Niin näkee sen jo sivusilmällä, et jos mä Maijaa ((FT)) vilkasen niin Elli kysyy heti et oliko toi joku tuttu.** Elli jotenkin kokee sen loukkauksena. Ei sen tartte viipyä, **ei mun tartte mitään tissejä tai persettä tuojottaa vaan ihan noin, pysähtyä.**

Extract 18

(V/9/61:00-)

Jaakko: Voin kertoa, **lähetin Maijalle ((FT)) tekstiviestin. Mitä mieltä ootte asiasta?**

FT: voitko kertoa, mitä se viesti sisälsi?

Jaakko: **Kysyin, että voitaisko tavata ryhmän ulkopuolella, että olis kiva jutella. Ja T vastas, että se on epäsoviva.** Aattelin, että sä joko vastaat tai et.

FT: Mikä sulla oli se ajatus siinä takana?

Jaakko: Että keskustelua ja niin edelleen.

MT: Oliko siinä koko viesti?

FT: **Siinä oli myös, että olenko mä niinku vapaa, että se oli myös kohdistettu muhun henkilökohtaisesti naisena.** Et vähän eri sisältö kun nyt kerrot.

Jaakko: No näinhän siinä oli.

MT: Mun kannalta se ois tarkoittanu, että jos oisitte tavanneet, toisen tulo ryhmään, todennäköisesti Maijan ois ollu mahdotonta.

FT: Ois **muuttunu tasa-arvoisesta vetäjästä treffikumppaniksi.** Mikä sun ajatus oli, kun tällaista perussääntöä rikoit?

Jaakko: Heikkous, kun on ollu tiukilla.

FT: **Mun näkökulmasta siihen sisältyi vähättelyä ryhmän vetäjänä, kun lähestyttiin naisena, mä oon täällä töissä, et se oli loukkaava mulle henkilökohtaisesti.**

Jaakko: Pyydän anteeksi ja voin jäädä pois, jos niin.

MT: **Ei ole siitä kyse, kiinnostavaa se, miten tää käsittely nyt vaikuttaa, ja mitä ois tapahtunu, jos treffit ois tapahtunu.**