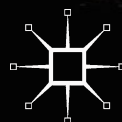


ENGAGING MEN AND BOYS IN VIOLENCE PREVENTION

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Global Masculinities

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Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention

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PRAISE FOR *ENGAGING MEN AND BOYS IN VIOLENCE PREVENTION*

“Michael Flood has long been the world’s most important and prolific researcher in the area of engaging men on a range of topics related to men’s violence against women. You can see why when you look through the treasure trove that is *Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention*, a remarkable synthesis of user-friendly research, analysis and concrete suggestions for action. This book belongs on the shelves and in the hands of educators, activists, policy-makers and anyone else who wants to gain insight into the crucial question of how to mobilize men as active allies to women in the era of #MeToo.”

—Jackson Katz, *Ph.D.*, *co-founder of Mentors in Violence Prevention*
and author of The Macho Paradox: Why Some Men Hurt Women
and *How All Men Can Help*

“Michael Flood is a leader in critical thinking about men and masculinities and engaging men to end men’s violence against women. So it is no surprise, but a great pleasure, to see the incredible scope of analysis, information, and examples in his new book. This will stand as an essential text in our field for years to come.”

—Michael Kaufman, *co-founder of the White Ribbon Campaign and*
author of The Time Has Come: Why Men Must Join
the Gender Equality Revolution

“Deftly blending his deep well of experience as a leading feminist scholar/activist with boys and men with the growing body of research on violence prevention efforts around the world, Michael Flood has created a work that is at once analytically sound and practical, comprehensive and focused, critical and hopeful. *Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention* is timely, important, and a must-read.”

—Michael A. Messner, *author of Guys Like Me: Five Wars, Five Veterans for Peace*

“By focusing on detailed accounts of reaching, engaging, and mobilizing different groups of men to prevent and reduce violence against women, Flood has made a lasting impact on the field. The text is comprehensive, honest, incisive and utterly necessary in order to ensure that much needed social change occurs both domestically and globally.”

—Shari Dworkin, *Dean of Nursing and Health Studies, University of Washington Bothell, USA*

“The MeToo moment and years of feminist advocacy have finally made ending violence against women the global priority it must be. But we still have a huge way to go to engage men and boys in effective ways. Flood provides the big picture we have long lacked: what works, why it works, how to scale it up, and how to get violence prevention right, by women who deserve lives free of violence, and by men who need to be allies in the cause as well as those who already are.”

—Gary Barker, *President and CEO of Promundo*

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Men have a vital role to play in ending men's violence against women. The field of efforts to engage men and boys in violence prevention is growing rapidly, across policy and programming, scholarship, and advocacy and activism. This is embodied in the growth of national and global interventions and campaigns, initiatives by international agencies, and scholarly assessments of their impact and significance. Across the globe, a wide variety of violence prevention initiatives in schools and elsewhere now address boys and young men, sporting codes have adopted measures to involve male players in building respectful cultures, and institutions such as the military are moving towards similar initiatives.

This book provides a comprehensive guide to engaging men and boys in the prevention of violence against women and girls and other forms of violence and abuse. It provides an informed and accessible framework for understanding, supporting, and critically assessing men's roles in violence prevention.

There are three elements to the book's background. First, violence against women (including physical and sexual assaults and other behaviours which result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women) has been identified as a widespread social problem. Second, there is an increasing emphasis on the primary prevention of violence against women in government and community efforts—on not just responding to victims and perpetrators, but also in preventing this violence from occurring in the first place. Third, a significant trend in violence prevention is the growing focus on engaging men and boys in

prevention. Around the world there are growing efforts to involve boys and men in various capacities: as participants in education programs, as targets of social marketing campaigns, as policy-makers and gate-keepers, and as activists and advocates. There is a groundswell of community-based prevention activity directed at men and boys. There is significant policy support for male involvement in violence prevention, evident in recent plans of action by national governments and affirmed by international agencies. In short, violence prevention efforts aimed at men and boys are on the public agenda, are being adopted and funded increasingly widely, and have a powerful rationale.

The book *Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention* provides a critical assessment of efforts to engage men and boys in violence prevention. It offers a distinctive and timely discussion of an area of work and scholarship which is receiving growing national and international attention. The book highlights innovative, creative, and compelling examples of work engaging men and boys, both among particular groups (such as sports players, faith leaders, corporate men, blue collar men, young men in schools, and men in uniform) and in particular settings (such as workplaces and social movements).

This book provides robust, practical guidance regarding effective strategies to reduce and prevent violence against women. The book is oriented towards the production of practical guidance for educators, advocates, and policy-makers: a conceptual framework for understanding and supporting men's and boys' roles in violence prevention, robust assessment of particular interventions, and guidance regarding the effective use of key strategies. In short, the book identifies what works and what does not.

Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention has an international focus. Some of the most well-developed or innovative efforts to involve men and boys in violence prevention take place outside North America and the UK, with notable efforts visible in Brazil, India, and elsewhere. The book includes case studies from a wide variety of countries and regions. It offers a framework for engaging men which is applicable in a wide variety of settings, national and international. At the same time, the book highlights the challenges of violence prevention with men and boys in particular cultures and contexts.

The book avoids two extremes regarding men's and boys' involvement in violence prevention. On the one hand, there is a naïve optimism that short-term, simple interventions will shift lifelong habits of behaviour and entrenched inequalities. On the other, there is a paralysing

pessimism about the prospects of change among males. In its discussions of existing efforts, the book highlights both positive *and* negative impacts: interventions and strategies which have made a positive difference, and those which have had neutral or negative impacts.

The book also explores controversies regarding efforts to engage men and boys in violence prevention. Are they at the expense of efforts focused on women and girls? Are they complicit with dominant constructions of masculinity? To what extent has ‘work with men’ come to be seen as an end in itself rather than as a means to gender equality? And so on. At the same time, the book is guided by a determination to make a positive and significant contribution to the prevention of violence against women.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

The book is organised into three parts: Part I: The problem and its prevention; Part II: Strategies and settings; and Part III: Challenges.

Part I: The Problem and Its Prevention

Part I of the book introduces the problem it addresses, the arguments for engaging men and boys in prevention, and the principles which should guide this work.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of men’s violence against women, noting its character, typical dynamics, impacts, and causes. It begins by noting debates over how to define violence and particular forms of violence. The chapter summarises what is known about the causes of men’s violence against women, highlighting that this violence is grounded above all in the meanings, practices, and relations associated with gender. The chapter highlights contemporary debates in scholarship and advocacy over men’s violence against women. These include debates over how to define violence and particular forms of violence, and the chapter argues for an understanding of domestic violence for example which moves beyond discrete physically aggressive acts to a broader conceptualisation which includes a range of strategies of coercive control enacted by one person against another. The chapter highlights further trends including growing recognition of diverse forms of interpersonal violence, examination of the social and structural foundations of men’s violence against women, debates over measurement and evaluation, and shifts in violence against women itself.

Chapter 3 introduces the reader to the primary prevention of violence against women. It explains how primary prevention differs from other forms of prevention and intervention activity. It describes the public health and ecological models of prevention which dominate the field and notes debates about their utility and insight.

Are existing interventions with men and boys effective? Chapter 3 then explores the effectiveness of efforts among men and boys to change the attitudes and behaviours associated with violence against women. Although there are important limitations to the existing evidence, this does show that well-designed interventions can make change. The chapter then works through a spectrum of strategies of prevention, discussing the evidence for the effectiveness of strategies at each level. Moving from micro to macro, these levels are: (1) strengthening individual knowledge and skills; (2) promoting community education; (3) educating providers; (4) engaging, strengthening, and mobilising communities; (5) changing organisational practices; and (6) influencing policies and legislation. The chapter provides examples of efforts at each level, drawn from around the globe. The chapter concludes by noting the consensus in the field that violence prevention should be informed, comprehensive, engaging, and relevant.

Chapter 4 argues that engaging men and boys is part of the solution to men's violence against women. It identifies a compelling, threefold rationale for addressing men in ending violence against women. First and most importantly, efforts to prevent violence against women must address men because largely it is men who perpetrate this violence. Second, constructions of masculinity—the social norms associated with manhood, and the social organisation of men's lives and relations—play a crucial role in shaping violence against women. Third, and more hopefully, men and boys have a positive role to play in helping to stop violence against women, and they will benefit personally and relationally from this.

There are also tensions and critiques regarding this rationale. This chapter examines four questions:

- While there is widespread agreement that men's anti-violence work should be accountable, what does this mean in practice?
- Although there is a powerful rationale for engaging men, does this mean that there is a universal imperative of male inclusion?

- Does the claim often made in this field that ‘most men do not use violence’ excuse men from collective responsibility for violence against women and neglect many men’s use of various strategies of coercion and control against women?
- Does an appeal to the ways in which men will ‘benefit’ from progress towards non-violence and gender equality downplay what men also have to lose if patriarchal privileges are challenged?

Part II: Strategies and Settings

The book then moves to the practicalities of making change among men. Part II explores the strategies and settings which can be used to engage men and boys in preventing and reducing violence against women. It begins with the general challenge of making the project of preventing and reducing violence against women relevant and meaningful for men, before exploring particular strategies for change.

To involve men and boys in making change, we must first know something about where they stand. If we are to reach men and boys—to spark their initial interest, secure their participation, and inspire their ongoing involvement—we must know about their existing attitudes towards violence against women, their existing involvements in gender relations, and so on. Chapter 5 begins with where men and boys stand: the extent to which men actually perpetrate violence against women, men’s attitudes towards this violence, and men’s beliefs and practices when it comes to speaking up or acting in opposition to this violence.

Why do many men show disinterest in, or active resistance to, involvement in efforts to end men’s violence against women? Chapter 5 then explores what prevents men from supporting and contributing to violence prevention campaigns. Barriers range from men’s sexist and violence-supportive attitudes, to their overestimation of other men’s comfort with violence, to lack of knowledge or skills in intervention or opportunities for participation. The chapter then explores, on the other hand, what inspires men’s involvement. How is it that some men become passionate advocates for ending violence against women? There are common paths for men into anti-violence advocacy. For many men, initial sensitisation to the issue of violence against women comes from hearing from women about the violence they have suffered. These and other experiences raise men’s awareness of violence or

gender inequalities. However, a tangible opportunity to participate in anti-violence work also is influential, as is then making sense of this experience in ways which inspire further involvement.

How do we make the case to men that violence against women is an issue of direct relevance to them? Chapter 5 explores proven ways to inspire men that violence against women is a ‘men’s issue’. It shows how to personalise the issue, appeal to values and principles, show that men will benefit, build on strengths, and start small and build from there. Making the case to men also involves popularising feminism, diminishing fears of others’ reactions, building knowledge and skills in intervention, and fostering communities of support.

Chapter 6 focuses on one of the most common forms of violence prevention strategy among men and boys, face-to-face education. Around the world, interactive workshops and training sessions are used with men and boys to build their gender-equitable understandings, teach skills in non-violence and sexual consent, inspire collective advocacy, and so on. This chapter identifies what makes for effective practice in education for violence prevention: what to cover, how to teach, and whom should teach. As it discusses in detail, some forms of face-to-face education simply do not work. They are too short to make change, they do not engage participants in discussion and reflection, or they are poorly taught.

Whether working face-to-face with men and boys or reaching them through media and communications strategies, one must inspire men’s and boys’ interest and engagement and work well to shift the attitudes and behaviours associated with violence against women and girls. Chapter 7 focuses on communications and social marketing, a second common strategy of violence prevention education. Like the previous chapter, it describes both effective and ineffective campaigns and highlights the principles on which more successful efforts are based. For example, more effective communications campaigns involve greater levels of exposure to the prevention messaging, are based on understanding of their audience, and use positive messages and influential, relevant messengers. Chapter 7 then explores two communications approaches which are increasingly prominent, social norms and bystander intervention.

A third set of strategies for violence prevention among men and boys is focused on mobilising them as advocates and activists. Chapter 8 explores efforts in which men and boys themselves mobilise to prevent and reduce violence against women. It examines the use of campaigns, networks, and events by men and boys, including efforts undertaken

in partnership with women and women's groups, in what is a rich and inspiring history of men's anti-violence advocacy. The chapter goes on to identify the elements of effective practice in community mobilisation among men and boys.

Chapter 9, the last chapter in this section of the book on strategies and settings, examines violence prevention efforts among men and boys which take place in workplaces and other institutions. It works across two overlapping forms of prevention activity: educating men at work and/or as professionals, on the one hand, and changing organisations, on the other. The former includes interventions with particular groups of providers or professionals, often in male-dominated occupations such as police, faith leader, sports coaches, and the military. The latter comprise efforts at whole-of-institution change, at a more macro-level than mere face-to-face education. The chapter identifies the key elements of whole-of-institution prevention, including a comprehensive approach, senior leadership and participation, dedicated resources, education and training, communication for culture change, victim assistance and support, reporting processes, and assessment and accountability.

Part III: Challenges

This final section of the book highlights the challenges of engaging men and boys in violence prevention and the potential ways to address these.

A persistent challenge in anti-violence work with men and boys is resistance. Men and boys often respond in hostile or defensive ways to violence prevention efforts, and Chapter 10 explores the ways in which to minimise these. It begins by outlining a range of strategies aimed at lessening men's and boys' ideological hostility to gender justice and violence prevention advocacy. These include strategies to do with content, on the one hand, such as personalising women's disadvantage, making analogies to other forms of inequality, and addressing men's own experiences of shifts in gender relations. Other strategies are focused on process, such as involving men and boys in acknowledging their privilege, documenting inequalities, figuratively walking in women's shoes, and listening to women. Chapter 10 then moves to other ways to minimise resistance. It is vital, for example, to tailor our efforts to the fact that men and boys are at different stages of readiness for change, and that different educational approaches are useful for men and boys at earlier and later stages of change. Finally, the chapter explores how to respond to overt anti-feminist backlash.

Men's and boys' lives are structured not only by gender but by other forms of social difference and inequality. Chapter 11 argues that violence prevention efforts with *any* group of men or boys in *any* cultural context must have an intersectional approach. This chapter of the book begins by describing an intersectional approach to men, masculinities, and violence. It explores how forms of social difference such as race and ethnicity shape men's violence against women, including victimisation, perpetration, and the ways in which this violence is represented and understood. The chapter then provides detailed guidance on ways to engage immigrant, ethnic minority, and indigenous men in violence prevention. Such efforts must address the social and economic conditions of men and communities, be based on culturally relevant content and processes, and acknowledge racism and intersectional disadvantage.

What is the future of efforts to engage men and boys in the prevention of violence against women? The final chapter in the book begins by assessing the state of the field: its achievements and its limitations. It highlights the challenges which continue to mark the field and the issues and questions which are newly emerging. Finally, the book offers a call to action, appealing to men and boys to take personal and collective action to end violence against women.

PART I

The Problem and Its Prevention



CHAPTER 2

The Problem: Men's Violence Against Women

What is 'men's violence against women'? What are its dynamics, impacts, and causes, and how can it be prevented? This chapter begins by describing the problem itself, the patterns of violence which have become the subject of feminist and other efforts. The chapter highlights the insights of contemporary scholarship and activism regarding violence against women and notes prominent debates in the field.

Let us start with the question of language. There is a bewildering variety of terms for the forms of violence and abuse which take place in people's lives. This is true for example for the violence perpetrated by individuals against their intimate or sexual partners or ex-partners. A common term for this is 'domestic violence'. The term 'domestic violence' refers to interpersonal violence enacted in domestic settings, family relationships, and intimate relationships, and is most readily applied to violence by a man to his wife, female sexual partner or ex-partner. However, 'domestic violence' is used also to denote violence between same-sex sexual partners, among family members (including siblings and parent-child violence either way), and by women against male partners. Four other terms commonly applied to some or all of these forms of violence are family violence, wife battering, men's violence against women, and intimate partner violence. Each of the terms excludes some forms of violence, is accompanied by certain theoretical and political claims, and is subject to shifting meanings in the context of both academic and popular understandings.

The names chosen to describe and explain forms of interpersonal violence will never perfectly contain the phenomenon Macdonald (1998), and any act of naming involves methodological, theoretical, and political choices. Focusing on 'domestic violence', many definitions centre on violence between sexual partners or ex-partners, excluding parent-child, sibling-sibling, and adolescent-parent violence (Macdonald, 1998). 'Domestic' violence often takes place in non-domestic settings, such as when young women experience dating violence in a boyfriend's car or other semi-public place. Definitions of 'domestic violence' or 'partner violence' may exclude violence in relationships where the sexual partners have neither married nor cohabited (Jasinski & Williams, 1998, p. x). 'Domestic violence' is often understood as distinct from sexual violence, but the two often are intertwined in violence against women by male partners or ex-partners. While the phrase 'family violence' more clearly includes violence against children and between family members, its utility is affected by how one understands the term 'family' (Macdonald, 1998). Some feminists criticise both terms 'domestic violence' and 'family violence' for deflecting attention from the sex of the likely perpetrator (male), likely victim (female), and the gendered character of the violence (Maynard & Winn, 1997). Yet the alternative phrase 'violence against women' excludes violence against children or men and by women.

This text focuses largely on men's violence against women. The term 'men's violence against women' is a useful, catch-all term for a range of forms of violence which women experience at the hands of men, including physical and sexual assaults and other behaviours which result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women. So the term includes domestic or family violence, rape and sexual assault, sexual harassment, and other forms of violence experienced by women and perpetrated by men. However, the book also covers interventions and scholarship engaging men and boys in the prevention of domestic and sexual violence per se, whether or not these involve men's violence against women.

This text focuses on interpersonal violence, rather than collective and institutional violence. That is, it focuses on efforts to prevent and reduce forms of violence and abuse which take place between individuals or small numbers of people, such as domestic or partner violence, rape and sexual assault, and sexual harassment. The book does not address the prevention of collective and state violence, including wars and military conflicts among nation states or civil militias or the institutionalised violence represented by state repression. Of course, seemingly 'individual'

and 'private' behaviours such as sexual assault and intimate partner violence have collective and institutional foundations, as I explore later in this chapter, and some may be perpetrated collectively, as is the case with multiple-perpetrator rape.

The book's focus is both pragmatic and political. Pragmatically, efforts to engage men in violence prevention have focused overwhelmingly on violence perpetrated by men and against women (Flood, 2015). Compared to the number of violence prevention initiatives engaging men and boys in the prevention of violence against women, there are very few which engage and boys in gender-conscious ways in preventing other forms of violence. Nevertheless, this text does include such initiatives where they exist. Politically, the need to address men's violence against women remains as pressing as ever. The field of violence prevention related to men's violence against women is growing rapidly, and an assessment of its character and achievements is timely. Yes, there are other forms of interpersonal violence. The victims of violence often are male, and yes, the perpetrators sometimes are female. Efforts to address these forms of violence are vital as well, although they are not the primary focus of this book. The text therefore usually uses the phrase 'men's violence against women', while also making use of other terms and making reference to overlapping forms of violence.

What, then, do we know so far about men's violence against women? Forty years of scholarship and activism have generated a series of insights regarding the key features of men's violence against women.

First, men's violence against women comprises a wide range of forms of violence, abuse, and coercion perpetrated by men against women. It is important to recognise the range of behaviours which can be identified as violent. 'Commonsense' and dominant beliefs limit the range of behaviour which is deemed unacceptable and define other behaviours as normal or inevitable. In contrast, by listening to women's experiences, feminists have documented a wide range of male behaviours which women perceive as threatening, violent or sexually harassing (Maynard & Winn, 1997). This work has broadened what can be named as violence, and generated new terms for forms of violence and abuse which had been invisible or normalised. For example, it is a feminist achievement that forms of forced, coerced, and pressured sex in relationships and families now are named as violence or abuse.

Related to this, feminist work has identified a *continuum* of violence experienced by women (Kelly, 1996) from seemingly extreme events like

intimate murders to the daily dripping tap of sexual harassment (Stanley & Wise, 1987). The notion of a continuum highlights the range of abusive and coercive behaviours women experience, the sheer pervasiveness of violence, the links between seemingly diverse behaviours and events (in terms of their impact, dynamics, and causes), and the overlaps between violence and everyday forms of social and sexual interaction between men and women (Kelly, 1987). The continuum is not a representation of the seriousness of different forms of physical and sexual violence: all forms are serious and all have effects (Kelly, 1987).

Another crucial insight is that when it comes to men's violence against female partners or ex-partners, rather than talking about isolated aggressive acts, often we are talking about a *pattern* of behaviours, linked by *power and control*. Men's physical violence towards women in relationships and families frequently is accompanied by other forms of abusive, controlling, and harmful behaviour. (Indeed, a man may be using a series of psychological and social tactics of power and control against his partner while avoiding physical violence altogether.) Violence prevention advocates typically use the term 'domestic violence' to refer to a systematic pattern of power and control exerted by one person (usually a man) against another (often a woman), involving a variety of physical and non-physical tactics of abuse and coercion, in the context of a current or former intimate relationship. In the typical situation of male-to-female domestic violence, the man often

threatens his partner with the use of violence against her or their children, sexually assaults her, and intimidates her with frightening gestures, destruction of property, and showing weapons. He isolates her and monitors her behavior, which increases his control, increases her emotional dependence on him, and makes it easier to perpetrate and hide physical abuse. He practises insults, mind-games, and emotional manipulation such that the victim's self-esteem is undermined and she feels she has no other options outside the relationship. Finally, he minimizes and denies the extent of his violent behavior, disavows responsibility for his actions, and blames the victim for the abuse. (Flood, 2004, pp. 235–236)

In many ways therefore, domestic violence or intimate partner abuse can be best understood as chronic behaviour that is characterised not by the episodes of physical violence which punctuate the relationship but by the emotional and psychological abuse that the perpetrator uses to maintain control over their partner.

Four further insights regarding men's violence against women are critical. First, in contrast to the stereotype that rape and other forms of violence are perpetrated by 'abnormal' and 'mad' individuals, the research highlights that most violence against women is perpetrated by 'normal' men, in the context of a gender-unequal society. They are 'normal' men in the sense that they are acting out the gender norms and values with which many men have socialised, in unequal gender relations which themselves have been seen as normal.

Second, there is a crucial link between violence and *power*. Men's violence both maintains, and is the expression of, men's power over women and children. From feminist research we now have the important insight that men's violence is an important element in the organisation and maintenance of gender inequality. In fact, rape and other forms of sexual violence have been seen as paradigmatic expressions of the operation of male power over women.

Related to both of these, men's violence against women has *social* causes. These can be grouped into three clusters, as noted in further detail below. First, men's violence against women is shaped above all by *gender inequalities*. These are linked to violence at the individual, relationship, community, and societal levels, and there are strong associations between violence against women and gender roles, gender norms, and gender relations. Second, there are links between violence against women and the acceptance and perpetration of *other* forms of violence. Third, violence against women is shaped by the material and social resources available to individuals and communities, including patterns of disadvantage.

The fourth and final insight is that men's physical and sexual violence against women is a fundamental barrier to gender equality. This violence harms women's physical and emotional health, restricts their sexual and reproductive choices, and hinders their participation in political decision-making and public life. Men's violence is a threat to women's autonomy, mobility, self-esteem and everyday safety. Violence against women is now also being described as a threat to or denial of women's human rights and of women's rights to full citizenship. In these senses, men's violence against women is a fundamentally *ethical* and *political* issue.

In short, men's violence against women comprises a diverse range of violent, coercive, or controlling behaviours and strategies. These may or may not involve physical violence. They often take place between men and women who know each other, and they may be deliberately hidden from public view. They may or may not be illegal and criminal. And they may be seen as 'normal' or acceptable by community members.

CAUSES AND CONTEXTS

So, what do we know about the causes of men's violence against women? The text box on this page summarises these causes, focusing particularly on domestic violence, men's violence against intimate female partners or ex-partners.

Causes of men's intimate partner violence against women

- (1) Gender roles and relations
 - Men's agreement with sexist, patriarchal, and sexually hostile attitudes
 - Violence-supportive social norms regarding gender and sexuality
 - Male-dominated power relations in relationships and families
 - Sexist and violence-supportive contexts and cultures
- (2) Social norms and practices related to violence
 - Lack of domestic violence resources
 - Violence in the community
 - Childhood experience of intimate partner violence (especially among boys)
- (3) Access to resources and systems of support
 - Low socioeconomic status, poverty, and unemployment
 - Lack of social connections and social capital
 - Personality characteristics
 - Alcohol and substance abuse
 - Separation and other situational factors

The determinants of men's violence against women can be grouped into three broad clusters. I start with an overview of these three sets of causes or determinants, before exploring further complexities.

Gender Roles and Relations

The most well-documented determinants of men's violence against women can be found in gender—in gender relations and gender norms and above all in gender inequalities. Whether at the level of relationships, communities, or societies, there are relationships between how gender is

organised and men's violence against women. Systemic gender inequalities are foundational to violence against women. As feminists long have emphasised, this violence is both a reflection of unequal power relationships in society and serves to maintain those unequal power relationships (Maynard & Winn, 1997).

At the individual level, men's gender-role attitudes and beliefs are significant. Men's agreement with sexist, patriarchal, and sexually hostile attitudes is an important predictor of their use of violence against women. Putting this another way, some men are less likely to use violence than other men. Men who *do not* hold patriarchal and hostile gender norms are *less* likely than other men to use physical or sexual violence against an intimate partner (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002; Schumacher, Feldbau-Kohn, Slep, & Heyman, 2001)

Violence-supportive attitudes are based in wider social norms regarding gender and sexuality. In fact, in many ways, violence is part of 'normal' sexual and intimate relations. For example, for many young people, sexual harassment is pervasive, male aggression is expected and normalised, there is constant pressure among boys to behave in sexually aggressive ways, girls are routinely objectified, there is a sexual double standard, and girls are pressured to accommodate male 'needs' and desires. These social norms mean that sexual coercion actually becomes 'normal', working through common heterosexual norms and relations (Flood & Pease, 2006). As feminist scholars and advocates have emphasised, common social constructions of sexuality, and heterosexuality in particular, are implicated in violence against women, through their eroticisation of inequalities and male dominance and their support for patriarchal ideologies (Edwards, 1987).

Both attitudes and norms shift over time, of course, whether in positive or negative directions. Australian survey data documents that there have been both positive and negative shifts in community attitudes towards men's violence against women. For example, community tolerance for sexual violence has proved more resistant to change than tolerance for domestic violence, and on some issues (such as women's alleged propensity to make false accusations of rape or the apparent gender symmetry of domestic violence) attitudes have worsened rather than improving (VicHealth, 2014).

There are important determinants of intimate partner violence at the level of relationships and families. A key factor here is the power relations

between partners—are they fair and just, or dominated by one partner? Male economic and decision-making dominance in the family is one of the strongest predictors of high levels of violence against women (Heise, 1998). Another factor at the level of intimate relationships and families is marital conflict. This conflict interacts with the power structure of the family. When conflict occurs in an asymmetrical power structure, there is a much higher risk of violence (Heise, 1998; Riggs, Caulfield, & Street, 2000).

Peer and friendship groups and organisational cultures are important influences too. Some men have ‘rape-supporting social relationships’, whether in sport, on campus, or in the military, and this feeds into their use of violence against women. For example, there are higher rates of sexual violence against young women in contexts characterised by gender segregation, a belief in male sexual conquest, strong male bonding, high alcohol consumption, use of pornography, and sexist social norms (Flood & Pease, 2006).

There is also international evidence that the gender roles and norms of entire cultures have an influence on intimate partner violence. Rates of men’s violence against women are higher in cultures emphasising traditional gender codes, male dominance in families, male honour, and female chastity (Heise, 1998).

Social Norms and Practices Relating to Violence

The second cluster of determinants of men’s violence against women concern other social norms and practices related to violence. One factor is domestic violence resources. There is US evidence that when domestic violence resources—refuges, legal advocacy programs, hotlines, and so on—are available in a community, women are less vulnerable to intimate partner violence (Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 2003).

Violence in the community appears to be a risk factor for intimate partner violence (Vezina & Hebert, 2007). Members of disadvantaged communities may learn a greater tolerance of violence through exposure to violence by their parents, delinquent peers, and others. Another factor is childhood exposure to intimate partner violence. This contributes to the transmission of violence across generations. Children, especially boys, who witness violence or are subjected to violence themselves are more likely to grow up with violence-supportive attitudes and to use violence (Flood & Pease, 2006).

Access to Resources and Systems of Support

There is consistent evidence that women's and men's access to resources and systems of support shapes intimate partner violence.

Rates of reported domestic violence are higher in areas of economic and social disadvantage (Holtzworth-Munroe, Smutzler, & Bates, 1997; Riger & Staggs, 2004; Riggs et al., 2000; Schumacher et al., 2001; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, & Tritt, 2004). Disadvantage may increase the risk of abuse because of the other variables which accompany this, such as crowding, hopelessness, conflict, stress, or a sense of inadequacy in some men. Social isolation is another risk factor for intimate partner violence. Among young women, rates of domestic violence are higher for those who are not involved in schools or do not experience positive parenting and supervision in their families. In adult couples, social isolation is both a cause and a consequence of wife abuse. Women with strong family and friendship networks experience lower rates of violence (Flood, 2007).

Intimate partner violence is shaped also by neighbourhoods and communities: by levels of poverty and unemployment, and collective efficacy, that is, neighbours' willingness to help other neighbours or to intervene in antisocial or violent behaviour (Flood, 2007). In indigenous communities, interpersonal violence is shaped by histories of colonisation and the disintegration of family and community.

Another factor is personality characteristics. Spouse abusers on average tend to have more psychological problems than non-violent men, including borderline, mood disorders, and depression (Abbey & McAuslan, 2004; Riggs et al., 2000; Schumacher et al., 2001; Stith et al., 2004; Tolan, Gorman-Smith, & Henry, 2006). Adolescent delinquency—antisocial and aggressive behaviour committed during adolescence—is a predictor of men's later perpetration of sexual assault (Abbey & McAuslan, 2004).

Men's abuse of alcohol or drugs is a risk factor for intimate partner violence. It is not that being intoxicated itself 'causes' men to perpetrate violence. Instead, men may use being drunk or high to minimise their own responsibility for violent behaviour. Some men may see drunk women as more sexually available, and may use alcohol as a strategy for overcoming women's resistance (Flood, 2007).

There are also situational factors that increase the risk of intimate partner violence. For example, there is evidence that women are at risk of increasingly severe violence when separating from violent partners (Brownridge, 2006).

DEBATES AND TRENDS

This chapter began by identifying a range of insights or points regarding the key features of men's violence against women. However, there is in fact debate over these points and indeed over the very fundamentals of the field—over how to define interpersonal violence, and also over how to measure, explain, and thus prevent it. Overlapping with this, there is heated debate over the gendered character of interpersonal violence. This section examines these debates, before discussing a series of further trends in scholarship regarding men's violence against women.

The Definition, and Gendered Character, of Violence

There is significant, ongoing, and even hostile debate in published scholarship regarding whether to define domestic and sexual violence in narrow or broad terms. In the 'narrow' camp, definitions focus on physically aggressive acts and on sexual assaults involving forced penetration. Such definitions are closer to those in criminal codes, and can be found in popular measures of violence such as the Conflict Tactics Scale. In the 'broad' camp on the other hand, definitions include a greater range of physical and sexual behaviours which cause harm, as well as non-physical behaviours such as psychological and verbal abuse, and a variety of controlling and coercive strategies.

This book sides with a broad definition, assuming that domestic violence for example is defined less by acts of physical aggression and more by one person's use of a range of strategies of coercive control against their partner or former partner. There are compelling reasons to adopt a broad definition of men's violence against women. Broad definitions acknowledge the range of behaviours which women find hurtful or threatening. They are sensitive to, and give voice to, women's subjective experiences, while narrow definitions risk trivialising or marginalising women's feelings and experiences. Broad definitions recognise that psychological and emotional abuse can be more injurious than physical violence, and that coercive behaviours which take place without the threatened or actual use of force can be terrifying, controlling, and injurious. Broad definitions encompass the insight that women experiencing intimate partner violence are rarely only victimised by one type of assault, and many suffer from a variety of injurious male behaviours. Definitions have practical consequences too. Narrow definitions lead to

the under-reporting of victimisation, particularly where surveys frame violence as a 'criminal' matter. Narrow definitions constrain abused women from seeking social support and constrain abusers from acknowledging their violent behaviour. Finally, narrow definitions perpetuate the normalisation of taken-for-granted patterns of abuse and coercion in intimate relationships and families. Of course, while broad definitions have greater conceptual and practical value than narrow definitions, our understandings of violence against women should not be so broad that they flatten or homogenise the range of behaviours which may cause harm.

Overlapping with the debate about how to define violence is an even more heated debate regarding the patterns and prevalence of men's violence against women. Given contradictory definitions of violence, these then feed into contrasting claims and evidence regarding both the extent of men's violence against women and the gendered character of perpetration and victimisation. Focusing on the latter, there is a fundamental disagreement in the scholarship regarding domestic violence and gender. One body of scholarship, focused on 'conflict' in families, measures aggressive behaviour in married and cohabiting couples, and typically find gender symmetries at least in the use of violence (Archer, 1999). On the other hand, feminist studies, crime victimisation studies, and other scholarship find marked gender asymmetries in domestic violence: men assault their partners and ex-partners at rates several times the rate at which women assault theirs, and female victims greatly outnumber male victims.

These disagreements over the gendered character of violence, and domestic violence in particular, are in part a reflection of divergent methodologies. Much of the existing data on domestic violence focuses only on counting violent acts. Claims that men are half or one-quarter of domestic violence victims draw largely on studies which focus on 'counting the blows' such as the Conflict Tactics Scale. The Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), a popular tool for measuring domestic violence which typically finds gender symmetries in its perpetration, is widely criticised for not gathering information about the intensity, context, consequences or meaning of violent behaviours. It typically neglects issues of injury and fear, omits sexual violence, ignores the history or context for the violence, relies on reports by either husbands or wives despite evidence of lack of agreement between them, and draws on samples shaped by high rates of refusal particularly among individuals either practising or suffering severe and controlling forms of violence (Dobash & Dobash, 2004; Flood, 2006; Johnson, 2010).

While there is substantial academic debate regarding the gender symmetry or asymmetry of intimate partner violence, the weight of evidence supports the position of gender asymmetry. Both Australian and international data suggest that the problem of intimate partner violence continues to be one largely of men's violence against women. Among adult victims of intimate partner violence, women are more likely than men to be subjected to frequent, prolonged, and extreme violence (Bagshaw, Chung, Couch, Lilburn, & Wadham, 2000; Belknap & Melton, 2005; Kimmel, 2002; Swan & Snow, 2002). Women are far more likely than men to be sexually assaulted by an intimate partner or ex-partner (Cox, 2015; Swan, Gambone, Van Horn, Snow, & Sullivan, 2012), and among victims of intimate partner violence, sexual violence is far less common among male victims than female victims (Reid et al., 2008; Romito & Grassi, 2007). Women are far more likely than men to sustain injuries (Belknap & Melton, 2005, pp. 5–6; Caldwell, Swan, & Woodbrown, 2012). Women are more likely than men to fear for their lives, and to experience other negative consequences such as psychological harms (Caldwell et al., 2012; Hamberger & Larsen, 2015; Holtzworth-Munroe, 2005). Gender contrasts in women's and men's levels of fear are not the result of reporting biases. Women do not show higher levels of fear in the context of domestic violence because they are more willing than men to report fear, but because the violence they experience is worse (Romito & Grassi, 2007).

Turning to the area of perpetration, there are also contrasts in the intentions, motivations, and nature of men's and women's uses of domestic violence. Women's physical violence towards intimate male partners is more likely than men's to be in self-defence. This is demonstrated in studies among female perpetrators (DeKeseredy, Saunders, Schwartz, & Alvi, 1997; Hamberger, Lohr, & Bonge, 1994; Swan & Snow, 2002), men presenting to hospital Emergency Departments with injuries inflicted by their female partners (Muelleman & Burgess, 1997), and heterosexual couples (Dobash & Dobash, 2004). That is, when a woman is violent to her male partner, it is often in the context of his violence to her. These contrasts hold even in studies conducted among male and female perpetrators of intimate partner violence (rather than general population samples) (Kernsmith, 2005; Muftić, Bouffard, & Bouffard, 2007; Phelan, Hamberger, Guse, & Edwards, 2005). Male perpetrators are more likely than female perpetrators to identify instrumental reasons for their aggression, with their violence directed towards particular goals

(Bair-Merritt et al., 2010; Holtzworth-Munroe, 2005). Male perpetrators are more likely, and more able, to use non-physical tactics to maintain control over their partners (Swan & Snow, 2002, pp. 291–292). At the same time, women are not immune from using violence to gain or maintain power in relationships.

Men are less likely to report their own perpetration of violence, especially severe violence, than women are to report theirs. Most past findings point to a tendency for men to under-report (Chan, 2011). Both male and female victims under-report their own victimisation. There is mixed evidence regarding whether male victims of domestic violence are more or less likely than female victims to report their experience. While some studies report that lower proportions of men than women who had experienced physical aggression by a partner reported this to police or told others (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013, Table 24; Dal Grande et al., 2001, p. 10; MacLeod, Kinver, Page, & Iliasov, 2009, pp. 29–30; Statistics Canada, 2009, p. 11; Watson & Parsons, 2005, p. 26), others find that men are more likely than women to report to police or tell others about their victimisation (Schwartz, 1987, pp. 66–67, 77) or equally likely (Grech & Burgess, 2011, p. 9). In some studies, there is evidence that men were less likely than women to report their experiences of partner violence because they did not find them serious or threatening (Dobash & Dobash, 2004).

It is thus a falsehood to claim, as many anti-feminist men's groups do, that large numbers of men are suffering abuse at the hands of their wives and female partners. If we think of domestic violence in terms of a pattern of power and control, it is likely that women are 90–95% of victims. In intimate relationships, coercive controlling violence is perpetrated largely by men and against women.

Disagreements over the gendered character of domestic violence also are shaped by the fact of distinct patterns of violence in relationships and families. Recognition of this diversity is one of a number of trends which characterise contemporary scholarship on interpersonal violence, so I turn to these now.

Diverse Forms of Violence

Contemporary scholarship on men's violence against women shows an increasing emphasis on the *diversity* of forms which this violence can take—on the ways in which violence is heterogenous. While this

emphasis is visible across various forms of violence, where it is perhaps most developed is in relation to intimate partner violence. There is now considerable evidence that there are different types of domestic violence, with differing causes, dynamics, and impacts. Michael Johnson's work provides the most developed instance of this recognition.

Different kinds of violence

Intimate terrorism/Coercive controlling violence

- More severe violence, used by one partner (i.e. asymmetrical), plus other controlling tactics, to assert or restore power and authority (i.e. instrumental). Tends to escalate, and injuries are more likely.
- In heterosexual relationships, is largely by men against women.

Situational couple violence

- Minor violence, by both partners, which is expressive (emotional) rather than instrumental. Does not escalate over time, and injuries are rare.

Violent resistance:

- Typically by a woman to a male partner's violent and controlling behaviour.

Let's start with the patterns of violence and control which comprise the classic situation of domestic violence—domestic violence in the strong sense, or domestic violence proper. Johnson first described this as 'intimate terrorism', and now terms it 'coercive controlling violence'. 'Coercive controlling violence' describes a situation involving a violent perpetrator who uses violence in combination with a variety of other coercive control tactics in order to attempt to take general control over his partner (Johnson, 2010, p. 213). In such situations, one partner (usually the man) uses violence and other controlling tactics to assert or restore power and authority (Johnson, 1995, pp. 284–285). The violence is severe, it is asymmetrical, it is instrumental in meaning, it tends

to escalate, and injuries are more likely. In heterosexual relationships, intimate terrorism is perpetrated primarily by men.

Johnson contrasts this pattern of violence with what he terms 'common couple violence', or more recently, 'situational couple violence'. Some heterosexual relationships suffer from occasional outbursts of violence by either husbands or wives during conflicts. Situational couple violence involves arguments which escalate to verbal aggression and ultimately to physical aggression (Johnson, 2010, p. 213). Here, the violence is relatively minor, both partners practise it, it is expressive (emotional) in meaning, it tends not to escalate over time, and injuries are rare. (In some cases however, situational couple violence can involve serious violence that causes injury.) Situational couple violence does not involve a general pattern of coercive control. Thus, while intimate terrorism involves a violent and controlling individual with a partner who is neither, in situational couple violence neither partner is violent or controlling. Johnson also identifies a third pattern of violence, termed 'violent resistance'. This describes the situation where a woman (or, rarely, a man) uses violence as resistance while entrapped in a relationship with an intimate terrorist (Johnson, 2010).

Returning to the debate over gender and domestic violence, the recognition of diverse forms of violence in relationships has important implications for our understanding of patterns of violence. In particular, it helps to explain why some sources of data find significant gender asymmetries in domestic violence perpetration and victimisation while other sources find greater gender symmetry. Some forms of violence in relationships are more likely than others to dominate in survey data. Violence which is usually minor and infrequent—what Johnson calls situational couple violence—is likely to dominate general survey data. This is partly because of the biases of so-called representative survey samples, produced by high rates of refusal: intimate terrorists and their partners refuse to participate in such surveys, so general social survey data includes almost no intimate terrorism or violent resistance (Johnson, 2010). Studies using the Conflict Tactics Scale are most likely to pick up the pattern of aggression involved in 'situational couple violence'. Act-based studies are only a weak measure of levels of minor 'expressive' violence in conflicts among heterosexual couples. They are poorer again as a measure of intimate terrorism or coercive controlling violence (Johnson, 1995).

Situational couple violence is gender-symmetric in terms of perpetration. However, Johnson criticises a narrow definition of symmetry in terms of incidence or prevalence. This means only that roughly similar numbers of men and women report that at least once in some specified time period, they have engaged in at least one of the violent behaviours listed in whatever survey instrument is being used (Johnson, 2010). However, even in these general samples, it is clear that men's violence produces more physical injuries, more negative psychological consequences, and more fear (Johnson, 2010). The other two types of violence—coercive controlling violence or intimate terrorism, and violent resistance—predominate in samples drawn from agencies (law, refuges, hospitals) (Johnson, 2010).

There is growing empirical support for Johnson's and others' typologies of domestic violence, and they have increasing (albeit controversial) influence in policy and programming. At the same time, concerns have been raised about them, as Wangmann (2011) summarises. First, how should coercive control be measured? Should we see it as a discrete item which can be added to other discrete items of violence, or as an overarching mechanism, and how many controlling behaviours (any, at least two, etc.) must be present for it to count as coercive control? Second, Johnson's typology retains an emphasis on physical forms of violence. This defines the form of violence, which means that the typology does not consider highly controlling behaviours other than in the context of physical violence. Yet it is common for batterers to be highly physically threatening and psychologically cruel with few incidents of actual physical assault. Third, there are various concerns regarding the actual use of these typologies by police, courts, and counsellors. The meaning of these behaviours may only be discernible in context, often only by the person to whom it is targeted, and is negotiated. In using screening or assessment tools to classify patterns of violence into types, there is a risk of making the wrong assessment. On the other hand, treating all cases, perpetrators and victims as 'the same' also risks harm. Fourth, there are wider questions regarding the conceptualisation of distinct forms of domestic violence. For example, do these forms of violence change over time, how well can the typologies be applied in diverse contexts, and what is the place of sexual violence in these typologies (Wangmann, 2011)?

Nevertheless, there is good evidence that there are diverse and even distinct forms of domestic violence in heterosexual relationships. More widely, there are both diversities and commonalities in men's

violence against women. Recognising diversity within men's violence against women has implications for how we measure violence and attitudes towards violence, but also for how we respond to victims and perpetrators.

In contemporary scholarship, emphases on diversity in forms of violence are complemented by an increased attention to more complex typologies of perpetrators or offenders and perpetration (Wangmann, 2011). Some research has proposed that there are distinct types of perpetrator of intimate partner violence. Influential work by Holtzworth-Munroe and colleagues examined male perpetrators along three dimensions: the severity of the violence used, whether violence was confined to the family setting, and whether the perpetrator had any psychopathology or personality disorders. From this, they proposed major types of male perpetrator of intimate partner violence: family only, dysphoric or borderline batterers, and generally violent or anti-social batterers (Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994). Holtzworth-Munroe and colleagues' subsequent work has demonstrated empirical support for this typology. More recent research is examining further dimensions to such typologies, whether types of perpetrator are stable over time and context, and other aspects of perpetration (Holtzworth-Munroe & Meehan, 2004).

There are three further trends in contemporary scholarship which have to do with forms or dimensions of interpersonal violence: an emphasis on the links between different forms of violence, the examination of particular forms of or dimensions to violence, and the growing visibility of verbal, psychological, and other non-physical forms of abuse.

While there is increasing recognition of distinct patterns of violence, there is also an emphasis on the links or intersections between different forms of violence. There has been in community and service sectors a 'siloing' of responses to different forms of interpersonal violence, with centres and organisations responding to domestic violence separate from those responding to sexual assault. Something similar is visible in scholarship, with research focused on distinct and singular forms of abuse and organised into discrete fields (Guedes, Bott, Garcia-Moreno, & Colombini, 2016). Increasingly this separation is being broken down. There is growing recognition of the ways in which different forms of violence co-occur, e.g. of how domestic violence and sexual violence co-exist in intimate relationships. In addition, different forms of violence such as violence against women and violence against children have shared risk factors, including violence-supportive social norms, weak legal sanctions, male dominance, and high levels of social violence (Guedes et al., 2016).

Other trends include the development of sophisticated analyses of particular forms of violence or dimensions to this violence. There is increased attention to domestic, family, and sexual violence in particular populations (e.g. in gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and intersex communities, among the elderly, and among women and men with physical and/or intellectual disabilities) and contexts (such as rural and remote communities). There is developing scholarship on the ways in which criminal justice systems and other institutions do and should respond to domestic violence and on the effectiveness for example of perpetrator programs. There is increasingly complex analysis of the co-occurrence or intersection of intimate violence, other forms of violence and other anti-social and risk behaviours. There is growing theorisation of the agency of and strategies of management and resistance used by women living with domestic violence. Analyses of trajectories or pathways in and out of perpetration and victimisation are emerging, alongside investigations of mediating factors and risk and protective factors.

A further trend in scholarship regarding men's violence against women includes greater attention to particular dimensions of this violence, and in particular to non-physical forms of violence or abuse. For example, there has been increased research on verbal, psychological, and other forms of abuse between intimate partners, either in their own right or as components of a pattern of abusive and controlling behaviour, and on stalking (Follingstad, 2007). Verbal abuse may comprise constant criticism, name-calling, or shouting, and may overlap with other forms of 'emotional abuse' such as humiliation and degradation, withholding approval or affection, monitoring and checking, and threats. Verbal abuse may vary in intensity, from mild forms (pointing out flaws) to moderate forms (yelling) to severe forms (calling someone highly derogatory names). 'Psychological aggression' has been defined by some researchers as comprising non-physical 'attempts to control the partner or relationship, demonstrate power, or damage the victim's sense of self' (Williams, Richardson, Hammock, & Janit, 2012). Again, while there is scholarly debate regarding psychological aggression, we can distinguish between mild psychological aggression in the form of verbal aggression, and more severe psychological aggression in the form of emotional aggression, 'which involves control tactics meant to dominate another person (including threatening, derogating, belittling, ridiculing, humiliating, and isolating from others, as well as denying needed economic resources' (Capezza & Arriaga, 2008).

Violence as Coercive and Structural

Two significant trends in contemporary scholarship on men's violence against women are, first, an increasing emphasis on coercive control as central to the dynamic of intimate partner violence, and second, debates over the social and structural foundations of violence.

There is an increasingly emphasis particularly in feminist scholarship on coercive control as central to the workings of men's violence against women. This is evident for example in work by Evan Stark. Stark criticises a domestic violence paradigm that abstracts violent acts from the history, contextual dynamics, experience and consequences of abuse in relationships (Stark, 2010). He argues for an alternative paradigm of 'coercive control'. Stark begins by criticising the equation of domestic violence with physical violence, noting that the physical abuse of women often involves frequent but predominantly minor physical abuse extending over a considerable period and with a cumulative impact on women's health. He emphasises that in most cases 'coercion is accompanied by a range of tactics designed to isolate, intimidate, exploit, degrade and/or control a partner in ways that violate a victim's dignity, autonomy and liberty as much as their physical integrity or security' (Stark, 2010). Stark also questions the assumptions that violence can be understood in terms of discrete acts or episodes of coercion and that the severity of abuse can be understand simply in terms of physical injury and psychological trauma in violent episodes, emphasising instead the value of approaching abuse as an ongoing or chronic problem. The behaviours that comprise 'coercive control' include violence (including sexual coercion and jealousy); intimidation (including threats, surveillance, stalking, degradation and shaming); isolation (including from family, friends and the world outside the home); and control (including control of family resources and the 'micromanagement' of everyday life).

Stark notes that the key dynamic of partner abuse identified by the advocacy movement is 'the patterned subjugation of one partner by the other' (Stark, 2010, p. 202). His work brings us back in some ways to the central insight of early feminist work on men's violence against women, in which this violence is named as fundamentally a *political* or *ethical* issue. Such developments in violence against women scholarship are part of a richer theorising of gender, power and violence under way in this field.

There is an increasing tension in scholarship between approaches focused on individual and particularly psychological determinants of men's violence against women and approaches which emphasise the social and structural foundations of this violence. There has been in recent years a resurgence of perspectives highlighting how structures of gender inequality shape violence perpetration and victimisation, both at the level of entire societies or communities and at the levels of relationships and families. Various commentators criticise the dominance in the field of psychological models emphasising individual psychological actors, or cultural models emphasising attitudes and norms, while deemphasising social and structural explanations. As Michalski states, 'violence has much deeper roots in the structural foundations of interpersonal relationships (and societal arrangements in general)' (Michalski, 2004).

Returning to Stark's work, he emphasises that coercive control is rooted in systemic and structural inequalities (Stark, 2006). It involves a kind of coercive micro regulation by men of women's lives, which builds on gender norms and which overlaps with sexist constraints. Stark emphasises that men's use of coercive control against women exploits persistent gender inequalities, and that this control both expresses and maintains gender inequality. This means that women's use of controlling behaviours against men is unlikely to work in the same way, with the same meanings or impact, as men's controlling behaviours against women. Men's use of coercive control against female partners is enabled by persistent gender inequalities, such as those of paid work and household labour, and by gender norms which constrain women and privilege men (Stark, 2006).

Among approaches to interpersonal violence which do focus on cultural phenomena such as attitudes, attitudes themselves are being conceptualised in new ways. The evidence that constructions of gender are central to community attitudes towards men's violence against women continues to accumulate. At the same time, there is increasing recognition that gendered attitudes may be internally complex and differentiated (Flood & Pease, 2006). For example, some studies distinguish between 'hostile' and 'benevolent' sexism, showing that while they are highly correlated they also can have differing implications for individuals' attitudes towards violence against women. In addition, there is increasing research tracing the connections between attitudes towards men's violence against women and wider constructions of gender, sexuality, and other forms of social difference and inequality.

Recognition of the structural foundations of men's violence against women overlaps with intensified attention to the intersectional character of men's violence against women—to the complex intersections of social difference and social location which shape women's and men's understandings of, experiences of, and involvements in violence. Gender intersects with such forms of social difference as class, race and ethnicity, sexuality, age, and disability, and gender relations and other forms of social relations are structured by local, national, and global contexts. In turn then, men's violence against women takes place within, is constituted by, and itself helps to constitute these multiple and fluid patterns. Attention to intersectionality is visible in both theoretical work on how to conceptualise men's violence against women and in empirical examinations of the intersections of violence with particular social, cultural, and political contexts, processes, and populations. In Australia, one notable area of increased research activity is in relation to domestic and family violence in indigenous communities and among refugee and immigrant populations. I return to these issues in Chapter 11.

Measurement and Evaluation

Two final trends in scholarship regarding men's violence against women comprise increased attention to evaluation and greater methodological sophistication. A greater proportion of contemporary scholarship on men's violence against women now centres on evaluation of efforts to prevent or reduce this violence. There is in the violence prevention field a growing emphasis on the need to evaluate our efforts. This also means that advocates and community organisations themselves are taking up the challenge of evaluation. For example, the Canadian White Ribbon Campaign recently released a national evaluation framework, identifying key outcome areas and indicators for each (National Community of Practice, 2015).

Research regarding men's violence against women is increasing in its methodological sophistication. There is increased attention to the development of standardised definitions of and means of measuring violence against women or particular forms of violence, and to their application in gathering comprehensive data on the global prevalence, patterning, and impacts of men's violence against women. There are intensified efforts to address the methodological limitations of existing research, such as poor or problematic samples, lack of comparison or control groups,

inconsistent instrumentation, and institutional constraints on research (Murray & Graybeal, 2007). There is also increasingly vigorous debate regarding the methodological and epistemological standards which should be used to guide and assess research, signalled for example by an emerging critique of common hierarchies of evidence and method. Finally, new processes for the production and dissemination of scholarship are emerging, such as those focused on collaboration between academic researchers and institutions on the one hand and communities on the other.

SHIFTS IN MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ITSELF

The opening discussion identified a series of shifts in how we understand men's violence against women, but there is reason to think that there also have been shifts in this violence itself. Men's violence against women takes place in, is structured by, and is only meaningful in particular social and cultural contexts. Given the fact of social and cultural change both within and across countries, there is every reason to think that men's violence against women also undergoes change. There is neither the data nor the space to map this change comprehensively. Nevertheless, I do highlight several contemporary social shifts in Australia which deserve mention.

The gendered and sexual norms of Australian culture are in flux, perhaps particularly among its young people. One significant development is an increasingly sexualised cultural environment, the pornographication of popular culture, and the emergence of 'raunch culture' (Levy, 2006). This has contradictory implications for men's violence against women. On the one hand, contemporary young people are more frequent and more enthusiastic consumers of sexual media (in both mainstream media and pornography, and with an increasing blurring of these), with some arguing that this intensifies their sexist, sexually objectifying, and violence-supportive attitudes. In addition, young women are under increased pressure to exhibit their bodies, to be sexually available to men, and to conform to the narrow and objectifying sexual codes of pornography and prostitution, with young men increasingly invited into the forms of sexual and gender subjectivity which complement these. On the other hand, raunch culture also has brought an increased assertion of young women's sexual desire and agency and a rejection of norms of female sexual passivity and propriety (Stewart, Mischewski, & Smith, 2000),

with positive impacts on young women's vulnerabilities to sexual violence. At the same time, this assertion remains constrained by the policing and inequalities of the sexual double standard and an ethic of female sexual servicing.

Developments in information and communication technologies (ICTs) have changed the means through which men's violence against women occurs. Two changes are notable. First, mobile phones and the internet have facilitated new forms of abuse, such as the non-consensual production and/or distribution of digital images of bodies and sex (Powell & Henry, 2014). While young people's 'sexting'—sending and receiving sexually explicit images via mobile phones—is not violent per se, there is evidence that sexting often is coercive, girls are adversely affected more often than boys, and sexting is shaped by unequal gender dynamics and gender norms (Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone, & Harvey, 2012). Second, digital and online technologies have provided new media for old forms of abuse, with perpetrators using them to practise stalking, sexual harassment, and other forms of violence. New information and communication technologies have greatly extended perpetrators' ability to monitor, stalk, harass and control their partners and ex-partners (Woodlock, 2017).

Shifts in law and policy also have implications for men's violence against women. In the early years of the twenty-first century, changes in Australia's family law regimes altered the contexts for and dynamics of intimate partner violence. In recent years, family law has given increased emphasis to children's 'right' to have contact with both parents and has encouraged separating parents to adopt shared parenting arrangements, even when violence or abuse have taken place (Flood, 2010). While male partners using violence have in the past used child contact as a means through which to continue to abuse the child's mother, they may now be increasingly able to use shared parenting as another means to do so.

In any country or context, shifting patterns of poverty and economic and social inequality in particular groups or communities will alter both the vulnerabilities to violence of women and the likelihood of men's perpetration of violence. There are significant associations between low socioeconomic status, poverty, and unemployment on the one hand, and violence victimisation and perpetration on the other. Shifts in patterns of economic and social disadvantage are likely to be associated with shifts in men's violence against women.

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CHAPTER 3

Prevention

In the last two decades, prevention has become a central focus of community and government efforts to address violence against women. This reflects the recognition that we must not only respond to the victims and perpetrators of violence, but also work to prevent violence from occurring in the first place. We must address the underlying causes of violence, in order to reduce rates of violence and ultimately to eliminate it altogether.

Prevention work has only become possible because of years of hard work and dedication by survivors, advocates, prevention educators, and other professionals (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004). In particular, advocates and activists in the women's movement have worked hard to gain recognition for women who have experienced violence, to place violence on the public agenda, and to generate the political will to tackle it (Harvey, Garcia-Moreno, & Butchart, 2007). Primary prevention efforts complement work with victims and survivors, but do not replace or take priority over it.

The metaphor of working 'upstream' and 'downstream' is a useful way of understanding different forms of prevention. Consider the following story:

There I am standing by the shore of a swiftly flowing river and I hear the cry of a drowning man. So I jump into the river, put my arms around him, pull him to shore and apply artificial respiration. Just when he begins to breathe, there is another cry for help. So I jump into the river, reach him,

pull him to shore, apply artificial respiration, and then just as he begins to breathe, another cry for help. So back in the river again, without end, goes the sequence.

You know I am so busy jumping in, pulling them to shore, applying artificial respiration, that I have no time to see who the hell is upstream pushing them all in. (McKinlay, 1979)

Efforts located ‘downstream’ are critical, in responding to those experiencing violence. But they do not do enough to prevent the problem from occurring in the first place or to prevent other people from experiencing the problem. ‘Upstream’ efforts, representing primary prevention, are a vital complement to ‘midstream’ and ‘downstream’ efforts. In other words, while we very much need to continue to pull people out of the river and to assist with their survival and recovery, we must also work on what on what is allowing them to fall (or be pushed) in the river in the first place.

One common way of classifying activities to prevent and respond to violence is in terms of *when* they occur in relation to violence:

- Before the problem starts: *Primary* prevention
 - Activities which take place *before* violence has occurred to prevent initial perpetration or victimisation.
- Once the problem has begun: *Secondary* prevention
 - Immediate responses *after* violence has occurred to deal with the short-term consequences of violence, to respond to those at risk, and to prevent the problem from occurring or progressing.
- Responding afterwards: *Tertiary* prevention
 - Long-term responses *after* violence has occurred to deal with the lasting consequences of violence, minimise its impact, and prevent further perpetration and victimisation.

Primary prevention strategies are implemented before the problem ever occurs. They are successful when the first instance of violence is prevented (Foshee et al., 1998).

Secondary prevention focuses on early identification and intervention, targeting those individuals at high risk for either perpetration or victimisation and working to reduce the likelihood of their further or subsequent engagement in or subjection to violence. Secondary prevention is

intended to reverse progress towards violence and to reduce its impact. For example, activities may focus on reducing opportunities for violence by supporting the men who are at risk of perpetrating violence. Secondary prevention efforts are successful ‘when victims stop being victimised [e.g. by leaving violent relationships] or perpetrators stop being violent’ (Foshee et al., 1998, p. 45).

Tertiary prevention is centred on responding after violence has occurred. Activities focus on minimising the impact of violence, restoring health and safety, and preventing further victimisation and perpetration (Chamberlain, 2008). Mostly, these activities include crisis care, counselling and advocacy, and criminal justice and counselling responses to perpetrators. ‘Tertiary’ activities do contribute directly to the prevention of violence. For example, rapid and coordinated responses to individuals perpetrating violence can reduce their opportunities for and likelihood of further perpetration, while effective responses to victims and survivors can reduce the impact of victimisation and prevent revictimisation (Chamberlain, 2008). In short, the effective and systematic application of tertiary strategies complements and supports primary prevention.

MODELS OF PREVENTION

The violence prevention field now is characterised by influential models of how to understand and response to violence against women. Violence against women increasingly has been framed as an issue of public health, both by leading international agencies (World Health Organization, 2002, 2004) and by violence prevention advocates and scholars (Chamberlain, 2008; Chrisler & Ferguson, 2006; McDonald, 2000; McMahon, 2000; Mulder, 1999). Public health approaches increasingly are seen as valuable in informing the prevention of this violence.

Public health approaches have been applied in recent decades to social problems and significant health challenges such as tobacco smoking and motor vehicle deaths. They increasingly are applied to other social phenomena affecting health and well-being, including men’s violence against women (or, domestic violence or sexual violence) (Walker, Flood, & Webster, 2008). Public health approaches have typical features. A public health model:

- Emphasises addressing the modifiable behavioural, social and economic determinants of health;
- Highlights the health impacts of violence against women;
- Is based on an evidence base regarding the determinants of violence against women and its prevention;
- Is oriented to the primary prevention of violence;
- Recognises determinants of violence at multiple levels of society: individual and relationship, community and organisational, and societal; and thus
- Applies a range of strategies across levels of the social ecology in ways that are intended to reinforce each other (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; Chamberlain, 2008).

Public health models for the prevention of violence against women have had a widespread influence in Australia. This work was pioneered in part by the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth), a statutory authority dedicated to the promotion of good health. While VicHealth's mandate centres on the state of Victoria, its health promotion work has had national and international significance. VicHealth's landmark 2004 report highlighted the health impacts of men's violence against women, documenting that intimate partner violence is the leading contributor to death, disability and illness in Victorian women aged 15–44. This was followed three years later by VicHealth's framework to guide action to prevent violence against women, titled *Preventing Violence Before It Occurs: A framework and background paper to guide the primary prevention of violence against women in Victoria* (2007), which was influential in both state and national policy and programming in Australia. Most recently, *Change The Story*, a highly influential framework for the prevention of violence against women in Australia, provides a powerful example of feminist-informed public health approaches to prevention (Our Watch, ANROWS, & VicHealth, 2015). *Change the Story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia* was jointly released in 2015 by Our Watch (the national violence prevention organisation), ANROWS (Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety), and VicHealth (the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation).

As is typical in public health approaches, the development of the *Preventing Violence Before It Occurs* (2007) and *Change the Story* (2015) frameworks was based on a review of research and evaluation evidence regarding the determinants of men's violence against women and its prevention, and the identification of priority strategies, settings, and population targets for prevention. Drawing in particular on the *Framework foundations* report I co-authored with lead author Kim Webster (Webster & Flood, 2015), *Change the Story* synthesises a wide range of scholarship regarding the correlates or drivers of violence against women and the evidence regarding its prevention, to outline a comprehensive approach for the prevention of violence against women.

Change the Story has provided a blueprint and shared vision for government policy in Australia. The most recent national plan to reduce violence against women, released by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) in 2016, recommends that 'All jurisdictions commit to implementing Our Watch's *Change the Story*'. In addition, all State and Territory policies released since *Change the Story* refer to the framework. The report and subsequent framework have had a significant and widespread impact on prevention practice. In a 2017 survey of 425 primary prevention practitioners and stakeholders in Australia, the vast majority agreed that *Change the Story* had influenced their and their organisation's understandings of and approaches to prevention.¹ In this same survey, the vast majority of practitioners and stakeholders agreed with the *Change the Story* framework's account of the gendered drivers of violence against women.

Public health approaches have important strengths in guiding the prevention of violence against women. They focus on prevention, are oriented towards social and collective determinants of health and well-being, rely on evidence-based approaches to program and policy development, emphasise comprehensive and multi-level interventions, emphasise collaborative work across sectors, and integrate evaluation into prevention (Chamberlain, 2008; McMahon, 2000; Noonan & Gibbs, 2009). For example, Guy (2006) highlights the compatibility between radical feminist and public health paradigms, given their shared

¹ Personal communication, Sarah Kearney, Our Watch, February 26, 2018.

recognition of interpersonal, community, and societal influences on sexual violence.

Nevertheless, there are some differences in emphasis between public health approaches and the feminist and other approaches which also are influential in the field of the prevention of violence against women. On the one hand, both are underpinned by attention to social inequalities and recognition of the need for change at multiple levels of the social order. On the other, public health approaches are more likely to frame violence against women as a contributor to poor health than as a social injustice. In other words, public health approaches show some orientation to violence against women in terms of its impact on morbidity and mortality, while feminist approaches show a greater orientation towards violence against women as a symptom of gender inequalities and oppressions (L. Parks, pers. comm., 6 June 2010). However, attention to structural inequalities and injustices is more apparent in *critical* public health. In addition, an emphasis on social injustices is compatible with a public health perspective, and robust feminist attention to systematic and structural gender inequalities is front and centre for example in the Australian *Change the Story* framework.

While a public health approach is widely seen as useful in addressing the prevention of men's violence against women, some advocates also argue that a public health framework alone is insufficient. Lee, Guy, Perry, Sniffen, and Mixson (2007), for example, suggest that it must be complemented by approaches oriented towards human rights and justice.

Public health approaches to violence prevention centre on the 'ecological model', a framework for identifying and addressing the risk factors for men's violence against women which operate at different levels of the social order. The ecological model assumes that risk factors for violence—which increase men's risk of perpetrating violence and women's risk of experiencing it—can be found at individual, family and relationship, community, and societal levels (Heise, 1998), and that interventions therefore should address these multiple levels. The ecological model also is based on the complementary insight that there are 'protective factors', factors which *protect against* or decrease the likelihood of perpetration or victimisation, and that prevention strategies should identify and reinforce these. For example, factors in women's lives which lessen their risks of victimisation include gender equality in

their relationships, education, social networks, and economic resources and opportunities. The ecological model assumes too that these levels are interconnected, such that interventions at one level can influence risk and protective factors at other levels. For example, strategies which change community or social norms regarding gender can thus influence behaviours and relations between men and women in relationships and families.

The ecological model has important strengths as a framework for understanding and preventing men's violence against women. It recognises that this violence has no one cause, but is 'a multifaceted phenomenon grounded in the interplay among personal, situational and sociocultural factors' (Heise, 2011, p. 6). The model highlights that structural and cultural factors or forces are as important as individual and relational factors in shaping men's violence against women, in opposition to the individualising and psychologising models which had predominated in the field. Most applications of the ecological model are feminist in their content, in that they squarely identify gender inequalities as central factors at multiple levels of the social order. Finally, the ecological model offers a more sophisticated account of causality, of the pathways to perpetration and victimisation. As Heise (2011, p. 6) summarises,

it conceptualised the causes of violence as probabilistic rather than deterministic. In other words, factors operating at different levels combine to establish the likelihood of abuse occurring. No single factor is sufficient, or even necessary, for partner violence to occur. There are likely to be different constellations of factors and pathways that may converge to cause abuse under different circumstances.

At the same time, public health and ecological models are open to several criticisms, particularly because of their often individualising and culturalist emphases. First, applications of the ecological model sometimes have continued to emphasise individual-level explanations of violence. Despite an emphasis in the ecological model on the need to address community-level and society-wide forces and factors which shape men's violence against women, many interventions instead address individual and relationship level factors. Prevention efforts generally have focused on the smallest levels of the ecological framework, addressing people's personal

histories and the ‘microsystems’ or contexts in which perpetration and victimisation take place such as family dynamics and intimate partner or acquaintance relationships (Basile, 2003). They have less often addressed the levels of preventable risk factors which are larger in scope, to do with the ‘exosystems’—the social structures and institutions in which the first two are embedded, such as neighbourhoods, workplaces, social networks and communities—and the ‘macrosystem’, the larger society and culture. Rather than only asking why some individuals become perpetrators, prevention efforts also should ask what it is about communities and societies that helps to create and perpetuate perpetrators and facilitate violence perpetration (Basile, 2003).

The second, overlapping weakness of many of the contemporary efforts to prevent violence against women is the primacy they give to cultural factors (attitudes and norms) as the causes of violence and the only or most important targets of prevention. Violence prevention plans and programs often focus on gender ‘norms’, framing gender inequality as primarily a problem expressed through social norms and attitudes. As Salter (2014) notes in the Australian context, such accounts decontextualise gender norms from the social, economic and political contexts in which they are given form and meaning, conflate structural inequalities with or subsume them to gender norms, and minimise ‘the instantiation and reproduction of gender inequality within existing social structures and arrangements’. A focus on attitudes neglects the structural and institutional inequalities which are fundamental in shaping men’s violence against women (Pease & Flood, 2008). In turn, this means that such programs often propose normative change as the solution to structural inequalities. While Australian and other scholarship emphasises the significance for violence against women of the economic and political relations of gender, this has not been well integrated into existing prevention approaches

that, by minimising structural gender inequalities, promote a theory of prevention through cultural change that overlooks the material and systemic instantiation of gender inequality through the maldistribution of resources and power. (Salter, 2014).

This criticism may apply more to violence prevention discourse and practice in high-income countries than middle- and low-income countries.

In the latter there appears to be more emphasis on structural gender inequalities and more attention to improving women's economic and political participation and addressing structural gender differentials in power. In addition, violence prevention frameworks in high-income countries such as Australia themselves may be changing, with recent frameworks such as *Change the Story* (Our Watch et al., 2015) giving significant emphasis to gender inequalities such as men's control of decision-making and limits to women's independence in public and private life.

As in the violence prevention field more generally, interventions among men addressing structural-level factors are rare. In a systematic assessment of interventions aimed at heterosexually active men intended to impact four sets of outcomes (HIV/STI outcomes, violence perpetration, sexual risk behaviour, and/or norms and attitudes related to gender equity) and with an experimental or quasi-experimental design, only one intervention addressed structural-level factors (here, stable housing and employment) (Dworkin, Treves-Kagan, & Lippman, 2013). However, other men-focused interventions do address structural factors, such as the Mobilising Men program developed by the Institute for Development Studies (Greig & Edström, 2012).

Ecological models of the causes of men's violence against women, which include diverse factors at multiple levels of the social order, are said by Pease to reduce gender inequality or patriarchy only to one of a large variety of determinants, and thus to compromise a feminist analysis of this violence (Pease, 2019). Certainly there is a risk that the recognition of multiple determinants of violence against women marginalises the feminist insight that gender inequalities are a central if not overarching cause. Yet in Pease's critique it is not clear whether an 'ecological' model which includes factors other than gender said to shape violence against women is untenable per se, or only that existing models accomplish this task only weakly. In any case, I argue that feminist ecological models can and do integrate gender inequalities and other influences on violence against women in ways that are both empirically sound and politically useful.

Two other criticisms of public health approaches are pertinent. Public health models of violence prevention often have neglected collective and institutional actors, particularly state actors (governments) and their perpetration of collective violence, and assumed that states are largely benevolent (Alan Greig, pers. comm. April 26, 2012). This is problematic where governments are complicit in or active perpetrate

violence against women, both through particular forms of violence (such as enforced abortion or enforced motherhood) and through violence against women (and men) from particular minority or subjugated communities. It is also problematic given that the legal and criminal justice agencies and institutions charged with policing violence against women may also perpetrate racist and class-based violence and sustain inequalities and injustices which themselves are associated with violence against women.

Finally, the ecological model does not necessarily offer a sophisticated account of the workings of multiple levels of the social order and their relations to men's violence against women. Articulations of the model tend to offer only simple accounts of how different levels of the social order are connected, how they influence each other, and how and indeed whether they work in complementary or contradictory ways. In addition, the term 'ecological' may imply that the premises in ecological understandings of biological ecosystems can simply be transferred to human societies, but concepts such as equilibrium for example may not capture the social and political dynamics of gender inequality (Pease, 2019). Nevertheless, the ecological model has offered a valuable, feminist-informed, and mobilising framework for understanding men's violence against women and its prevention.

As the violence prevention field has developed, it has faced risks of depoliticisation and co-option. Three interrelated trends are influential here. First is the influence of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism emphasises economic, market-based solutions to social problems, valorises economic reasoning over all other perspectives, and prioritises individual over social responsibility. In countries such as Australia, the rise of neoliberal and neoconservative models of government over the past two decades has in some ways watered down the feminist orientation of policies and programs. Neoliberal government policies and frameworks have eroded or marginalised feminist, structural understandings of domestic violence that link gender and power (Morley & Dunstan, 2016). In Australian government policies in the 1990s, feminist and politicised frameworks for understanding violence against women gave way to some degree to more welfare-oriented and therapeutic models (McDonald, 2005; Phillips, 2006). Second, Australian agencies and policies aimed at gender equality have been wound back, defunded, and mainstreamed since the mid-1990s in Australia (Phillips, 2006).

Related to both these trends, there have been shifts in the agendas and organisations of violence-focused services. Driven by neoliberal and managerialist ideologies, state and national governments in Australia have pushed domestic and sexual violence services towards individualised, apolitical, and clinical approaches (Morley & Dunstan, 2016). These focus on the provision of assistance to individual victims and high outputs (numbers of women receiving a service), rather than a feminist emphasis on structural solutions and social change (McDonald, 2005). Over the course of the development of violence prevention fields, feminist advocates and educators themselves have built organisations, institutionalising and to some extent professionalising their work. Such shifts have prompted some voices of feminist concern about depoliticisation and co-option: professionalisation can bring a declining focus on social change, in favour, e.g. of fund-raising in support of service provision, and a shift from cooperative and decentralised internal processes to hierarchic forms of organisation (Messner, Greenberg, & Peretz, 2015). On the other hand, there are feminist defences of formal organisations, arguing that these help perpetuate the women's movement and advance feminist agendas (Messner et al., 2015).

Books such as *Some Men* suggest that the rise of a public health approach to violence prevention is itself an instance of the depoliticisation of this work. However, the model described and criticised here simply is not evident in the well-developed public health frameworks influential for example in Australia. First, public health is said to embody a 'disease' model focused on unhealthy relationships and bad information as the core of the problem, and second, public health approaches are said to have informed a move away from a focus on violence against women to 'gender-based violence' (Messner et al., 2015). Neither claim is true of dominant public health approaches in Australia, where the language of 'violence against women' remains central.

The trends described above are not all-powerful. In Australia for example, grassroots feminist organisations continue to be powerful voices in community debate. Despite shifts in the typical ideologies and practices of the domestic violence and sexual assault sectors in Australia, they are still important sites for furthering feminist agendas and making social change (Carrington, 2016). And while it does not use the term 'feminist', the feminist foundations of the influential violence prevention framework *Change the Story* are very clear (Our Watch et al., 2015). Still, there are dangers in the institutionalisation and professionalisation of

violence prevention work. And there are lively debates among feminist and violence prevention advocates about the constraints on, and opportunities for, activism in the service of radical social change in contemporary violence prevention fields (Messner et al., 2015).

I move now to the issue of the effectiveness of violence prevention interventions, before offering a framework for understanding the diverse strategies in use.

DOES IT WORK? EVALUATING EFFECTIVENESS

What are the most promising strategies for the primary prevention for violence against women? To answer this, we must be guided by both research on the determinants of this violence and evidence for the effectiveness of particular interventions. In terms of evidence of effectiveness, we face two significant challenges. First, there has been very little evaluation of primary prevention strategies (World Health Organization, 2002), including of efforts engaging men in violence prevention. Indeed, existing evidence regarding the effectiveness of many kinds of intervention is sparse (Flood, 2005–2006). Second, existing evaluations often are methodologically and conceptually limited. I return to this in a moment.

Most programs and strategies engaging men in the prevention of men's violence against women have not been evaluated in any robust way. To the extent that there is any assessment of impact, often it is limited to measures either of process (the successful delivery of program components) or of participants' satisfaction with the program. Participants may be asked for simple, retrospective reports of their enjoyment of an education program or other intervention and the extent to which they learned from it—in what a colleague cynically calls 'happy sheets'. Such information does not allow any assessment of whether the intervention is actually effective in reducing or preventing violence perpetration and victimisation.

In the field of violence prevention, just as in the wider fields of public health and healthy promotion, there is an increasingly pervasive expectation that prevention efforts will be complemented by examination of their effectiveness. There is thus a growing emphasis on what many have termed 'evidence-based practice'—on the conscientious and judicious use of current best evidence in guiding program design and implementation. Thus evaluation is emerging as a necessary component of violence prevention.

A scholarship of prevention is emerging, drawing on knowledge gained in the behavioural and health sciences. This scholarship examines what works and what does not, the factors which mediate the effectiveness of prevention efforts, and so on (Noonan & Gibbs, 2009). In other words, the 'bar' is being raised on evaluation, and rigorous forms of evaluation increasingly are seen as essential to effective violence prevention.

There is also increasing debate regarding the methodological and epistemological standards which should be used to guide assessments of violence prevention work. Notions of evidence-based practice in public health have been strongly influenced by the models of knowledge production dominant in the traditional natural sciences. Here, knowledge is seen ideally as produced through objective, experimental studies conducted by independent and objective observers. The gold standard of health promotion research therefore has been the experimental design, particularly the randomised controlled trial (RCT), and impact evaluations are subject to this same standard.

However, there are three reasons why experimental designs are inappropriate for evaluations of community-based violence prevention projects. First, community organisations typically do not have the capacity to conduct evaluations based on an experimental design. Most lack the funding, resources, and skills necessary to undertake such evaluations (Resource Center on Domestic Violence: Child Protection and Custody, 2016). Second, the programs run by community organisations often have features which rule out an experimental design. Because many complex, interacting, and shifting factors contribute to program outcomes, one cannot necessarily assume or show that program implementation occurs before the outcomes, or that the association between the program and desired outcomes is not caused by other factors (Goodman & Noonan, 2009). Third, experimental designs may be politically and practically inappropriate. Randomised assignment may be impractical, and stakeholders may not be able to wait until the program is over to see whether it is having desired outcomes (Goodman & Noonan, 2009).

Practitioners also may be reluctant to adopt the programs which are supported by RCTs and other experimental design-based evaluations. In the field of sexual violence prevention for example, only a small number of programs have been deemed by the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to be 'evidence-based'. Many local organisations prefer to use their own programs or modify existing ones, whether to best fit the needs and circumstances of local communities, to express the

anti-oppression or social justice frameworks they have, or for other reasons (Townsend, 2017).

Even without experimentally based evaluations, workers and advocates in the domestic and sexual violence fields for decades have been building and developing their work based on ‘evidence’—on the experiences of victims and survivors (Resource Center on Domestic Violence: Child Protection and Custody, 2016). Thus, in calling for evidence, we must also acknowledge ‘the decades of practice-based prevention and intervention that the domestic violence field has developed, refined, revisited, and enhanced in consultation with survivors and the systems they work with’ (Resource Center on Domestic Violence: Child Protection and Custody, 2016, p. 1).

The RCT ideal also has been criticised on more theoretical or philosophical grounds. RCTs historically have been guided by the assumptions that an objective and value-free production of knowledge is possible, and quantitative data necessarily is more valuable than qualitative data. Such assumptions are rejected in more interpretive and constructionist understandings of knowledge, which argue that knowledge is socially situated and shaped by its social and cultural context and the experiences of those who create it (Pease, 2007).

I argue therefore in favour of a broad understanding of the ‘evidence’ relevant to violence prevention. Evidence-based practice can and should be guided by both quantitative and qualitative evidence. Randomised-control trials are a desirable form of evidence, but not the only form, and complemented by both quasi-experimental and non-experimental methods. More broadly, a ‘critical realist’ position on knowledge is valuable. It allows that while a purely objective and value-free knowledge is impossible, it is possible to develop robust knowledge of the world (Pease, 2007).

The requirement remains, nevertheless, that we seek to assess the effectiveness of efforts to prevent and reduce violence. And to do this, our assessments must be methodologically robust. How, then, does the evidence base look?

THE EVIDENCE BASE

Existing evaluations in the violence prevention field show a range of significant weaknesses. Few studies measure actual violent behaviour as an outcome, use control or comparison groups, collect longer-term data, or assess mediators of change, and most come from high-income countries.

- *Measures:* Impact evaluations often only assess proxy variables associated with violence against women rather than this violence itself (Berkowitz, 2004; O'Donohue, Yeater, & Fanetti, 2003; Tolan, Gorman-Smith, & Henry, 2006; Whitaker et al., 2006). In particular, evaluations often assess only attitudes, not behaviours or social and sexual relations. Most evaluations do not measure violence as an outcome and thus neglect the intervention's impact on perpetration or victimisation (Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011). In addition, even when they do include violence itself as an outcome, few evaluations examine different impacts on different types of violence. Most evaluations assess the impact only on direct recipients of the intervention and not also on the communities in which this is located (Fulu, Kerr-Wilson, & Lang, 2014).
- *Control and comparison groups:* Few studies compare participants in the intervention with a control or comparison group, and even fewer involve random assignment of participants to intervention and control groups (Dworkin et al., 2013; Gidycz et al., 2011).
- *Follow-up:* In many cases, post-intervention assessments are made only immediately after the program or only weeks later and there is no longer-term follow-up (Dworkin et al., 2013). This means that we have little knowledge of how change is sustained over time or indeed whether is sustained. There is evidence from some interventions that changes decay or 'rebound' to pre-intervention levels one or two months after the intervention and some even become worse (Breitenbecher, 2001; Flores & Hartlaub, 1998; Meyer & Stein, 2004).
- *Mediators of change:* Evaluations rarely examine the mediators of changes in attitudes, behaviours or other factors, that is, of the causal processes through which the program achieves change (Cornelius & Resseguie, 2007; Morrison, Hardison, Mathew, & O'Neil, 2004; Tolan et al., 2006; Whitaker et al., 2006; Yeater & O'Donohue, 1999). They rarely control potential confounding factors (Ellsberg et al., 2015). Thus far there has been little synthesis across interventions of the pathways of change, the key pathways through which interventions may be achieving their impacts (Fulu et al., 2014). In addition, although multi-component interventions (combining multiple prevention strategies) appear to be more effective than single-component ones, for such interventions it is

challenging to attribute outcomes between intervention components or identify the most desirable package of interventions (Fulu et al., 2014).

- *Applicability*: Further weaknesses of existing research on the effectiveness of violence prevention interventions concern its transferability, applicability, and scalability. Evaluations are highly skewed towards high-income countries, especially the USA (Ellsberg et al., 2015; Leen et al., 2013; Ricardo, Eads, & Barker, 2011). There is limited evidence from low- and middle-income countries, meaning that insight is limited regarding the transferability of interventions developed in resource-rich contexts to much more resource-poor ones. Little is known about the forms of intervention that may be applicable for especially vulnerable groups of women and girls, men and boys, such as lesbian and transgender women, those living with disability or HIV, and various religious and ethnic minorities. Finally, there is very little evidence regarding the scalability of interventions—the effectiveness of ‘scaled up’ strategies or programs implemented among large groups of people in institutions or communities (Fulu et al., 2014).

Evaluations of efforts to engage men in the prevention of men’s violence against women suffer from the same weaknesses documented for the field in general. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of scholarly evidence attesting to the effectiveness of particular strategies engaging men in preventing and reducing men’s violence against women. Contemporary scholarship does document that particular interventions successfully have shifted the attitudes, behaviours, and/or inequalities associated with violence against women.

There have been three reviews of the effectiveness of men’s violence prevention interventions in the past decade. (These are complemented by other reviews of the violence prevention field more generally, and this chapter draws on these where appropriate later.) A 2007 international review documented 15 evaluated interventions involving men and/or boys in preventing and reducing violence, as part of a broader review of programs engaging men and boys (Barker, Ricardo, & Nascimento, 2007). The review used a two-part ranking of effectiveness, based on evaluation design and level of impact, to arrive at a three-level assessment of each intervention as effective, promising, or unclear. ‘Effective’ entails

a rigorous design and high or medium impact *or* moderate design and high impact, ‘promising’ entails moderate design and medium or low impact *or* rigorous design and low impact, and ‘unclear’ entails a limited design regardless of impact, or limited impact. Of the 15 violence-related interventions, four were judged as effective, seven as promising, and four as unclear.

A second systematic review examined interventions for preventing boys’ and men’s violence, focusing on studies with a randomised controlled or quasi-experimental design, although it also included non-randomised studies with treatment and control groups (Ricardo et al., 2011). The review examined 65 relevant studies. To give a sense of the typical character of sexual violence prevention interventions among youth, two-thirds of studies involved both male and female participants, 85% took place in high-income countries and 90% in school settings, and one-third comprised only a single session typically of an hour’s duration. The review found that such interventions can change boys’ and young men’s attitudes towards rape and other forms of violence against women, and the gender-related attitudes associated with these, but evidence of their effectiveness in changing behaviours is far more equivocal. Only one of the well-designed studies demonstrated a significant impact on sexually violent behaviour, while only seven studies with strong or moderate research design demonstrated an impact on the perpetration of non-sexual violence.

A third systematic assessment focused on interventions addressed to heterosexually active men and aiming to produce more gender-equitable relationships. It included interventions as they impact four sets of outcomes: HIV/STI outcomes, violence perpetration, sexual risk behaviour, and norms and attitudes related to gender equity (Dworkin et al., 2013). Programs or interventions were included if they were ‘gender-transformative’ (aimed at promoting more gender-equitable relationships), assessed at least one of the identified outcomes over time, had an experimental or quasi-experimental design, and were conducted with heterosexually identified men or youth. The review found eight interventions addressing the perpetration of violence against women. Three of these were not in the 2011 review (Ricardo et al., 2011) above, and all three reported declines in the perpetration of violence, but only one could be classified as methodologically ‘strong’ (Dworkin et al., 2013).

STRATEGIES OF PREVENTION

There are a wide range of strategies aimed at preventing or reducing men's violence against women and related forms of violence and abuse. As the ecological model provides an account of the factors which shape violence against women, it also offers a framework of the levels or kinds of intervention which are necessary to reduce and prevent this violence. The ecological model embodies the recognition that this violence is the outcome of a complex interplay of individual, relationship, community, institutional, and societal factors and that violence prevention too must work at these multiple levels (Heise, 1998; VicHealth, 2007; World Health Organization, 2002, 2004). A similar model which offers a simple framework for understanding and organising prevention initiatives is the 'spectrum of prevention' (Davis, Parks, & Cohen, 2006, p. 7). Both the ecological model and the spectrum of prevention organise strategies by the level of the social order at which they work or at which they addressed, moving from micro-level to macro-level strategies. Some other accounts of violence prevention strategies are organised in terms of the entry points for intervention, the populations who are addressed, the risk factors or antecedents of violence which are targeted, or some combination of these. However, the spectrum of prevention provides an accessible and coherent framework for identifying the various strategies at use in violence prevention, and is the one adopted here.

The 'spectrum of prevention' identifies six levels of intervention, organised from micro to macro: (1) strengthening individual knowledge and skills; (2) promoting community education; (3) educating providers; (4) engaging, strengthening, and mobilising communities; (5) changing organisational practices; and (6) influencing policies and legislation. It is summarised below (Davis et al., 2006, p. 7) (Table 3.1).

The remainder of this chapter describes the spectrum of prevention in more detail, discussing each of the six levels of intervention. The chapter also briefly notes the evidence for the effectiveness of particular strategies. Some strategies and interventions are effective: they have a theoretical rationale, they show evidence of implementation, and they have evidence of effectiveness. Others are promising: they have a theoretical rationale, and they have been implemented, although they do not yet have evidence of effectiveness. Other strategies do have a theoretical rationale, but they have not been tried or evaluated (VicHealth, 2007). The following chapters then explore particular forms of violence

Table 3.1 The spectrum of prevention

<i>Level of spectrum</i>	<i>Definition of level</i>
Strengthening individual Knowledge and skills	Enhancing an individual's capability of preventing violence and promoting safety
Promoting community Education	Reaching groups of people with information and resources to prevent violence and promote safety
Educating providers	Informing providers who will transmit skills and knowledge to others and model positive norms
Engaging, strengthening, and mobilising communities	Bringing together groups and individuals for broader goals and greater impact
Changing organisational practices	Adopting regulations and shaping norms to prevent violence and improve safety
Influencing policies and legislation	Enacting laws and policies that support healthy community norms and a violence-free society

prevention at length, including more detailed case studies of effective and ineffective interventions.

While the following discussion organises prevention strategies in terms of six levels of intervention, it must be emphasised that the most effective violence prevention efforts will be those which are intended to generate change at multiple levels—individual, relationship, community, institutional, and societal—and which use multiple strategies to do so. The most effective efforts therefore will work across *multiple* levels of the spectrum of prevention. Evidence from other fields suggests that multi-level, ecological interventions will have a greater impact on attitudes, behaviours, and social norms (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009). Multi-level interventions address a variety of factors associated with violence at different levels of the social order, and the interrelatedness of both these factors and the strategies addressing them maximises the resulting change (Davis et al., 2006).

SIX LEVELS OF INTERVENTION

Level 1: Strengthening Individual Knowledge and Skills

The smallest and most localised form of prevention is transferring information and skills to individuals and increasing their capacity to prevent or avoid violence against women. This one-on-one work can deliver

messages to boys and men which are alternatives to the sexist and violence-supportive ones they receive from other sources, catalyse change in their everyday practices, and inspire them to become allies to women and girls and advocates for change (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010). For example, advocates may provide written information (pamphlets, posters, and so on) to individual men and boys, teachers, carers, and physicians may help boys and young men to increase their safety and their equitable attitudes, healthcare practitioners may engage patients and parents to promote healthy relationships, community leaders and public figures may speak to boys and men to encourage non-violence, and individuals may provide one-on-one mentorship (Davis et al., 2006; Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010).

There is very little robust evidence of the effectiveness of such efforts, but they have an obvious rationale. While strengthening individual knowledge and skills entails only micro-level change, it can contribute to individual men's and boys' non-violent understandings and practices, strengthen support for positive social norms, and inspire men's and boys' recognition of the wider problem of violence by identifying how they are personally affected by violence. One-on-one work also can support prevention efforts taking place at other levels of the spectrum, for example by increasing the settings through which individuals are exposed to prevention messages (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010).

One particularly important strategy at this level is addressing services and programs to boys and young men who have been exposed to violence in families and growing up. Boys who have witnessed or experienced violence are more likely to grow up holding violence-supportive attitudes and perpetrating violence themselves (Flood & Pease, 2006). While males' experience of physical aggression, and verbal and psychological abuse, in their families is associated with their adult perpetration of intimate partner violence, there is also some evidence that witnessing *any* adult aggression against any victim is associated with male partner aggression (Schumacher et al., 2001). Prevention efforts also should target associated high-risk behaviours among boys, such as illegal drug use and delinquent behaviour (Vezina & Hebert, 2007), especially given that males' adolescent delinquency—antisocial and aggressive behaviour committed during adolescence—is a significant predictor of later perpetration of sexual assault (Abbey & McAuslan, 2004).

Parenting practices and family relations are an important domain of intervention at this level of violence prevention. Given that emotionally

unsupportive and harsh parenting is a risk factor for domestic violence, interventions to encourage better parenting practices are valuable (Vezina & Hebert, 2007). Relevant strategies include the provision of quality child care, home visiting programs, intensive clinical work with battered mothers and their young children, and encouraging parental involvement in children's early education and school. Among adolescent and young adult males, potentially useful measures include mentoring programs, premarital relationship education, and welfare-to-work strategies. Among older male populations, other direct participation efforts include responsible fatherhood programs, those addressing prisoners' re-entry into communities, and premarital relationship education. Such strategies also may address the associations between domestic violence and poverty, low work attachment, and low educational attainment, and other social factors.

Of the range of strategies mentioned here, interventions in families—and particularly parenting programs—are the ones with the largest body of evaluation evidence. As Fulu et al. (2014, p. 26) describe,

Parenting programmes generally target parents who have abused or neglected their children, or who are at risk to do so. Such interventions aim to improve relationships between parents and their children, and teach parenting skills. A few directly aim at reducing conflict and abuse. They consist in home visits; they can also be community-based or implemented in health clinic settings.

Of the various evaluations of such interventions, most are methodologically weak, and many do not measure reductions in child maltreatment. Still, some parenting programs in high-income countries have shown positive impacts, e.g. on self-reports of aggression, while three in low- and middle-income countries have shown reductions in negative, harsh or abusive parenting (Fulu et al., 2014).

With regard to men's roles in violence prevention, one stream of interventions here focuses on fathers and on men's roles as carers or as role models for their sons. Various campaigns, such as the 'Respect' campaign by Futures Without Violence in the USA, have encouraged men to adopt positive and non-violent roles in their children's lives or act as positive role models, e.g. as teachers, coaches, and others. The most well-developed instance of such work is MenCare. MenCare is a global campaign to promote men's involvement as equitable, responsive,

and non-violent fathers and caregivers. The campaign is coordinated by Promundo and Sonke Gender Justice (Sonke) in collaboration with the MenEngage Alliance. Using media, program development, and advocacy, the campaign works at multiple levels to engage men as caregivers and as fathers: engaging men as participants in fathers' groups, advocating for progressive family legislation, and encouraging institutions to see engaging men as caregivers as a key dimension of gender equality. (MenCare therefore does not work solely at the first level of the spectrum of prevention which organises this chapter, but across multiple levels.) The campaign is described as having a preventative effect on men's violence against women by encouraging fathers to treat mothers with respect and care, diminishing the corporal punishment which feeds into cycles of family violence, involving fathers in preventing sexual violence against children, and contributing to boys' adoption of peaceful and progressive masculinities and girls' empowerment (MenCare, 2010).

There so far only a small body of evidence from robust impact evaluations of the effectiveness of these interventions among fathers and other men. In relation to MenCare for example, an evaluation in Indonesia found positive change in participants' attitudes and behaviours after participation in MenCare activities (Haryanto, 2017). A recent initiative in Uganda, the REAL Fathers Initiative (a 12-session father mentoring program implemented by volunteers that is designed to reduce child exposure to violence at home) found that men who participated in the intervention had lower rates of perpetration of intimate partner violence and physical child punishment after the intervention and at long-term follow-up eight to 12 months later (Ashburn, Kerner, Ojamuge, & Lundgren, 2016).

Level 2: Promoting Community Education

The second level of prevention, community education, focuses on 'reaching groups of people with information and resources to prevent violence and promote safety' (Davis et al., 2006) Here it is defined broadly to include both face-to-face and more indirect educational interventions.

Face-to-Face Educational Groups and Programs

Face-to-face educational programming is one of the most common strategies adopted to prevent violence, particularly among children, youth, and young adults. As a corollary, this strategy also has been the most

extensively evaluated. This is not to say that all such programs work. Many face-to-face programs have not been evaluated. And when they are evaluated, their findings show that some educational interventions are ineffective, the magnitude of change in attitudes often is small, changes often decay or ‘rebound’ to pre-intervention levels one or two months after the intervention and some even become worse, and improvements in individuals’ violence-supportive attitudes do not necessarily lead to reductions in their perpetration of violence (Breitenbecher, 2001; Flores & Hartlaub, 1998; Meyer & Stein, 2004).

At the same time, face-to-face educational interventions can be an effective strategy of violence prevention and reduction. If done well (and this is a significant ‘if’), such programs can produce declines in factors associated with violence such as attitudes and beliefs. For example, male (and female) secondary school and university students who have attended rape education sessions show less adherence to rape myths, express less rape-supportive attitudes, and/or report greater victim empathy than those in control groups (Brecklin & Forde, 2001; Morrison et al., 2004). Various reviews attest to the value of group education programs. For example, a review of interventions for the primary prevention of perpetration of partner violence examined 11 programs, all targeting middle- or high-school-aged students and all but one set in a school setting. Nine of 11 programs reported at least one positive effect (in knowledge, attitudes, or behaviour), with positive changes reported in five of the nine programs measuring attitudes and two of the four programs measuring behaviour (Whitaker et al., 2006). Another systematic review examined sexual assault prevention programs, based on English-language evaluation publications over 1990–2003 and including university, high-school and middle-school populations. Of the 59 studies reviewed, 14 percentage showed exclusively positive effects on knowledge and attitudes, although none also used behavioural outcomes regarding perpetration or victimisation. Three-quarters (80%) reported mixed effects, and six percentage reported no effect (Morrison et al., 2004).

The evidence base for educational programs’ impact on actual perpetration and victimisation is weaker. For a start, many evaluations are vulnerable to the criticisms noted above, including a reliance on risk factors or proxy variables for violence such as attitudes rather than including measures of violent behaviours themselves. As Ellsberg et al. (2015) note, only a few school-based group interventions can show evidence

of reductions in violence perpetration and/or victimisation. They identify only three programs which have produced significant reductions in violence, in these cases in dating violence among adolescents. In this same review, only two of 17 rigorously assessed school-based interventions to reduce non-partner sexual assault had significantly positive results. A review of gender-transformative interventions among heterosexually active men included eight interventions addressing the perpetration of violence against women. All used small group discussions, and three had an additional community component. Of the eight studies, six reported declines in men's perpetration of physical or sexual violence against women, although many of the studies did not include comparison groups and relied on self-selection of participants.

While most evaluations have taken place in high-income countries, some programs in low- and middle-income countries also have shown positive results. For example, Stepping Stones (which uses participatory learning approaches to build knowledge, risk awareness, and communication and relationship skills relating to gender, violence and HIV) was subject to a 70-village cluster-randomised trial in South Africa among young men and women aged 15–26. Two years after the intervention, men's self-reported perpetration of physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence was significantly lower than that of men in the control villages, although there were no differences in women's reports of IPV victimisation between the intervention and control villages (Arango et al., 2014).

The duration of programs makes a difference. Programs with longer duration are more likely to have a significant and lasting effect. In the violence prevention field, there is widespread endorsement of an association between program duration or intensity and program impact (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Bachar & Koss, 2001; Carmody et al., 2009; Hassall & Hanna, 2007; Lonsway, 1996; Nation et al., 2003; Tutty et al., 2002; Vladutiu, Martin, & Macy, 2011; Yeater & O'Donohue, 1999). Education programs which are intensive, lengthy, and use a variety of pedagogical approaches are more likely to produce positive and lasting change in attitudes and behaviours. For example, evaluations of the Safe Dates program among American adolescents (which included a ten-session school curriculum, a theatre production performed by peers, and a poster contest) found that four years after the program, adolescents who had received the program continued to report less physical and sexual dating violence perpetration (and

victimisation) than those who had not (Foshee, Benefield, Ennett, Bauman, & Suchindran, 2004).

Greater duration means greater exposure to the prevention messages and materials, it facilitates the acquisition of new skills and knowledge, and it allows educators to use participatory strategies which increase impact. (Of course, length alone is no guarantee of program effectiveness.) I return to the issue of duration or ‘dosage’ in Chapter 6.

Group-based education programs are particularly popular in primary prevention work with men, and Chapter 6 explores this strategy in particular.

There are a range of other strategies aimed at building gender equality which take place in and around schools and which may be relevant to violence prevention. Some interventions seek to address barriers to girls accessing school and education, with two streams here. First, there are interventions to reduce the direct and indirect costs of schooling, e.g. by providing school uniforms or scholarships or non-conditional cash transfers, or encouraging school attendance or progression through conditional cash transfers or providing school meals on attendance. Second, there are interventions to improve the school environment through building water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) facilities (such as sex-segregated toilets) and provision of menstrual pads. However, a recent review does not identify any studies of such interventions which examine their impact on violence against women or girls (Fulu et al., 2014).

While schools are often the site for group-based community education, they are also the focus of ‘whole-of-school’ approaches which seek to transform a range of dimensions of the school including its policies and formal and informal culture. I introduce these below when describing the fifth level of the spectrum of prevention, changing organisational practices, and then return to them in more detail in Chapter 6, *Educating Men*.

Communication and Social Marketing

At this second level of prevention, a related stream of activity under the umbrella of ‘community education’ is communication and social marketing. Like face-to-face programs, communication and social marketing interventions are one of the more common means of primary prevention of violence against women. A review by Donovan and Vlais (2005)

documents a wide variety of campaigns aimed at diverse groups including women experiencing violence, men using violence, witnesses and bystanders, members of institutions who may respond to this violence, and particular social groupings such as youth. Public education campaigns have attempted to encourage attitudes that domestic violence is a crime, communities must 'break the silence' regarding violence against women, violence has negative impacts on children or on women themselves, social norms intolerant of violence against women are more widespread than some believe, family and friends must intervene in violence, perpetrating violence will have negative consequences, and so on (Donovan & Vlais, 2005). Such interventions vary from communication and advocacy campaigns focused entirely on raising awareness or changing norms to multi-component community mobilisation campaigns. Recent years have seen a move away from a focus on individual attitudes and towards more comprehensive, multi-component efforts to change social norms (Fulu et al., 2014).

There is evidence that social marketing campaigns can produce positive change in the attitudes associated with men's perpetration of violence against women (Donovan & Vlais, 2005). This body of evidence is small, with a recent review identifying only four methodologically strong evaluations on media and awareness-raising campaigns. While these measured changes in awareness, attitudes and norms, none measured actual changes in violent behaviour or changes in rates of violence against women and girls (Fulu et al., 2014). Soul City, a multimedia project in South Africa, is one of the most thorough and well-evaluated examples of communications campaigns. It combined prime-time radio and television dramas with other educational activities. The evaluation did find that *Soul City* was associated with increased support-giving and support-seeking behaviour and some increased knowledge and awareness of domestic violence, but it had no influence on norms regarding the appropriateness of sexual harassment or the cultural acceptability of violence (Usdin, Scheepers, Goldstein, & Japhet, 2005). Some other campaigns have inadvertently increased pro-violence attitudes, for example by leaving women with the sense that the violence they experience is their fault or giving them false hope regarding their partners' likelihood of change (Donovan & Vlais, 2005). Communications campaigns typically have greater impact if they have greater intensity and duration and are complemented by community-based strategies (Fulu, Jewkes, Roselli, & Garcia-Moreno, 2013).

Level 3: Educating Providers (and Other Professionals)

This level of the spectrum of prevention centres on educating people in their professional roles such that violence prevention becomes part of the ways in which they support, educate, and influence others. ‘Service providers’ here include the professional employees of community or social service agencies (such as case managers, counsellors, therapists, child welfare workers, housing workers), while other professionals include health care professionals (i.e. doctors, nurses), criminal justice professionals (i.e. police officers, lawyers, prosecutors, judges), teachers, coaches, and religious leaders (Choi & An, 2016; Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010). Education among providers and other professionals has a strong theoretical rationale, in that it may shift their everyday involvements in sustaining, or undermining, the norms and relations through which violence against women is maintained. Work with providers and professionals is valuable because they: (1) provide access to different communities, (2) may have power or influence or access to resources, (3) can reinforce prevention messages, and (4) are already involved in relevant work (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010).

First, work with service providers can broaden the scope and impact of prevention efforts, drawing on providers’ connections to wider and diverse communities and to various institutions (health services, courts and prisons, schools, and places of worship). Second, providers and professionals have official or unofficial positions of influence. They can take up prevention strategies and policies, and can influence the adoption of prevention strategies at other levels of the spectrum. Professionals may have access to useful resources such as community networks, funding streams, or political connections. Third, providers can reinforce messages provided elsewhere. Finally, many professionals already are involved in work which provides opportunities for violence prevention and reduction—as law enforcement officials, healthcare providers, news reporters, sources of moral and spiritual guidance, and so on (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010).

Work with providers and professionals related to interpersonal violence largely has addressed secondary and tertiary prevention, aiming to improve responses to those already suffering or using violence or at risk of doing so. There is some encouraging evidence regarding the effectiveness of at least some types of strategy. One of the most widely implemented strategies is the adoption by health services of screening

programs in which pregnant women are screened for violence victimisation during pre-natal care. Evaluations find that they are effective in identifying survivors of intimate partner violence, and interventions which combine screening with psychosocial support or other survivor services have reported decreases in violence (Arango et al., 2014). Most violence prevention and reduction interventions among professionals have taken place in healthcare settings. Choi and An's (2016) review of interventions to improve the responses of helping professionals to intimate partner violence identified 38 studies, with 80% of these conducted in health care settings.

There are other, scattered evaluations of interventions with particular groups of providers or professionals, including faith-based leaders and police. (I describe these in more detail in Chapter 9.) However, personnel training is far from universally effective. Arango et al's (2014) review describes sensitisation, identification or response training with institutional personnel (for example, teachers, police officers, first responders) overall as 'ineffective'. The study design of most evaluations is weak. While Choi and An's (2016) review of 38 published interventions among helping professionals notes that ninety percentage of the studies reported positive effects on at least one outcome measure, only 10 studies were rated methodologically as of 'good' quality and over half as 'poor'.

Another key form of violence prevention relevant to this area of action is increasing workforce and organisational capacity to prevent violence against women, by developing resources and technical assistance (Oregon Department of Human Services, 2006). Workplace education is one component of a broader effort to change the practices and cultures of community organisations and institutions, as I discuss under Level 5 below.

Level 4: Engaging, Strengthening, and Mobilising Communities

This level of the spectrum of prevention involves bringing together groups and individuals for broader goals and greater impact. It addresses preventable risk factors which are larger in scope, to do with social structures and institutions, collective spaces such as neighbourhoods and communities, and the larger society and culture.

Given the evidence that social norms, gender roles, and power relations underpin men's violence against women, strategies that address

these will be critical to successful prevention efforts. There is a growing consensus that strategies of community engagement and community mobilisation are central to violence prevention (DeGue et al., 2012; Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2004). The bulk of primary prevention efforts thus far have addressed individuals and their intimate relationships, while community and societal strategies have been under-utilised (Michau, 2005). Violence prevention should encourage local communities' ownership of the issue and address the social contexts in which intimate partner violence occurs (Rosewater, 2003).

Community engagement and community development strategies address the local and collective conditions in which men's violence against women takes place. (Note that such efforts often use the same strategy as those described in level two of the spectrum of prevention, face-to-face education. But because their intentions are distinct (focused on empowerment), and because they often also use other strategies alongside education, they are discussed at this level of the spectrum of prevention.) One significant form of violence prevention and reduction strategy at this level focuses on women's and girls' economic positions.

Economic Empowerment

Various kinds of interventions seek to empower women or girls, to transform their gender relations towards gender equality, and to increase their capacity to resist male power. Particularly in low- and middle-income countries, some do so by focusing on women's working lives, productive assets, and economic relations. Typical strategies include microfinance or village savings and loans associations (group-based approaches to savings and lending to women normally excluded from formal banking/loans systems), increasing access to formal savings facilities in the banking sector, vocational or job training programs, and cash transfers to women who care for children (Fulu et al., 2014). These often are complemented by training regarding gender, communication skills, HIV, and violence.

A recent review finds 75 individual and multi-country studies which included an economic component related to women's and girls' empowerment, including ten randomised control trial studies and an additional ten studies using non-randomised quantitative evaluations reporting violence against women and girls (VAWG) as an impact (Fulu et al., 2014). Summarising the evidence for effectiveness,

Overall, the impact of building women's productive assets as a strategy to reduce their experience of VAWG typically shows promise but is limited by few studies having VAWG as a measured outcome and weak research designs. There is stronger evidence that interventions that sought to simultaneously tackle economic and social factors had consistently stronger positive outcomes than interventions that focused on economic factors alone. (Fulu et al., 2014, p. 13)

While some economic-only interventions showed a positive impact on perpetration or victimisation, others were associated in fact with an increase in intimate partner violence. (This may reflect a dynamic where men seek to reinforce or reimpose power over their female partners, using violence, in response to partners' growing empowerment or autonomy.) The studies which linked microfinance or other group-based approaches to economic strengthening and social empowerment interventions showed reductions in intimate partner violence among female participants (Fulu et al., 2014). Microfinance and social interventions also show promise at shifting behaviours which are potentially protective against violence against women and girls, including economic measures and gender/health measures including condom use, negotiation of partner's HIV-related behaviour, sexual power, and number of sexual partners (Fulu et al., 2014).

Social Empowerment Interventions with Vulnerable Groups

Another important kind of intervention at this level of prevention is represented by social empowerment interventions with vulnerable groups of women or girls. These often involve

group work with women and girls from similar backgrounds meeting in clubs or community spaces. They often combine awareness-raising with skill building, either on life skills, including around rights and violence prevention, or skills around leadership and collective organising with the purpose of building women/girls [sic] awareness of their rights, how to access services and how to protect themselves against violence. They can also include one-to-one support for particularly vulnerable individuals through home visits [...] These interventions are sometimes complemented by work with the girls' or women's community and or sexual partners [...]

(Fulu et al., 2014, p. 10).

A recent review by Fulu et al. identifies 30 studies of interventions involving this strategy, including 11 focused on female sex workers. In terms of impacts on perpetration or victimisation, most sex worker

collectivisation initiatives showed a positive impact on reducing women's experience of violence by clients and by police. There is some evidence that intensive regular home visits by health care professionals or non-professional mentors to at risk pregnant women result in reductions in intimate partner violence (IPV). In terms of impacts on risk factors for VAWG, various studies report an impact on risk and protective factors such as women's self-esteem, acceptance of IPV, their ability to challenge male behaviour and resist unequal relations in the family, savings, self-confidence, leadership, knowledge on women's rights, and social capital (Fulu et al., 2014).

Community Mobilisation

Community engagement and community development are complemented by strategies of community mobilisation. This involves bringing individuals and groups together through coalitions, networks, and movements to broaden prevention efforts (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010). Coalitions and networks are vital to increase the 'critical mass' behind particular prevention efforts, improve collaboration on interventions, reduce unnecessary competition or duplication among organisations, and increase the credibility and impact of one's efforts (Davis et al., 2006; Expert Group, 2003; Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010).

Community mobilisation has a long history in violence prevention, and in fact it was only through the collective advocacy of the women's movements and feminism that men's violence against women became an issue of public concern at all. The women's movements and feminism have long identified violence against women as a key expression of men's power over women. This violence has been a central focus of women's political activism and feminist organising for many years, for example going back 300 years in both the USA and England, to 'first wave' feminism and before (Maynard & Winn, 1997). Such collective advocacy formed the foundations of contemporary service and policy responses to domestic and sexual violence. Advocacy remains a key strategy of primary prevention. Women's groups and networks, campaigns, and events such as Take Back the Night (termed Reclaim The Night in Australia), Slutwalk, and so on play a critical role in raising community awareness of violence against women, undermining violence-supportive social norms, and garnering support for violence prevention initiatives.

Community mobilisation involves a diversity of strategies, from community action teams designed to involve communities in building

strategies for community safety, to coalitions among community groups and agencies, to activist organisations. In relation to engaging men in violence prevention, one significant strategy is the formation of grassroots men's or mixed-sex groups and networks to engage in advocacy on violence against women. I return to these in Chapter 8, 'Mobilising Men'.

Although they have been evaluated less often than other efforts, community mobilisation strategies show significant promise for violence prevention. Fulu et al.'s (2014, pp. 8–9) review identifies four rigorous evaluations of what it describes as 'multi-component social norm change interventions'. Summarising the evidence, well-designed interventions of this kind can have a positive impact upon violence perpetration or victimisation. Community mobilisation campaigns also can address the risk factors for violence against women, such as violence-condoning attitudes and beliefs, although the relationship between these and perpetration is complex.

Level 5: Changing Organisational Practices

The fifth level of the spectrum of prevention concerns organisations and institutions. There is a powerful rationale for targeting organisations and institutions in efforts to prevent and reduce men's violence against women. Organisational efforts 'scale up' the impact of violence prevention, in that they have the potential to influence both their internal cultures and the communities which surround them. Organisations have the potential to reach large numbers of people and create conditions in which change can be promoted and sustained. Involving organisations and institutions in prevention can increase the scale of change and help to create long-lasting, systemic change (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010). By changing its own practices, policies, and culture, an organisation can have an impact in surrounding communities, influence other organisations and institutions, influence wider policy, and inform community norms (Davis et al., 2006).

Whether working to change the practices and cultures of workplaces, sports organisations, schools, faith-based organisations, councils, media organisations, or other institutions, such efforts can have a significant impact on men's violence against women, for three further reasons. First, men's violence against women has a significant impact on organisations and workplaces. There are victims and perpetrators in many workplaces, victimisation has direct and impact impacts on women's workforce participation, and workforces themselves are sites of domestic

violence and sexual harassment (Holmes & Flood, 2013). Second, setting-based efforts are necessary to address the internal, violence-supportive cultures of some workplaces, organisations, and other local contexts. Violence prevention should include efforts to address issues of violence, harassment, and inequality in work and organisational environments and to build healthy and gender-equitable environments (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010). As I note in Chapter 9, some settings and organisations are particularly dangerous places for women, and thus require intensive intervention. Third, some institutions—such as education, entertainment industries, and sport—are key ones for the production and reproduction of wider, violence-supportive norms of gender and sexuality, and thus important targets for intervention.

This level of prevention initially was described in the spectrum of prevention in terms of ‘Adopting regulations and shaping norms to prevent violence and improve safety’ (Davis et al., 2006, p. 7). It means more than this. Some strategies at this level focus on dimensions of organisations other than regulations or norms, while others envision whole-of-institution change. This level thus centres on strategies which seek to change the formal policies and practices, formal and informal cultures, and intra- and inter-institutional relations of organisations and institutions.² It goes beyond the third level of prevention, focused on educating providers and other professionals, towards systemic organisational and institutional change.

While organisational and workforce strategies for the primary prevention of violence against women are underdeveloped, organisations and workforces have been a common site for the development of improved responses to the occurrence of such violence. Most workplace-based efforts to reduce or prevent men’s violence against women are centred on secondary or tertiary prevention (Wells et al., 2013). Strategies include training police, legal staff, and other personnel in appropriate responses to and interventions into intimate partner violence; developing coordinated community responses to violence; and sensitising health care providers, encouraging routine screening for violence, and developing protocols for the proper management of abuse (World Health Organization, 2002).

²The distinction between organisations and institutions is not a hard and fast one. The term ‘organisation’ refers to a group of people who work together in a structured way for a shared purpose. Large, formal, and important organisations tend to be referred to as ‘institutions’, although the term ‘institution’ also is used for well-established sets of customs such as ‘the institution of marriage’.

There is evidence that such efforts do improve professional responses to the victims and perpetrators of intimate partner violence, increase women's safety, and assist their processes of recovery. However, these strategies in organisations and workforces must be complemented by more preventive approaches.

Primary prevention interventions at the level of organisations and institutions largely have taken place at the third level of the spectrum of prevention, comprising education programs for providers and professionals (police, sports coaches, faith leaders, and so on). Very few interventions involve the kind of whole-of-organisation change imagined at the fifth level of the spectrum. However, where this approach has been applied most is in schools.

'Whole-of-school' approaches adopt comprehensive and multi-pronged intervention strategies to prevent and reduce violence. They aim to bring about systemic, sustainable change, such that changes in students' and staff's attitudes and behaviour are reinforced by supportive community and governmental response mechanisms and legal frameworks (Fulu et al., 2014). A whole-of-school approach typically operates across at least several of the following overlapping domains:

Curriculum, teaching and learning: curriculum content, pedagogy, resources and outcomes

School policy and practices: formal school policies and practices

School culture, ethos and environment: informal school culture and ethos (attitudes, values and practices), extracurricular activities, and the social and physical environment

Partnerships and services: the relationships between school, home and the community. (Flood, Fergus, & Heenan, 2009)

Interventions thus engage various stakeholders, including teachers and other staff (through teacher training, codes of conduct and manuals, and establishing or strengthening formal guidance and counselling and reporting mechanisms), students (through group education, girls' or children's clubs, etc.), and parents and local communities (through work with parent-teacher associations, local government, traditional leaders, and school management committees). Whole-of-school approaches also may involve advocacy with state and national governments to raise awareness and promote advocacy for prevention and response to violence in schools (Fulu et al., 2014). A review of violence prevention

interventions finds at least some evidence of the effectiveness of whole-of-school approaches (Fulu et al., 2014).

Whole-of-organisation approaches are applicable to a wide variety of other organisations. While far rarer outside schools, one instance of this approach is the adoption of a comprehensive violence prevention strategy by a national sporting body. The Australian Football League (AFL), the body which oversees one of Australia's most popular sports, Australian rules football, adopted such a strategy after a series of allegations of sexual assault perpetrated by AFL players in 2004. This involves codes of conduct for its players, education for players in both the elite level and community clubs, new policies and procedures, and other measures. I return to this example in Chapter 9.

Level 6: Influencing Policies and Legislation

The sixth and final level of the spectrum of prevention centres on policy and legislation. This level of the spectrum sits at the most 'macro' or large-scale end of the spectrum. While legal and policy reforms in relation to violence against women have been largely concerned with tertiary responses, law and policy also are crucial tools of primary prevention.

Policies and legislation are powerful means with which to prevent and reduce men's violence against women. First, they have a wide-reaching effect. As a guide to engaging men and boys in preventing violence against women and girls notes, 'Change in policy is mandatory and enforceable. It affects entire populations because it creates a standard to which entire communities must abide' (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010, p. 150).

Second, the enactment and existence of policies and law can shift social norms, making men's violence against women increasingly unacceptable. In making particular behaviours illegal, they can also make them socially unacceptable. There is evidence that the criminal justice system has a symbolic role in shaping community perceptions of violence against women. In a US study, perceptions of criminal justice policies impacted on attitudes towards criminal justice responses and on victim-blaming attitudes in relation to domestic violence. This suggests that the development of criminal justice policies that sanction and arrest violent men contributes to the development of norms unsupportive of domestic violence (Salazar et al., 2003).

Third, law and policy are critical tools in establishing and disseminating particular strategies of primary prevention. They are necessary in restricting gun use, establishing and spreading violence prevention curricula for schools and universities, supporting codes of non-violent conduct in particular domains of activity such as sport, influencing the availability and consumption of alcohol, and shaping the content of advertising, pornography, and other media.

Finally, law and policy are enabling, in several ways. They can ensure that violence prevention work is funded. They can support and enhance prevention efforts at grassroots and community levels, for example by mandating respectful relationships education which is then delivered by local prevention organisations. They can galvanise community support, with public attention to new laws or policies helping to create awareness and momentum (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010).

At the broadest levels, national and state-based plans of action for eliminating intimate partner violence are necessary elements in any systematic prevention effort. As a review of Australian prevention efforts emphasised, violence prevention requires a whole of government approach, with a national funding base, involving integrated prevention plans at national and state levels (Urbis Keys Young, 2004). Policies and platforms aimed at preventing intimate partner violence have been implemented in international contexts (World Health Organization, 2004) and at national levels in developing and developed countries (Family Violence Focus Group, 2002; Fanslow, 2005; United Nations Population Fund, 2006; United Nations Secretary-General, 2006; World Health Organization, 2004) and at local and state levels (Oregon Department of Human Services, 2006).

A recent review of violence prevention efforts suggests that prevention programs and initiatives are likely to have had a cumulative effect on rates of men's violence against women (Ellsberg et al., 2015). Indeed, there is direct evidence of an association between the levels of funding for violence prevention and reduction in particular jurisdictions and the levels of violence in those jurisdictions. In the USA, it is the Violence against Women Act (VAWA) which provides funding for many of the country's violence prevention efforts. A study of over 10,000 jurisdictions between 1996 and 2002 found that jurisdictions that received VAWA grants showed statistically significant reductions in sexual and aggravated assault compared to jurisdictions that did not received VAWA grants (Ellsberg et al., 2015).

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PREVENTION PRACTICE

National and international research and experience have generated an increasing consensus on the elements of good practice in violence prevention. This consensus is apparently particularly for the most extensively applied strategies such as face-to-face education in schools. In a report I co-authored on respectful relationships education, we distilled from existing scholarship five criteria for good practice in school-based violence prevention (Flood et al., 2009). These criteria were as follows: (1) a whole-school approach; (2) a program framework and logic; (3) effective curriculum delivery; (4) relevant, inclusive and culturally sensitive practice; and (5) impact evaluation. However, there also are consistent themes in reviews of other fields of violence prevention practice. Although there is not sufficient evidence to say with certainty what dimensions of violence prevention practice are necessary (or indeed sufficient) to generate a significant and positive impact, the following four features receive consistent emphasis in the literature: violence prevention should be (1) informed; (2) comprehensive; (3) engaging; and (4) relevant.

- *Informed*: Violence prevention interventions must be based on a sound understanding of both the problem—the workings and causes of violence—and of how it can be changed. In other words, they must incorporate both an appropriate theoretical framework for understanding violence and a theory of change. I return to this below.
- *Comprehensive*: Effective interventions are likely to be comprehensive: they use multiple strategies, in multiple settings, and at multiple levels (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009; Nation et al., 2003). For example, they incorporate strategies addressing individuals, peer groups, and communities and have multiple strategies addressing the same outcome. This feature of effective practice is the focus of Chapter 9.
- *Engaging*: Violence prevention programs should involve effective forms of delivery which engage participants. More effective interventions will have appropriate content (in their educational curricula, their social marketing materials, and so on), be implemented in well-designed and organised ways, and involve skilled personnel (whether educators, advocates, or others). These issues are the focus of Chapter 6.

- *Relevant*: Good-practice programs are relevant to the communities and contexts in which they are delivered. They are informed by knowledge of their target group or population and their local contexts (Nation et al., 2003). This feature of effective practice is the focus of Chapter 11.

All but one of these four dimensions of good practice in violence prevention are the focus of a particular chapter. This leaves the first dimension, regarding an intervention framework, and so I discuss this here.

AN INTERVENTION FRAMEWORK AND LOGIC

Violence prevention must incorporate both an appropriate theoretical framework for understanding violence and a theory of change. There is a growing awareness in the violence prevention field that the articulation of these two overlapping elements is necessary to good practice. Without them, there is little sense of what change is being attempted or how these efforts will lead to the desired change. Effective interventions are ‘theory-driven’: guided by theory regarding the etiology of violence (the risk factors or drivers) and the best methods for changing these (Nation et al., 2003). As a review of sexual assault prevention suggests, programs must be theory-driven, that is, based on strong theoretical rationales (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009). Thus, a program framework and logic are identified as one of five criteria for good practice in respectful relationships education in schools (Flood et al., 2009) while a program conceptual framework and theory of change are identified as the first two of six standards for sexual assault prevention through education program (Carmody et al., 2009).³

However, both elements identified in this first criterion of good practice often have been absent or underdeveloped in existing programs. As a review of Australian prevention programs for young people noted, ‘Despite the fact that a clear articulation of the rationale and concepts sustaining the development of initiatives is critical to success, prevention programs rarely make explicit the theory base underpinning their approach’ (Mulroney, 2003). The same is true outside Australia. A systematic,

³See Flood et al. (2009, pp. 24–25) for discussion of how these two sets of standards for schools-based violence prevention education compare.

evidence-based review of sexual assault prevention programs, based on evaluation publications of 59 studies over 1990–2003, found that most programs do not have strong or well-developed theoretical frameworks (Morrison et al., 2004), while a review of 11 programs targeting middle- or high-school-aged students and addressing the primary prevention of partner violence reported that few studies discussed the theoretical orientation of the intervention program in depth (Whitaker et al., 2006). Feminist and feminist-informed approaches provide the most common theories and concepts among violence prevention programs in Australia, although most uses are relatively simple and underdeveloped (Carmody et al., 2009). A reliance on feminist approaches is both understandable and appropriate, given that it is feminist activism that placed violence against women on community and policy agendas and feminist scholarship that provides the most comprehensive and credible account of the causes and consequences of relationship and family violence.

Interventions aimed at preventing men's violence against women, and indeed other forms of violence in relationships and families, must be based on an appropriate theoretical framework for understanding this violence. Expanding on this, programs must draw on feminist theoretical understandings. They must address the fundamental links between gendered power relations or inequalities and violence against women. The majority of evaluations and reviews of sexuality education and violence prevention programs stress the continued need to teach about the relationship between gender and power. For example, an Australian review of 60 projects emphasised that the inclusion of materials on gender equality and gender roles was necessary for programs to be successful (Strategic Partners Pty Ltd, 2000). Obviously, this has implications for the content or curricula of violence prevention interventions, and I return to this in Chapter 6.

Most violence prevention programs do not articulate a theory of change. Many simply assume that their efforts to provide information or improve attitudes (for example) will lessen people's involvements in violence perpetration or victimisation, without identifying how such processes will occur. There is disagreement in health promotion fields about which theories of change are most appropriate (Dyson & Flood, 2007). At the same time, in general there is a consensus that a theory of change is a necessary component of prevention efforts. For example, a systematic review of sexuality education programs found that effective programs (that is, programs that reduce young people's involvements in

premature, risky, or unwanted sexual activity) are based on theoretical approaches that have been demonstrated to influence other health-related behaviour and identify specific important sexual antecedents to be targeted (Kirby, 2001). Whether or not violence prevention programs use a logic model—a representation of the ways in which project resources, activities and processes will be used to achieve the intended outcomes (Kellogg Foundation, 2001)—they must be able to specify precisely what impact the program is intended to have, how the program's activities will generate this, and how this impact will be evaluated.

While violence prevention therefore should be informed, it must also meet other criteria of good practice, as noted above. Discussion later in this text elaborates on the ways in which prevention practice should be comprehensive, engaged, and relevant.

CONCLUSION

This review of various strategies of violence prevention suggests both the promise and the challenge of efforts to prevent men's violence against women. On the one hand, there is an increasingly large and methodologically sophisticated body of evidence attesting to the effectiveness of particular interventions, strategies, or approaches. On the other, too few interventions in the violence prevention have been evaluated robustly, many existing evaluations show mixed, neutral, or negative impacts, and there is much that is unknown about effective practice.

The following chapter moves to an aspect of violence prevention which has become increasingly prominent, an emphasis on involving men in prevention.

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CHAPTER 4

Why Engage Men and Boys in Prevention?

One of the most significant efforts to alter men's involvements in gender relations centres on men's violence against women. There is a growing consensus in violence prevention circles that to end this violence, we must involve and work with men. While men have long been addressed in secondary- and tertiary-based interventions as perpetrators, now they are also being addressed as 'partners' in prevention (Flood, 2005–2006). There are growing efforts to involve boys and men in various capacities associated with the prevention of violence against women: as participants in education programs, as targets of social marketing campaigns, as policy-makers and gatekeepers, and as activists and advocates. There is a steadily increasing body of experience and knowledge regarding effective violence prevention practice among boys and young men, often grounded in wider efforts to involve men in building gender equality. This work is growing in both theoretical and political sophistication.

THE RATIONALE FOR ENGAGING MEN

The rationale for addressing men in ending violence against women has three key elements. First and most importantly, efforts to prevent violence against women must address men because largely it is men who perpetrate this violence. Most men do not use violence against women, particularly in its bluntest forms, but when violence occurs, it is perpetrated overwhelmingly by men. For example, a nationally representative sample of 16,000 men and women in the USA documents that

violence against women is predominantly male violence. Of the women who had been physically assaulted since the age of 18, 92% had been assaulted by a male, and of the women who had been sexually assaulted, all had been raped by males (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Similarly, national Australian data tells us that, of all females who experienced physical assault in the last 12 months, 81% were assaulted by males and 8% by both males and females (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). Thus, to make progress towards eliminating violence against women, we will need to address the role of *men*—specifically, the attitudes, behaviours, identities, and relations of those men who use violence.

Second, constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in shaping violence against women: at the individual level, in families and relationships, in communities, and societies as a whole. A wide variety of studies have found for example that men's adherence to sexist, patriarchal, and/or sexually hostile attitudes is an important predictor of their use of violence against women, as several meta-analyses document (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002; Schumacher, Feldbau-Kohn, Slep, & Heyman, 2001; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, & Tritt, 2004; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996). While masculine attitudes are one factor, another is male dominance itself. Male economic and decision-making dominance in the family is one of the strongest predictors of high levels of violence against women (Heise, 1998, 2006).

These first two insights boil down to the point that we have no choice but to address men and masculinities if we want to stop violence against women. However, violence prevention work with men has been fuelled also by a third and more hopeful insight: that men have a positive role to play in helping to stop violence against women. Violence is an issue of concern to women and men alike and men have a stake in ending violence against women. While men receive a 'patriarchal dividend' from gendered structures of inequality (Connell, 1995), men can be motivated by other interests. Indeed, men will benefit from progress towards an end to men's violence against women. There are various ways in which such interests and of the benefits to men of progress towards the elimination of violence against women have been articulated (Expert Group, 2003; Kaufman, 2003). Nevertheless, they typically include personal well-being (freedom from the costs of conformity with dominant definitions of masculinity), relational interests (men's care and love for the women and girls in their lives), collective and community interests (the benefits to communities for example of a diminution in the civil and

international violence associated with aggressive constructions of masculinity and patriarchal nation states), and principle (men's ethical, political, or spiritual commitments). There are also debates over the issue of 'benefits' to men, as I explore below.

So far, this book has argued that men must be involved in the prevention of violence against women because: (1) this violence is perpetrated overwhelmingly by men; (2) it is based in constructions of masculinity and patterns of gender inequality in which men are involved; and (3) men themselves can help to change the social and cultural foundations of violence against women. There are several elements of men's roles in creating change which deserve further mention:

- Men can change men.
- Men can use institutional power to promote change.
- Involving men means that women do not have to make change alone.

Men's attitudes and behaviour are shaped in powerful ways by their male peers. For example, men who believe that other men are unwilling to act to prevent rape are more likely to be unwilling to intervene themselves, as this report explores below. In addition, male advocates and educators tend to be perceived as more credible and more persuasive by male participants (Flood, Fergus, & Heenan, 2009). While this unfortunately reflects the status and cultural legitimacy granted to men's voices in general (Flood, 2005), it also can be used to strategic advantage in changing men. At the same time, women can work very effectively with boys and men, men should also hear the voices of women, and there are benefits to women and men working together.

A second element of men's capacity to create social change towards gender equality comes out of gender inequalities themselves. In Australia as in many countries, it is true that as a group, men have greater access to institutional power than women as a group. Decision-making and powerful positions in Australia, whether in Parliament or local Councils, are dominated by men. Men in general receive higher wages than women, reflecting such factors as inequalities in parenting and domestic work and occupational segregation. (Of course, many men in Australia are anything but powerful, and gender inequalities intersect with other inequalities of class, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on.) Men with influence and privilege can be powerful advocates for the prevention of violence

against women, mobilising resources and garnering institutional support. Senior male leaders can be effective ‘champions’ for violence prevention in their organisations, using their personal influence to encourage take-up of violence prevention initiatives (Rogers, 2002, p. 992). Indeed, their advocacy can have flow-on effects for other males’ support for such work, for example, in schools where teachers and other staff intervene in bullying, students themselves are more likely to intervene (Powell, 2010).

Patterns of men’s institutional privilege also mean that men involved in anti-violence work at times have been able to attract levels of support and funding rarely granted to women. Men’s anti-violence work must be done in consultation with and accountable to relevant women’s groups and networks.

A further reason to involve men in the prevention of men’s violence against women concerns the positive effects of male inclusion and the detrimental effects of male exclusion. Given that women already interact with men on a daily basis in their households and public lives, involving men in building equitable gender relations can make interventions more relevant and workable and create lasting change. Male inclusion increases men’s responsibility for change and their belief that they too will gain from gender equality, and can address many men’s sense of anxiety and fear as traditional, violence-supportive masculinities are undermined (Chant & Gutmann, 2000). Excluding men from work on violence and gender can provoke male hostility and retaliation. It can intensify gender inequalities and thus leave women with yet more work to do among unsympathetic men and patriarchal power relations (Chant & Gutmann, 2000).

There is a compelling feminist rationale for working with men: we will need to change *men*—men’s attitudes, behaviours, identities, and relations—if we are to make progress towards gender equality. The threefold rationale described above has served as a powerful motivator for engaging men in preventing men’s violence against women. At the same time, there are important dangers in male involvement. Involving men in the work of preventing violence against women may lead to the dilution of the feminist content and orientation of services, threats to funding and resources for programs and services directed at women, and the marginalisation of women’s voices and leadership. These dangers overlap with those associated with involving men in gender-related programming and policy in general (Flood, 2007). Among many women’s groups and organisations there is thus understandable caution about working with men.

Men's involvement in efforts to end men's violence against women is a delicate form of political activity, as it involves the mobilisation of members of a privileged group in order to undermine that same privilege. This activity is one instance of what has been termed 'ally politics', in which members of privileged groups take action to undermine that same privilege: white people challenging racism, heterosexual people challenging heterosexism and homophobia, and of course, men challenging sexism. There is now in ally politics a well-developed awareness of the ways in which members of privileged groups engaged in this politics may in fact entrench this privilege. Some of the challenges or tensions of men's anti-violence work are shared across ally politics, while others are more distinctive to this field.

PRINCIPLES FOR MALE INVOLVEMENT

The most important way to minimise the risks of male involvement is by adopting feminist principles and holding them central to one's work. Above all, this work must be feminist or profeminist. It must be guided by feminist content and framed with a feminist political agenda.

To be feminist or profeminist is, in brief, to be guided by principles of gender equality and social justice. It is to be critical of those aspects of men's behaviour, constructions of masculinity, and gender relations that harm women. To be profeminist or gender-just is to also encourage men to develop respectful, trusting, and egalitarian relations with women, and to promote positive, open-minded constructions of gender or selfhood. Any engagement of men in gender-related work should further feminist goals and draw on feminist frameworks.

There are several reasons why feminist principles or a feminist politics must be central to men's anti-violence work. This work in a sense is defined by gender, and comprises advocacy by members of a privileged group (men) to undermine that same privilege, and it is feminism which speaks most to gender and gendered privilege. Furthermore, in relation to men's advocacy on violence against women in particular, it is feminist activism that placed violence against women on community and policy agendas and feminist scholarship that provides the most comprehensive and credible account of the causes and consequences of this violence.

There are two further principles which have been important in profeminist men's politics, and which are applicable to men's involvements in preventing violence against women. First, interventions must

be committed to enhancing boys' and men's lives. Second, they must address diversities among men. I explore these after examining the first and overarching principle in more depth.

The above account hardly settles what it means to say that men's anti-violence work must be feminist. For a start, there are significant differences and debates within feminism regarding men's violence against women. Diverse strands or schools of feminist advocacy and scholarship differ in the weight they give to the issue of men's violence against women, their explanatory or theoretical frameworks regarding this violence, and the strategies they advocate or pursue in response. Indeed, there are heated debates within feminism over particular practices or domains seen by some to be implicated in men's violence against women, such as pornography, prostitution or sex work, trafficking, and BDSM (bondage and discipline, sadism and masochism). Such debates became so heated in the 1980s that they were termed the 'feminist sex wars', and these debates persist today. The question then becomes *which* feminisms and feminist positions are adopted.

There are also diverse positions on men's own relations to feminism: their use of the term 'feminist', their epistemological and ontological positions in relation to feminism, and their role in feminist advocacy. Looking briefly at the first issue, for some, men can use the term 'feminist' for themselves as long as they adopt the behaviours and attitudes appropriate to the term. For others, men calling themselves 'feminists' risks colonisation and misappropriation, and men should adopt labels such as 'profeminist' or 'anti-patriarchal' instead.

Accountability

The injunction that men's anti-violence work must be feminist has implications for how this work is carried out. There is widespread agreement that this work must be done in partnership with, and even be accountable to, women and women's groups (Macomber, 2014). The ideal or principle of accountability is widespread in gender-focused work with men. The notion of accountability comes out of the politics of oppression and the politics of knowledge. It is based on two, overlapping foundational ideas. First, struggles against oppression should be led by those who are oppressed. Second, when it comes to systems of oppression or inequality, those who are oppressed or disadvantaged have a much better understanding of the system than those who are privileged

or advantaged, as privilege and injustice often are invisible to members of the dominant group (Cohen, 2000). In the men's anti-violence field, accountability thus involves 'an understanding of women's epistemic privilege in the form of first-hand experiences of gender oppression' (Göransson, 2014, p. 47).

The principle of accountability has been central to sexual and domestic violence work and gender justice work, visible in a 1970s emphasis on offender accountability, a 1980s emphasis on institutional accountability, and in the 1990s, in the notion of male allies' accountability. Accountability has been seen as a key strategy to lessen the unintended consequences of men's involvement, of men reinforcing sexism. It is intended to undermine the patriarchal socialisation through which men align themselves with and collude with other dominant group members and are policed for being friends with or loyal to women (Funk, 2006; Macomber, 2014). Even in ostensibly progressive social movements or sub-cultures, male-dominated and male-only groups in which women's voices and feminist analysis are absent may end up reinforcing patriarchal and regressive norms of gender (Haenfler, 2004).

However, the actual practice of accountability in men's contemporary anti-violence work may be more uneven. Research in men's anti-violence groups in the USA for example finds two sets of problems. First, definitions of accountability typically are absent, or diverse, or unclear. Secondly, men rarely police other men's inequitable behaviour and often this is left up to women (Macomber, 2014). On the other hand, two international initiatives show promise. The Engaging Men through Accountable Practice (EMAP) intervention provides a curriculum for engaging men in change in relation to personal and relational accountability (International Rescue Committee, 2014). MenEngage, a global alliance comprising over 700 non-government organisations, country networks, and UN partners, recently developed accountability standards and guidelines for its members (MenEngage, 2014).

For the men's anti-violence field, accountability can be defined simply as working in gender-equitable ways. Accountability therefore refers more to the processes of this work than it does to its outcomes, although the hope is that the former will shape the latter. Accountability can be conceived of as necessary at three levels: personal, interpersonal, and institutional. *Personal* accountability involves men addressing their own practice, striving to ensure that they behave in gender-equitable ways. *Interpersonal* or relational accountability

involves strategies to build gender-equitable dynamics and processes in interaction. It addresses the politics of whose voices are heard, who decides and who leads, who does the low-status behind-the-scenes work and whose efforts are given attention and praise, and so on. *Institutional* accountability involves structures of consultation and collaboration with feminist women and women's groups and others concerned with gender and sexual justice and/or with other forms of social injustice and oppression.

Each level of accountability requires its own strategies, such as codes of conduct and educational programs at the personal level, attention to gender divisions of labour and the distribution of power and status at the interpersonal level, and policies and structures for consultation at the institutional level. One important resource addressing the first two levels of accountability is the Engaging Men through Accountable Practice (EMAP) intervention, a one-year primary prevention intervention created by the International Rescue Committee. This provides a curriculum for engaging men in change in relation to personal and relational accountability. At the third level, the work of Sonke Gender Justice in South Africa provides a powerful example of lines of accountability. Sonke Gender Justice Network is a South African non-government organisation (NGO) that was established in 2006 in order to support men and boys to take action to promote gender equality and prevent both violence against women and HIV/AIDS. In the context of scarce resources for such work, Sonke adopts a variety of strategies to minimise harmful competition with women's rights organisations:

In order to achieve the shared goals of gender transformation, Sonke maintains a dual strategy of firstly keeping feedback channels open by engaging in regular discussion with traditional women's rights organisations and representatives; and secondly striving to share access to resources. Sonke has brokered relationships between other women's rights organisations and Sonke donors, and developed joint work and proposals with women's rights partner organisations, securing grants that have sustained their work. Through a longstanding history of collaboration with women's rights organisations, Sonke has developed relationships of trust that have defused some of these tensions. Whenever they emerge, Sonke welcomes a dialogue. (van den Berg et al., 2013, pp. 114–115)

Sonke Gender Justice's work also is conducted very much in partnership with women and women's groups, close to half its leaders are female,

and it positions itself as a feminist rather than men's organisation (van den Berg et al., 2013).

There are further questions regarding accountability: how to define it, to whom to be accountable, and accountability versus responsibility. I have described accountability primarily as a process, defined by gender-equitable practice. One could also adopt a less gendered but still process-focused definition, in which accountability involves being transparent about decision-making and taking responsibility for outcomes (Funk, 2006). The US organisation Menswork (2009) states that accountable acts are comprised of elements including:

transparently making a decision, getting feedback on that decision-making process, following through with our decisions, accepting the consequences for our decisions/actions, and making amends when necessary for the consequences of our decisions/actions.

Menswork describes itself as accountable, first, to the women, children and men who have been harmed by or who are at risk of men's sexual or domestic violence; second, to the local organisations that work with people who are victimised or harmed; and third, to the community as a whole (as well as government entities, donors and funders). Commentators such as Funk (2006) also emphasise accountability *to*, that is, to local feminist leadership. Funk does note the problem that one has to choose which feminists or women to whom to be accountable, but seems to leave little room for making decisions with which some feminists will disagree (Funk, 2006). This speaks to the second issue, accountability to whom?

Men who take up feminist causes must by necessity take sides in debates among feminisms and other progressive movements, as noted above. Men's anti-violence groups and organisations only rarely have explicitly 'taken sides' in feminist debates, although in a sense any position on gender issues represents a 'taking of sides' whether conscious or not. One notable exception to this occurred in 1992. At the First National Ending Men's Violence Network Conference in Chicago, USA, participants argued that activists against men's violence should hold themselves accountable only to those feminists who themselves are accountable to the victims of prostitution and pornography (Grant, 1997). This declaration of loyalties and political allegiances was challenged by others, with academic and activist Harry Brod critical

particularly of the authors' negative characterisations of the feminists with whom they disagree. He wrote in an open letter, 'The profeminist men's movement has no business contributing to the factionalisation and divisiveness in the women's movement'. To give a more recent example, in the MenEngage alliance, a global network of NGOs and others, there has been disagreement among representatives about what position to take on issues of prostitution or sex work.¹

Finally, is there a tension between accountability and responsibility? In a sense, taking responsibility for one's actions and words is incompatible with being fully accountable for these to another individual or group. Men who act to build non-violent and gender-equitable futures must act in a sense as autonomous moral agents (Brod, 1998) rather than locating all moral responsibility for their actions with women. In addition, if men hold themselves accountable only to those feminists or others with whom they agree, this does not seem a true form of accountability, as it is premised on pre-existing agreement with those politics. Thus in one version of accountability, I am accountable to the feminists with whom I agree and not to the ones with whom I do not. It is desirable for men involved in anti-violence work to listen to and be guided by the perspectives of local feminist activists and organisations. Yet it is also desirable, and indeed inevitable, for such men to take positions with which at least some feminists may disagree.

I opened this discussion of principles for male involvement by identifying the primary or overarching principle, that this work must be feminist. There are two further principles which have had historical traction in profeminist men's politics and which are applicable here: interventions must be committed to enhancing boys' and men's lives, and they must address diversities among men.

These three principles or versions of them have an influential history in profeminist men's politics, particularly in the USA. The three principles have for a long time been the guiding principles of the National Organisation of Men Against Sexism (NOMAS) in the USA. NOMAS adopted the three, phrased as profeminist, male-positive, and gay-affirmative, and they also became the guiding principles for the US profeminist magazine *Changing Men*. When I founded the Australian profeminist

¹ Personal communication, Gary Barker, October 29, 2015.

magazine *XY: Men, Sex, Politics* in 1990, I adopted the same principles, and they were also taken up by the grassroots anti-violence men's groups which formed under the banner Men Against Sexual Assault in Australia beginning in 1992. NOMAS changed the second principle 'male-positive' to 'enhancing men's lives' in the early 1990s and added the further principle 'anti-racist'.

In articulating the second of these three principles in 1992, I wrote the following:

To be male-positive is to be affirming of men and optimistic about men; to believe that men can change; to support every man's efforts at positive change. To be male-positive is to build close relations and supportive alliances among men. It is to acknowledge men's many acts of compassion and kindness. To be male-positive is to resist feeling hopeless about men and writing men off, and to reject the idea that men are somehow intrinsically bad, oppressive or sexist.

To be male-positive is to realise that individual men are not responsible for, and can't be blamed for, social structures and values such as the social construction of masculinity or the history of women's oppression. This has to be balanced with the recognition that individual men are responsible for their oppressive behaviour (such as violence) and can choose to change it. If a man displays sexism or homophobia, a male-positive response is to help him in trying to change this, to affirm the man and challenge the behaviour, instead of attacking that man.

Male-positivity is also about recognising and praising the positive aspects of masculinity. Strength, determination and courage are all aspects of traditional masculinity, and yet they are useful traits for men's ability to change society.

Male-positivity is balanced by profeminism. Being male-positive of course doesn't mean supporting whatever men do. We have to retain a sense of ethics or values, and to assess men and masculinities accordingly. To give a simple example, a violent masculinity is unacceptable, because violence is ethically unacceptable. And being male-positive is compatible with criticising oppressive or destructive aspects of men's groups or the men's movement. (Flood, 1995)

Writing at the time, I noted that NOMAS in the USA had changed 'male-positive' to 'enhancing men's lives'. This is a better terminology, as 'male-positive' may invite an uncritical and naïve celebration of men

or maleness. My words above, more than two decades old, seem now to give insufficient weight to the challenges of anti-patriarchal practice among men. Nevertheless, they embody an optimistic spirit which continues in profeminist men's politics today.

The political tension between the need to 'enhance men's lives' and the first, overarching principle of feminism, one I noted at the time, persists in contemporary men's anti-violence work. Most obviously, it is evident in tensions between a focus on men's perpetration of violence against women and children and an acknowledgement of men's own subjection to violence. More widely, there are tensions between an emphasis on the privileges or advantages which accrue to men in a patriarchal society, on the one hand, and on the other, an emphasis also on the harms or limitations to men associated with masculinity. I return to these in the discussion below of the benefits and costs to men.

The third principle I have identified for profeminist men's politics is that it must be address diversities among men. In the early 1990s, this principle first was articulated as 'gay-affirmative'. Profeminist men's politics and scholarship at this time embodied a strong recognition of the ways in which masculinity is structured by homophobia, the fear and hostility directed towards lesbian and gay people and particularly gay men, whether in NOMAS's principles or in Kimmel's (1994) influential chapter. Writing in 1992, I therefore identified 'gay-affirmative' as the third corner of the 'holy trinity' of principles for profeminism:

To be gay-affirmative is to be committed to challenging anti-gay prejudice, oppression and homophobia. It is to be aware of gay men's (and lesbians') experiences, and to be informed by gay analyses of society. For men in particular, to be gay-affirmative is to recognise the role of homophobia in the operations of masculinity, and to forge intimate and supportive relations with men, whether straight or otherwise.

Men who are gay-affirmative will not assume that everyone is heterosexual, and they will accept and welcome (other) gay men. We will work on our own homophobia or heterosexism, and challenge that of other men and institutions. Being gay-affirmative means being supportive of the expression of gay and other non-heterosexual sexualities.

Gay-affirmative men in the men's movement may support struggles against sexual oppression or work with (other) gay men. And we should be conscious of how our campaigns on men's issues may affect gay men or gay culture in particular. (For example, anti-pornography campaigns

may lead to the banning of safe sex literature or gay pornography.) Straight men may build friendships and alliances with gay and bisexual men, and may themselves explore the possibilities for same-sex desire and sex.

As with the other two principles, there are some traps to avoid. Gay men can teach straight men a lot about male/male intimacy and about the possibilities for a sensual, expressive and egalitarian masculinity. But gay men and gay culture can also be sexist and even misogynistic (woman-hating), and this should not be tolerated because its source is gay.

Heterosexual men who are gay-affirmative should not take on the idea that heterosexuality is somehow fundamentally unsound, oppressive or just plain uncool. We may be critical of aspects of heterosexual culture and heterosexual sexual behaviour (such as coercing women into sex), but we can also practise self-acceptance and explore a positive and non-oppressive heterosexuality. (Flood, 1995)

Recognition of heterosexism and homophobia continues in contemporary profeminist men's politics, and is visible for example in the US organisation NOMAS's retention of the term 'gay-affirmative' and more recently 'LGBTQ+ affirmative'. In the wake of gay and lesbian liberation movements, the 1990s saw the proliferation of public sexual and gender identities and a range of new claims to sexual rights and citizenship. Reflecting this, profeminist men's groups and organisations now also acknowledge bisexual, transgender, and other individuals, communities, and movements.

In addition, there is a wider recognition of the intersections of not only sexuality but also race and class. In contemporary profeminist activism, including in men's anti-violence advocacy, a far more thorough-going intersectional analysis is influential. This has developed particularly with reference to race and ethnicity, but also in relation to class, age, region, and other axes of social difference. Work with men must acknowledge both commonalities and diversities in men's lives and the complex ways in which manhood and gender are structured by race, class, sexuality, age and other forms of social difference. I return to this in Chapter 11.

Having articulated the rationale for engaging men, this chapter now highlights three caveats or complexities, regarding (a) inclusion and exclusion; (b) 'most men' and the use of violence; and (c) benefits to men.

MALE INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

First, although there is a powerful rationale for engaging men in ending violence against women and building gender equality, this does not comprise a universal imperative of male inclusion. It does not mean that men must be in every program, every room, and every event. It does not mean that women-only spaces should end, and that all programs and funding should be directed to *both* women and men. While men must take action in support of gender justice, this in no way means that women's groups and campaigns must include men. Men's anti-violence work should involve respect for and protection of 'women's space', women-only, and women-focused programs.

There continue to be reasons why 'women's space', women-only and women-focused campaigns are vital: to support those who are most disadvantaged by pervasive gender inequalities, to maintain women's solidarity and leadership, and to foster women's consciousness-raising and collective empowerment. Women still have much to do among women, and should not be burdened with sole responsibility for mobilising men. Nor should growing attention to male involvement threaten resources for women and women's programs. At the same time, reaching men to reduce and prevent violence against women is by definition spending money to meet the interests and needs of women, and will expand the financial and political support available to women's programs (Kaufman, 2003). However, we must also work more directly to achieve this, through advocacy to increase funding for women's rights and gender justice work (MenEngage Alliance, 2016).

Tensions regarding men's inclusion in or exclusion from anti-violence work sometimes take very immediate forms, in relation for example to public events such as marches. There have been debates in countries such as Australia and the USA regarding men's participation in 'Take Back the Night' or 'Reclaim the Night' marches, held by women's groups to symbolise women's right to take up public (and private) space free of the threat of violence. I recall the experience at a 'Reclaim the Night' march in the 1990s in Canberra, Australia, where sympathetic men were asked to refrain from joining the march but to show their support in other ways, and another experience in which men were asked to march at the back of the march, behind the women leading the walk through the city streets. I argued at the time that marching behind the women was respectful, honourable, and fair.

‘MOST MEN’ AND VIOLENCE

The claim that ‘most men do not use violence’ is a common refrain in men’s anti-violence work. Indeed, I said earlier that, ‘Most men do not use violence against women, particularly in its bluntest forms’. This claim has been of strategic value particularly in countering the misguided perception some men have that anti-violence campaigns tell them, e.g. that ‘all men are rapists’, that is, that violence against women is perpetrated uniformly and universally by men. It creates greater space for involving those men who are critical of violence against women and also convinced that they do not contribute to the problem. However, the claim that ‘most men do not use violence against women’ also is vulnerable to several important criticisms.

First, the claim that most men do not use violence against women sometimes is false. In some countries, in fact the majority of men have used violence against women, while in other countries significant minorities—one in four or one in three—have used violence. Two major multi-country studies demonstrate this. First, the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific is based on interviews with 10,000 men from rural and urban sites in Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Papua New Guinea. It finds that at least one-quarter, and in some cases four-fifths, of ever-partnered men have ever perpetrated physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence in their lifetime. In four of the six countries, in fact, over half of men had ever perpetrated intimate partner violence (Fulu, Jewkes, Roselli, & Garcia-Moreno, 2013). The second international survey—the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), conducted over 2009 and 2012 with a total of 10,490 participants aged 18 to 59—finds similar, albeit lower, rates of perpetration. In the survey in eight low- and middle-income countries (Brazil, Chile, Mexico, India, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Rwanda), rates of perpetration among men varied from 17.5 to 46% (Levtov, Barker, Contreras-Urbina, Heilman, & Verma, 2014).

The international data shows that similar or higher proportions of men in various countries have ever perpetrated sexual violence against their partners, including *majorities and near majorities* of men in some countries. In the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific, in four of the six countries one-fifth or more of men had perpetrated sexual partner violence (Fulu et al., 2013). In two of these,

Indonesia (Papua) and Papua New Guinea, the proportion of men who had done so was 43 and 59% respectively. In the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), proportions of men ranging from 2 to 25% had ever perpetrated sexual violence against a woman, with men's lifetime reported use of sexual violence around 9% in most countries (Barker et al., 2011). Men's sexual violence against women is particularly high in some countries. In India for example, 24% of men ever had perpetrated sexual violence against anyone, 20% had perpetrated sexual violence against a partner, and 14% had perpetrated sexual violence against a partner in the last year (Barker et al., 2011).

Other studies from the USA, Canada, and elsewhere show that significant numbers of men have used sexual coercion against women. While the vast majority of men will say in surveys that they have never 'raped' a woman, many have committed acts which meet the legal definitions of rape or sexual assault. Most famously, Koss et al.'s (1987) national study of college students in the USA found that 7.7% of the men reported that they had committed an act that met the standard legal definition of attempted or completed rape since the age of 14. In studies in the 1990s, up to 15% of men surveyed at individual universities and colleges indicated that they have perpetrated rape and up to 57% indicated that they have perpetrated some form of sexual assault, while in community samples of men in the USA various studies find that anywhere from three to 27% of men have perpetrated sexual assault (Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998).

More recent studies continue to show that significant proportions of men are prepared to sexually assault women or have done so. In a study among 368 male university students in the USA, 48% of college men acknowledged at least some likelihood of assaulting a woman, and 19% reported that it would be likely or very likely if they knew there would be no penalty or consequences for committing sexual assault (Burgess, 2007). In a cross-sectional study conducted in three districts in South Africa, 27.6% of men admitted to raping a woman (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2011).

An emphasis on the point that 'not all men use violence' can involve a focus only on obvious physical and sexual forms of violence and not also on other forms of coercion or violence-supportive attitudes and relations, and can neglect men's privileges and entitlements in a patriarchal society (Castelino, Sheridan, & Boulet, 2014). I return to this in Chapter 5.

A second, related problem is that the claim that ‘most men do not use violence’ can lessen attention to male anti-violence activists’ own use of violence. Research among US male anti-violence activists finds that many make distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’, between ‘well-meaning men’ or ‘men of conscience’ and those ‘other’ men who assault women (Macomber, 2012). Similarly, writing on Victoria, Australia, Castelino and colleagues (2014) report that men involved in violence prevention may position themselves as ‘good men’, offering a simplistic dichotomy between perpetrators and good men where the latter’s relations with women are beyond critical assessment. Indeed, women may position men involved in anti-violence advocacy as ideal or desirable men, saying that ‘We need more men like you’, as qualitative research in South Africa found (Göransson, 2014).

At the same time, it is widely assumed in men’s anti-violence work that one of men’s first steps in taking up such advocacy should be to ‘get their own house in order’, to build non-violent and respectful relations in their own lives (Flood, 2010, 2014). Men who are experienced activists in men’s anti-violence work tend to acknowledge the privileges they receive, emphasise the need to act accountably and with integrity in relation to these, and work to align both their public and private practices with gender equality, as the qualitative study among nine men in South Africa found (Göransson, 2014).

More generally, the claim that ‘while violence against women is committed mostly by men, most men do not use violence against women’ can weaken recognition of the pervasiveness and seriousness of this violence. The latter part of the statement, that ‘most men don’t’, can weaken the political impact of the former part, that ‘it is men who do’. The same dynamic is evident in many men’s reactions to social media commentary on instances of men’s violence against women, where men respond ‘Not all men are like that’. The ‘NotAllMen’ hashtag was criticised on some US social media in early 2015 as a defensive side-tracking of attention to men’s violence, with some women responding with ‘#YesAllWomen’—that is, that all women deal with sexism and violence on a daily basis (Plait, 2015).

Emphases on the claims that ‘most men don’t use violence’ or ‘it’s not all men’ can deflect attention to men’s collective responsibility for violence against women. Men’s common construction of batterers and rapists as ‘the other’ diminishes their accountability in a violence-supportive culture (Rich, Utley, Janke, & Moldoveanu, 2010).

Men's collective responsibility is both causal and moral, although more the former than the latter. In terms of causal collective responsibility, men who do not directly perpetrate violence against women may nevertheless enable it. Many men sustain the patriarchal norms and relations which inform some men's violence against women—by making or laughing along with rape jokes, by encouraging male peers to dominate or objectify or exploit women, or by behaving in other everyday ways which prop up gender inequalities. To the extent that men as individuals or in groups behave in such ways, they are causally responsible for the violence which some men go on to perpetrate. This is corroborated by the evidence that male peer support is a critical factor in men's perpetration of sexual violence against women (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Putting this point about men's collective responsibility another way, and echoing a slogan which has been part of men's anti-violence advocacy, 'If men are not part of the solution, they are part of the problem'. Note here that this causal responsibility is not distributed evenly among men, and depends on the extent to which men enable or condone other men's perpetration of violence.

Men also have a collective *moral* responsibility for men's violence against women, which in this case has less to do with how individual men behave and more to do with the collective impact of this violence on women and men. Because this violence limits women's autonomy, freedom and safety, it has the general social consequence of reproducing forms of men's authority over women. Men's violence against women also thus has an impact on men in general, in that it sustains the power and authority of men as a group. Precisely because violence against women has political implications for men's collective position in society, it is men's collective ethical responsibility to address it. This form of collective responsibility, then, is determined less by how individual men or groups of men behave and more by the general political consequences of men's violence and the ethical obligation this then requires.

Despite these points, it remains important to note that not all men are violent. Yes, not all men are like that. It would be a mistake to assume that men's involvements in violence and abuse are universal and uniform. Instead, men's involvements in violence vary greatly—across cultures, across history, across contexts within any given society, and across the life course.

Recognising diversities in men's relationships to violence is not only empirically justified, but politically valuable. It gives hope—hope that

there are men who not behave in patriarchal and terrorising ways and that there are other men who can cease to do so. Whether a majority of men or only a minority do not use violence, it is valuable to know how their non-violent practice has come about. How do some men come to be non-violent? What are the social conditions which foster non-violence?

The third issue on which I comment is the question of benefits to men.

BENEFITS AND COSTS

The idea that men will benefit from the reduction or prevention of men's violence against women, and more broadly from progress towards gender equality, is a common element in appeals to men in violence prevention. The notion of benefit to men is visible for example in various overviews or background documents on men and violence prevention, typically in terms of the argument that men are constrained by dominant constructions of masculinity or the 'costs of patriarchy' (Expert Group, 2003; Ferguson et al., 2004; Kaufman, 2003; Lang, 2003; Lang et al., 2004; Minerson, Carolo, Dinner, & Jones, 2011). This same argument is given routine emphasis in the wider field of engaging men in building gender equality, as shown for example at the recent UN Commission on the Status of Women in March 2015 (Anderson, 2015). However, there is also substantial disagreement over whether we should appeal to men on altruistic and principled grounds, or in relation to men's own gendered needs and vulnerabilities and benefits to men (MenEngage Alliance, 2016).

Benefit to men typically is not articulated as a primary *reason* for involving men in building gender equality or ending violence against women, but certainly is common in rhetorical appeals to men's involvement. However, there has been some critique of this emphasis on how men will benefit. Commentators such as Pease (2008) express concern that this downplays the privileges accruing to men under patriarchy, risks compromising women's interests and progress towards gender equality, and distracts from men's ethical responsibility to change irrespective of whether or not it meets their (patriarchal) interests.

There are few if any violence prevention interventions or organisations aimed at men which show a single-minded focus on the benefits to men

of non-violence and gender equality. In any case, there are at least three reasons not to focus entirely on the costs to men of violence against women:

- The men who use violence against women benefit from it.
- Men in general benefit from some men's violence against women.
- Men's violence itself is not a symptom of men's powerlessness.

In the first instance, men who use violence against their partners or other women benefit directly from this. Men systematically using violence and control against partners receive such 'benefits' as social and sexual services and support, decision-making control, and reinforcement of a powerful sense of self (Stark, 2010). In ceasing their violence, perpetrators must give these up. Men's use of coercive control exploits persistent gender inequalities, and also works to maintain them. Similarly, interviews with convicted rapists suggest that men who rape see rape as a low-risk, high-reward act; means of revenge and punishment, an added bonus while committing other crimes, a way to gain sexual access, a source of impersonal sex and power, a form of recreation and adventure, and a source of male bonding (Scully, 1990).

More widely, men *in general* benefit from some men's violence against women, as this violence has the social consequence of reproducing men's authority over women (Eisenstein, 1984). Men will have to give up the unfair privileges associated with violence and gender inequality: the privilege to dominate one's relationships and families, the 'right' to expect sex on demand from a partner, and the 'pleasures' of treating women as second-class citizens and sexual subordinates.

Third, an emphasis on the costs to men of violence against women can imply that this violence is a symptom of men's powerlessness, while an emphasis on the costs to men of masculinity can imply that men in fact are disadvantaged relative to women. If the story told to men is one in which men are psychologically and emotionally limited and harmed by masculinity, this implies that women in comparison are whole and complete and, in fact, the privileged party in the current gender order (Göransson, 2014).

In some ways then, men will 'lose' from progress towards non-violence and gender equality. Some men will lose the benefits they accrue from the perpetration of violence, while others will lose the unjust and unearned privileges associated with gender inequalities. Efforts to

involve men in violence prevention must acknowledge the *costs* to men of undermining the patriarchal privileges which underpin men's violence against women. An emphasis on benefits to men should avoid downplaying the patriarchal organisation of gender and violence and thus the actual obstacles to change.

Our work should also acknowledge the potential costs of involvement in violence prevention itself, given that the men and boys who participate may be ridiculed or harassed for lack of conformity to hegemonic masculine norms (Crooks, Goodall, Hughes, Jaffe, & Baker, 2007). For example, a qualitative study among nine men in South Africa who were or had been involved in work against men's violence against women and or LGBTI people found that some had been met with allegations of failing to be 'real men', particularly from other men, but also from women (Göransson, 2014).

At the same time, it would be a mistake to avoid all reference to how men may benefit from a non-violent future, to portray progress necessarily as a zero-sum game in which men will lose and women will gain, and to appeal to men purely on altruistic grounds. There are at least two risks here. First, we risk 'scaring men off', such that men do not enter this work, and if they do, they shut down in hostile defensiveness before any progressive change can take place. Second, we risk intensifying men's resistance to gender equality initiatives. For example, zero-sum thinking—the belief that men will lose out—was a significant predictor of unwillingness among male middle and senior corporate managers to participate in a proposed diversity and inclusion training course (Prime, Moss-Racusin, & Heather Foust-Cummings, 2009). The belief that women's gains always mean losses for men gets in the way of men's support for gender equality.

To end men's violence against women, we will need to secure the support of at least some men, and to do that, we will need to appeal, *in part*, to the ways in which they will gain. Yes, the overarching reason for men to support an end to violence against women should be ethical, moral or political, that this violence is unjust. But we should also appeal to men's reconstructed or anti-patriarchal interests—the stake that some men already feel in freer, safer, more egalitarian lives for women and girls.

Men do have interests in the patriarchal status quo, in various forms of unjust privilege. But men also have, and can be invited to recognise,

their interests in a non-patriarchal future. One reason for men to support an end to violence against women, really the primary reason, is an ethical or moral one: this violence is unjust. Men have an ethical obligation to act in support of the elimination of violence against women. However, to sustain their involvement, it is important for men to see their stake in feminist futures. For as Brod (1998, p. 199) argues, ‘self-sacrificing altruism is insufficient as the basis for a political movement’ and there is ‘a moral imperative to go beyond mere moral imperatives’. Thus, efforts to involve men in ending men’s violence against women also should articulate how this is in what Brod (1998) calls men’s ‘long-term enlightened self-interest’.

Patterns of male privilege, alongside other intersecting forms of privilege and injustice, are part of the landscape in which men’s and boys’ engagement in violence prevention takes place. Those who work with men encounter tensions in asking members of a privileged social group to critically interrogate their privilege, for example by examining their deeply held beliefs about being a man (Casey et al., 2013). A persistent challenge in this work is how to simultaneously invite and involve men on the one hand, and avoid colluding or reinforcing male privilege on the other. Some common ways of inviting men into violence prevention are based on complicity with notions of ‘real’ manhood or stereotypically masculine attributes, as I note later. Institutionalised male power—in governments, criminal justice systems, religious institutions, communities, and so on—poses a wider challenge for this work. Representatives of prevention efforts report that their challenge to entrenched gender inequalities, and men’s defences of these inequalities, generates attacks and ridicule and makes it harder to gain resources, legitimacy, support, and membership (Casey et al., 2013).

We must appeal to and intensify men’s reconstructed, emancipatory, or anti-patriarchal interests, while continuing to assert the ethical or political basis of a profeminist politics as primary. Indeed, we need to know much more about how and why some men come to anti-patriarchal identities and relations: why some men are resistant to patriarchal masculinities, others condone them, while others are their shock troops. We need to know much more about *how* we shift men’s sense of their interests, and *how* men’s interests can and do change.

I move now to the practicalities of making change among men. The following chapters explore strategies and settings which can be used to engage men and boys in prevention.

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PART II

Strategies and Settings



CHAPTER 5

Reaching and Engaging Men

To engage men in violence prevention, we must first reach them. We must ‘get men in the door’. This chapter explores what shapes men’s initial interest and involvement in ending men’s violence against women. In terms of ‘engaging’ men, in this chapter the focus is on engaging men’s initial interest and involvement, while the following chapter explores how to engage men through effective forms of face-to-face education.

WHERE MEN STAND

To fully understand men’s potential roles in preventing men’s violence against women, we must start with where men stand in relation to this violence. This chapter begins by briefly mapping four dimensions of men’s relations to violence against women: the use of violence, attitudes towards violence, responses when violence occurs, and efforts to prevent violence. To put this differently: How many men use violence against women? What do men know and think about violence against women? What do men do when violence against women occurs? And what steps are men taking to reduce and prevent violence against women? The chapter then explores men’s willingness to talk about men’s violence against women, the barriers to men’s involvement in anti-violence advocacy, and the experiences which shape their paths into this. It concludes by discussing how to make the case to men that violence against women is an issue of direct concern to them.

Men's Perpetration of Violence Against Women

What proportion of men have actually used violence against a woman? There is very little data with which to answer this, as most surveys of the extent of violence against women focus on victimisation rather than perpetration. Two recent international surveys, and a number of more local studies, do provide valuable data on the extent of men's perpetration of violence. The UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific documents that at least one-quarter, and in some cases four-fifths, of ever-partnered men have ever perpetrated physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence in their lifetime (Fulu, Jewkes, Roselli, & Garcia-Moreno, 2013). The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) documents rates of perpetration among men from 17.5 to 46% (Levtov, Barker, Contreras-Urbina, Heilman, & Verma, 2014). As I noted in Chapter 4, other North American studies focused on sexual assault also show that substantial minorities of men have perpetrated sexual coercion against women.

What about in Australia? As is the case in most countries, there is little data with which to answer this. The two most significant surveys of violence in relationships and families in Australia—the Personal Safety Survey and the International Violence Against Women Survey—gather data only on victimisation, not perpetration. However, three other studies do provide some limited data on males' use of violence against female partners. All three use an instrument for measuring violent behaviours called the Conflict Tactics Scale, which focuses on violent 'acts' and thus generates limited and in some ways problematic data on violence. Nevertheless, to summarise this data,

- In a 1996–1997 survey of adults who had been partnered in the last year, 3.4% of men had perpetrated any physical assault against a partner in the last year (Headey, Scott, & de Vaus, 1999, p. 60).
- In a 2001 survey of young people aged 12–20, among young males who have ever had a 'dating' relationship, around one in ten have pushed, grabbed or shoved a girlfriend; thrown, smashed, kick or hit something; or tried to control a girlfriend physically, e.g. by holding her. Smaller proportions—two to three per cent—report that they have tried to force a girlfriend to have sex or physically forced her to have sex (National Crime Prevention, 2001).

- In a 2008 study among university students, in the Australian sample, 18.4% of males had perpetrated ‘minor’ assault on a dating partner in the last year, while 7.9% had perpetrated ‘severe’ assault (Straus, 2008, p. 257).

These and other studies tell us that, in most countries, the majority of men have not practised violence against women at least in its bluntest forms. Still, this data is limited in several ways. First, such surveys may miss more subtle forms of physical and sexual violence perpetrated by men against women. Second, typically they omit other forms of coercion and abuse such as psychological or emotional abuse—non-physical ‘attempts to control the partner or relationship, demonstrate power, or damage the victim’s sense of self’ (Williams, Richardson, Hammock, & Janit, 2012, p. 490). This is important because the prevalence of psychological or emotional violence in relationships often is higher than the prevalence of physical and sexual violence, as various studies show for example among adolescents (Leen et al., 2013), and psychological and emotional abuse can be perceived by victims as more injurious than physical violence (Williams et al., 2012). Third, while such surveys give some idea of what proportions of men have used particular violent acts against a female partner, they do not necessarily tell us how many men have engaged in the pattern of behaviour which many describe as ‘domestic violence’: a systematic pattern of power and control, involving the use of a variety of physical and non-physical tactics of abuse and coercion, in the context of a current or former intimate relationship (Flood, 2006, p. 8).

We do not really know how many men are engaged in the systematic use of violence and other strategies of power and control against their female partners or ex-partners or other women. In addition, a single-minded focus on physically aggressive acts ignores the *non-physical* behaviours which men (or women) may use which harm women. We do not know, for example, what proportions of men routinely insult and degrade their wives or girlfriends, monitor and control their movements and contact with others, or dominate their everyday decision-making in relationships and families. In turn, we do not know what proportions of men routinely treat their wives and partners with respect, offer intimacy and support, and behave fairly and accountably.

What about men’s attitudes towards violence against women?

Men's Attitudinal Support for Violence Against Women

The second dimension of men's relations to violence against women concerns their attitudes. Men's attitudes towards violence against women are important because these attitudes shape men's perpetration of violence against women, women's responses to victimisation, and community and institutional responses to violence against women (Flood & Pease, 2006). Attitudes are not the whole story of violence against women, but they are an important part of the story (VicHealth, 2009). Violence-supportive attitudes and beliefs are those which support violence against women. They work to justify, excuse, minimise, or hide physical or sexual violence against women. For example, particular community attitudes work to justify the perpetrator's use of violence, excuse the perpetrator's use of violence, trivialise the violence and its impact, deny or minimise the violence, blame the victim, or hide or obscure the violence (VicHealth, 2010).

Men's attitudes towards violence against women are strongly related to, and in some ways located within, their attitudes towards gender more widely. A consistent finding across countries is that men's attitudes towards violence against women are tied strongly to their attitudes towards gender equality. The most consistent predictor of attitudes supporting the use of violence against women is attitudes towards gender roles, that is, beliefs about appropriate roles for men and women, as a wide range of studies have documented (Flood & Pease, 2006, 2009). The more that men have egalitarian gender attitudes, the better are their attitudes towards violence against women. Such men are more likely to see violence against women as unacceptable, to define a wider variety of acts as violence or abuse, to reject victim-blaming and to support the victim, and to hold accountable the person using violence. Perceptions of violence against women are shaped by wider norms of gender and sexuality. Men are more likely to condone, excuse, or justify rape and domestic violence to the extent that they believe that men should be dominant in households and intimate relationships and have the right to enforce their dominance through physical aggression, men have uncontrollable sexual urges, women are deceptive and malicious, or men have rights of sexual access to their wives or girlfriends. Such beliefs have a long history in Western and other cultures, and have been enshrined in Western legal systems and social norms (Flood & Pease, 2006, 2009).

There are four typical patterns to men's attitudes towards gender equality in many countries. First, most men are supportive, in broad terms, of gender equality, although support for women's rights varies markedly across countries. Second, there is a gender gap, with lower levels of support for gender equality among men than women. Third, young men tend to have better attitudes towards gender equality than older men, although progress is uneven. Fourth, men's attitudes towards gender equality vary according to other factors including race and ethnicity, education, and region (Flood, 2015).

These patterns are similar when it comes to the issue of violence against women in particular. On the first one, however, there are radical disparities between countries in men's support for violence against women. The men of some countries show much higher support than others for sexual violence, for example, as shown by data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) (a quantitative household survey of over 8000 men and 3500 women aged 18–59, carried out in seven countries in 2009–2010) (Barker et al., 2011).

One of the most consistent findings to emerge from studies of attitudes towards violence against women is the gender gap in attitudes. Sex is a consistent predictor of attitudes that support use of violence against women;

A wide range of international studies find a gender gap in attitudes towards domestic violence, sexual assault, and other forms of violence against women. In general, men are more likely than women to agree with myths and beliefs supportive of violence against women, perceive a narrower range of behaviours as violent, blame and show less empathy for the victim, minimise the harms associated with physical and sexual assault, and see behaviours constituting violence against women as less serious, inappropriate, or damaging. (Flood & Pease, 2009, pp. 127–128)

Gender differences in definitions and perceptions of violence are evident too with regard to particular forms of violence against women, such as sexual harassment, date rape, and wife assault. Moreover, cross-gender differences in attitudes in many countries are stronger than differences associated with other social divisions such as socioeconomic status or education (Flood & Pease, 2009). In other words, the gap between men's and women's attitudes to violence is bigger than the gap between richer and poorer people's or between those with high and low levels of

education. In the IMAGES study, men with higher educational attainment and married men had more gender-equitable attitudes, while unmarried men had the least equitable attitudes (Barker et al., 2011).

Some high-income countries such as Australia now have very good data, from repeated national surveys, on community attitudes towards violence against women and changes in these (both positive and negative) over time (VicHealth, 2014), allowing a detailed mapping of men's attitudes. In Australia, most men do not tolerate violence against women, although a significant minority do hold violence-supportive attitudes. Men's attitudes are worse than women's, and men with more conservative attitudes towards gender have worse attitudes towards violence against women—they are more likely to condone, excuse, or justify this violence than other men (Flood & Pease, 2006). Overall in Australia, men's attitudes towards violence against women are becoming less violence-supportive, although on some issues (the belief that women make false accusations of violence, and the belief that domestic violence is gender-symmetrical) they have worsened rather than improved. There is not sufficient data to know whether similar, progressive (albeit uneven) trends in attitudes are taking place across the world.

Men's Responses When Violence Occurs

What roles do men *actually* play in responding to, and indeed seeking to prevent, men's violence against women? How do men respond when they know that a woman is being assaulted or raped? Here, first I discuss efforts which take place *after* violence has already taken place or is already under way.

One of the most obvious roles men can play in addressing men's violence against women is to intervene in incidents or situations of violence when they occur, to offer support to victims, and to seek to change perpetrators' violent behaviour. There is very little international comparative data on men's preparedness to act in these ways or their actual involvement in such practices. However, national surveys do provide some relevant data. For example, an Australian survey finds that most men (four out of five or more) agree that they would intervene in some way in a domestic violence situation. They are as likely as women to intervene if a neighbour, family member, or friend was being assaulted or currently a victim of domestic violence, and more likely than women to intervene if the victim is a woman they do not know being assaulted in public (McGregor, 2009). The last of these may reflect men's greater

sense of personal safety in public spaces, their greater endorsement of direct forms of intervention (see below), or their comfort and familiarity with confrontation and aggression in general. On the other hand, an Australian study among adolescents (with an average age of 13.5 years) found that boys were less likely than girls to intervene in constructive ways. Presented with a scenario in which a boy is forcing himself physically and in a sexual way upon an unwilling girl, fewer boys than girls (45% and 71% respectively) said that they would object to the boy's action. Boys were less likely than girls to object or tell a teacher, more likely to support the boy, and less likely overall to agree with stopping the coercive sexual harassment (Rigby & Johnson, 2004).

The Australian national survey finds that men's proposed responses to situations of domestic violence are largely in step with expert advice. The two most frequent forms of intervention men endorse are (1) offering support and advice and talking to the victim; and (2) reporting the situation to police or authorities. However, men are less likely than women to endorse either of these, as well as such interventions as suggesting places to go for help, support or counselling, or offering shelter or refuge to the victim and getting her to leave. Men are more likely than women to report that they would 'step in between the parties' or 'confront the perpetrator'. It is impossible to know what kind of intervention or confrontation men imagine here. On the one hand, men may be reporting that they would use creative strategies to interrupt the dynamics of violence, and would confront the perpetrator in constructive and non-violent ways. On the other hand, men may be proposing that they would use verbal or physical aggression to end the perpetrator's violence or even punish him for it.

Men tend to offer less helpful responses than women to female victims of intimate partner violence, according to US research. When they encounter friends, family members or others who are victims of violence, men's responses are more likely than women's to be characterised by anger and revenge-seeking, excessive advice-giving, trivialising, and victim-blaming (West & Wandrei, 2002). This reflects a number of factors, including greater adherence to victim-blaming and lesser skills in nurturance. From research for example among American college and university students, males are more likely than females to believe victim-blaming explanations of rape, while females are more likely to cite male hostility and male dominance (Cowan, 2000), and males' explanations can inform less sympathetic responses to victims. Men's less helpful responses to victims also may reflect wider gender differences in emotional

communication, empathy, and skills in providing nurturance and acceptance (West & Wandrei, 2002).

So far, we have some idea of men's use of violence, attitudes towards violence, and responses when violence occurs. Moving now to more preventative action, to what extent are men prepared to take action to prevent men's violence against women? Beginning at a very simple level, to what extent are men prepared to raise the issue of violence against women and to challenge others' violence-supportive attitudes?

Men Speaking Up

Most men in most countries believe that violence against women is wrong. Yet it is likely that many do not speak up. While many men see violence against women as unacceptable, at least privately, and many say they will intervene when a family member, friend, or other woman is being assaulted, few are prepared to raise the issue with others. There is very little international, comparative data on men's willingness to speak up in relation to men's violence against women. What is most likely, however, is that most men stay silent. They do not raise the issue of men's violence against women. They hold their tongues or laugh along when friends, colleagues and others make violence-supportive comments. And they do not challenge violence-supportive dynamics and situations.

A powerful example of men's inability or unwillingness to speak up about violence against women comes from the failures of a social marketing campaign aimed at men. 'Violence Against Women: It's Against All the Rules' was a media and community education campaign targeted at men aged 21–29, run from 2000 to 2003 by the Violence Against Women Specialist Unit of the NSW Attorney General's Department in Australia. The campaign took the form of posters, booklets, and radio advertisements, using high-profile sportsmen and sporting language to deliver the message to men that violence against women is unacceptable. While the campaign achieved high recognition among its target audience, it was unsuccessful in encouraging men to talk about violence against women. Ninety percent of men in the target group who had seen or heard something of the campaign reported that violence against women was not an issue they would talk about with their peers. Aboriginal (indigenous) men were the exception: they felt that violence against women is an issue that should be discussed by men (Hubert, 2003). This reflects a growing conversation in indigenous communities about family violence and sexual abuse.

Men Believe That They Can Make a Difference

Although few men take direct action to prevent or reduce men's violence against women, there are instances where that substantial numbers of men at least believe that they can help make a difference. A US study in 2007 suggested that most men believe that they can play a personal role in addressing domestic violence and sexual assault. In a national US telephone survey of 1020 men, commissioned by the Family Violence Prevention Fund, most of the men surveyed (57%) reported that they believed they can personally make a difference in ending sexual and domestic violence. Seventy-three percent (73%) of men thought that they could make at least some difference in promoting healthy, respectful, non-violent relationships among young people (Hart Research Associates Inc., 2007).

This US survey found that men are willing to take time to get involved in a variety of efforts to address the problem of domestic violence and sexual assault and promote healthy, violence-free relationships. For example:

- Seventy percent (70%) are willing to make time to talk to children about healthy, violence-free relationships (up from 55% in 2000).
- Sixty-six percent (66%) would sign a pledge to promote respect for women and girls.
- Sixty-five percent (65%) would sign a petition or contact elected officials to urge them to strengthen laws against domestic violence.

The study also found that many men already are taking action by talking to children (their own and others) about healthy, violence-free relationships:

- Sixty-eight percent (68%) of fathers have talked to their sons about the importance of healthy, violence-free relationships, and 63% of fathers have talked to their daughters.
- Fifty-five percent (55%) of all men have talked to boys who are not their sons; 47% have talked to girls who are not their daughters (Hart Research Associates Inc., 2007, p. 2).

Most men report that they are willing to express their disapproval when individuals—either friends or celebrities—make jokes or comments which demean or exploit women. In the US poll, at least three in five men

indicate that there is a good chance that they would say or do something to protest or withdraw support in situations where a favourite music artist releases a song or video that demeans or exploits women, a radio disc jockey or TV host makes a joke about rape or wife-beating, or a favourite movie actor is convicted of sexual assault or domestic violence. Slightly fewer, 70%, say that they would state their objections to a friend's joke that made light of domestic violence or sexual assault (Hart Research Associates Inc., 2007).

More recent data comes from a survey conducted in 2012 on behalf of the White Ribbon Campaign (Canada), among 1064 Ontario adult men. Nearly all men (94%) believed that violence against women and girls is a concern to them, and 91% would likely intervene if they knew someone in a violent relationship. The vast majority of men in Ontario feel that they have an important role to play in ending violence against women, with 97% agreeing that 'men can personally make a difference in promoting healthy, respectful, non-violent relationships' (White Ribbon Campaign Canada, 2012).

There is little or no data on the extent to which men *actually* take the steps they endorse to reduce or prevent violence against women. It is likely, however, that far smaller proportions of men actually show protest or disapproval in the face of violence-supportive comments and actions. Other research finds that rates of actual intervention in bullying for example are usually far lower than rates of self-reported intention or willingness to intervene (Rigby & Johnson, 2004).

Men Mobilising

This chapter focuses on reaching and engaging men, and thus far has mapped various dimensions of where men stand in relation to men's violence against women: their use of violence, attitudes towards violence, responses when violence occurs, and individual efforts to address or prevent violence. To what extent, then, are men actually engaged in men's anti-violence work? Beyond small-scale, private actions taken in relation to violence, to what extent are men involved in social change advocacy? To what extent do men participate in collective, public efforts to end men's violence against women?

There is very little data on the global scale of men's involvement in efforts to end men's violence against women. Some national campaigns focused on men's roles in violence prevention do have relevant figures. Australia for example hosts the largest instance of the White

Ribbon Campaign, an international campaign to invite men to wear a white ribbon on and around the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (November 25) to show their opposition to men's violence against women. Over 2400 men have signed on as public 'Ambassadors' for the campaign. There were over 1000 community events in 2014, 85,600 Facebook 'likes' and 10,400 Twitter followers, and by early 2015 over 150,000 people had signed the online 'Oath' never to commit or condone violence against women. In 2017, there were over 800 community events, and 6600 people took the online 'Oath'. While these figures suggest a significant level of awareness and advocacy related to the White Ribbon Campaign in Australia, one important caveat is that in Australia the campaign is defined less than in other countries by a defining focus on men's roles in prevention. In any case, compared to other countries, Australia's case represents an unusually high level of awareness and activity for White Ribbon campaigns.

Globally, men are likely to represent only a small proportion of the individuals active in collective, public advocacy related to men's violence against women. At the same time, the numbers involved of men involved in this advocacy probably are greater than at any other time in history. I return to these issues in Chapter 8.

One dimension of men's involvement in violence prevention is as the direct *agents* of change, as advocates and activists. Another, overlapping dimension is as the *objects* of change: as participants in educational programs, audiences for social marketing or lobbying, or members of organisations and communities and contexts being targeted by intervention efforts. Again, it is difficult to estimate the scale of boys' and men's involvement as the objects or targets of change efforts. Still, as Chapter 3 noted, men and boys increasingly are being addressed in violence prevention interventions at every level of the spectrum of prevention. In relation to face-to-face education for example, many sexual assault prevention education programs in schools and universities include male participants. In a systematic review of sexual assault prevention programs, based on evaluations published over 1990–2003 addressing university, high-school and middle-school populations, 42 of the 59 studies identified involved mixed-sex groups and nine involved all-male groups (Morrison, Hardison, Mathew, & O'Neil, 2004). In relation to social marketing, again men often are the target audience. At least one-third of the 32 communications campaigns reviewed in a report on social marketing and public education campaigns focusing on violence against women were directed at a male audience (Donovan & Vlasis, 2005). In relation

to the third and fifth levels of prevention, workplace and institutional interventions often working with *men*, given that many such settings—the law and criminal justice systems, medical institutions, and sporting organisations—typically are dominated by men.

What stops men from taking up the issue of men's violence against women? Among men, there are powerful barriers to raising the issue of violence against women, let alone to actually challenging violence-supportive comments or working to shift violence-supportive cultures. I explore these, before examining what inspires men's involvement, and what strategies therefore will be most effective in reaching men.

BARRIERS TO MEN'S INVOLVEMENTS

What prevents men from taking action to reduce or prevent men's violence against women? What stops them from participating, in the first place, in everyday actions which interrupt or challenge violence and violence-supportive behaviours: intervening when violence or abuse is occurring or likely, challenging violence-supportive and sexist comments and jokes, talking to other men about violence against women, and so on (Flood, 2010, 2011). Overlapping with this, what stops men from participating in collective advocacy or activism? As this book already has documented, most men do not use the bluntest forms of violence against women, many regard violence against women as unacceptable, and at least from some data, many are willing to take action to reduce or prevent violence against women. At the same time, it is likely that only a minority take any kind of action to help reduce or prevent violence.

Barriers to men's involvements in ending violence against women

- A vested interest in the status quo
- Violence against women as a 'women's issue'
- Support for sexist and violence-supportive attitudes and norms
- Overestimation of *other* men's comfort with violence and their unwillingness to intervene
- Fears of others' reactions to intervention
- Loyalty to other men
- Negative reactions to violence prevention efforts
- Lack of knowledge of or skills in intervention
- Lack of opportunity or invitation.

A Vested Interest in the Status Quo

Efforts to end men's violence against women often (but not always) involve a challenge to wider systems of gender inequality. Men may refrain from supporting, or indeed may actively resist, such efforts because of their vested interests in the status quo. In a general sense, as gender arrangements afford large advantages to many men, they are likely to resist large alterations in them (Goode, 1982). In addition, like members of other superordinate groups in other systems of inequality, men are more likely than women to take for granted the system that gives them status, to be more aware of the burdens and responsibilities they bear than their unearned advantages, and to see even small losses of deference or advantage as large threats or losses. As members of high status groups, men are motivated to endorse legitimating beliefs: to justify their high status, to see it as deserved, and to enjoy the psychological and material benefits it affords (Drury & Kaiser, 2014).

However, unlike members of other superordinate groups, men live in contact with members of the subordinate group, and share with women gains or losses as members of other social orderings such as families, ethnic groups, and classes (Goode, 1982). Men therefore have cross-cutting or contradictory interests, as I explore in more detail below.

A further complexity here is that, while men in general receive a patriarchal dividend from their membership of a privileged social group, particular men or groups or men also are subordinated or disadvantaged. And this disadvantage itself can be the foundation for resistance to efforts to build gender equality. Some men experience significant social, economic, or political marginalisation and disempowerment, and in this context, they may use strongly masculine identities as a resource to contest these (Silberschmidt, 2011; van den Berg et al., 2013). Some poor and working-class men enact 'protest masculinities', in which in response to the experience of powerlessness, they take up a pressured exaggeration of masculine conventions (Connell, 1995). In addition, men whose own paid work or economic positions and resources are insecure may react more strongly to improvements in their female partners' or other women's positions (Paluck, Ball, Poynton, & Sieloff, 2010).

Beyond men's general interests in resisting progress towards gender equality, there are further barriers to involvement associated with the issue of men's violence against women itself.

Violence Against Women as a 'Women's Issue'

Perhaps the most widespread influence on men's absence from anti-violence advocacy is many men's sense that violence against women is a 'women's issue'. Even if they agree that no woman should suffer violence and even if they agree that this violence is worthy of public and community intervention, they may feel that this is women's work. Many men see violence against women as exclusively a women's issue, one in which men have no place (Crooks, Goodall, Hughes, Jaffe, & Baker, 2007). In a US survey among male university students, for example, asked whether men should be responsible for rape prevention, most men used 'dominant group deflection', shifting attention away from themselves and towards women. Only 11% agreed, 25% took partial responsibility for preventing rape, arguing, e.g. that women and men are equally accountable, and 19% blamed women for their own victimisation, offering advice on how women can avoid victimisation and drawing on various rape myths (Rich, Utley, Janke, & Moldoveanu, 2010). In another study, this time among men in the offices of the international aid organisation Oxfam GB, again some men emphasised that gender is 'not an issue for me' (Rogers, 2004).

The notion of violence against women as a 'women's issue', alongside other notions such as 'it's exaggerated' or 'it's not my problem', produces 'cultural inoculation', in which men are immune to programs designed to engage them (Crooks et al., 2007). Men may distance themselves from anti-violence efforts because they do not see violence against women as a significant problem or as applying to men, or the topic makes them uncomfortable. As one male anti-violence advocate reported of men, 'It's not something we want to admit to. It's not something we want to acknowledge. It's not something that we willingly want to be confronted with' (Casey & Smith, 2010).

Support for Sexist and Violence-Supportive Attitudes and Norms

Some men's lack of involvement is shaped by their support for sexist and violence-supportive attitudes and norms. The same factors which shape some men's *use* of violence against women, and other men's *tolerance* for violence against women, also shape men's lack of involvement in efforts to address this violence. To state the obvious, to the extent that an individual man sees domestic or sexual violence as rare, trivial, excusable, or

even justified, he is unlikely to participate in efforts to reduce and prevent such violence.

In addition, violence-supportive norms may be subtle and invisible. They are buttressed by common norms of gender in which male aggression and female vulnerability is taken for granted. Many men insist vehemently that they condemn domestic violence and rape, and yet they subscribe to beliefs which allow domestic violence or rape to continue: some women ask to be raped, men have uncontrollable sex drives, some women provoke violence against them, victims could leave if they really wanted to, women often make false accusations of violence, and so on.

The evidence is that men with more violence-supportive attitudes, and greater involvement in violence perpetration itself, are more resistant to violence prevention efforts than other men. Male university students in a US study were asked how they would feel about a mandatory or voluntary one-day sexual assault prevention program, and the greatest resistance to this came from men who subscribed to various rape myths and lacked empathy for women (Rich et al., 2010). A similar pattern holds if we take account of men's actual histories of sexual violence. Two studies find that interventions have less effect among men with histories of sexual violence perpetration than among other men (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2015; Stephens & George, 2009), as I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 10.

More widely, men's recognition of sexism is poorer than women's. In order for men to confront sexism, they must first recognise it. They must recognise actions or situations as discriminatory towards women. However, men on average have greater trouble identifying sexism than do women, as a series of studies show (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). While women endorse sexist beliefs in part because they do not notice subtle, aggregate forms of sexism in their personal lives, men do so much more. In addition, when men *do* notice sexist incidents, they are less likely than women to perceive them as discriminatory and potentially harmful for women (Becker & Swim, 2011). Men are less likely than women to recognise both interpersonal sexism (such as derogatory statements about women or sexually harassing behaviours) and institutional forms of discrimination. Men are particularly unlikely to detect discrimination and recognise its severity when the sexism is more subtle, e.g. when it involves paternalistic behaviours such as men being protective of women (Drury & Kaiser, 2014).

Men's lack of recognition of sexism is structured by hegemonic masculinity. Masculine social scripts inhibit men's development of social justice attitudes and actions, because they encourage fear and hostility towards femininity and the suppression of empathy, nurturing, and compassion. Hegemonic masculinity encourages men to be silent in response to cruelty to others, to be tough and invulnerable, and to believe that others get what they deserve (Davis & Wagner, 2005).

*Overestimation of Other Men's Comfort with Violence
and Their Unwillingness to Intervene*

Men's perceptions of other men's views of violence prevention and gender initiatives are a significant influence on their own willingness to get involved. For example, when male middle and senior corporate managers were surveyed about their willingness to participate in a proposed diversity and inclusion training course, the most significant predictor of respondents' interest in the training was their perception of the interest of *other* managers in their organisation in taking the training (Prime, Moss-Racusin, & Heather Foust-Cummings, 2009).

Given that men often are oriented towards the views of other men rather than women, it is a real problem that men routinely overestimate the extent to which their peers agree with violence and sexism. A series of studies document that boys and men overestimate each others' comfort with sexist, coercive and derogatory comments about and behaviour towards girls and women (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003; Hillenbrand-Gunn, Heppner, Mauch, & Park, 2010; Kilmartin et al., 2008; Stein, 2007).

'Social norms' theory suggests that people often are negatively influenced by misperceptions of how other members of their social group act and think. In making decisions about behaviour, individuals take into account what 'most people' appear to be doing (Kilmartin et al., 2008, p. 264). Men's misperceptions of other men's tolerance for violence and sexism can feed into 'pluralistic ignorance' or 'false consensus'. In the first, men may go along with violence-supportive behaviours because they believe mistakenly that they are in the minority in opposing them. Men and boys keep their true feelings to themselves and do not act on them, becoming passive observers of other men's problem behaviours. In the second, men who use violent and violence-supportive behaviours continue to do so because they believe falsely that they are in the

majority. They incorrectly interpret other men's silence as approval, thus feeling emboldened to express and act violently towards women (Berkowitz, 2002).

Men also underestimate other men's willingness to intervene in violence against women. In a study among students at a Washington university, Fabiano et al. (2003) found that the only significant predictor of men's willingness to intervene in behaviours that could lead to sexual assault was their perception of *other* men's willingness to intervene. The less that men believed that other men would intervene, the less likely they were to be willing to intervene themselves. In another study among male first-year university students living on campus, most were willing to act to prevent rape, but most also believed that their friends had more rape-supportive attitudes and behaviours than their own and were less willing to prevent rape (Stein, 2007). Thus, men's perceptions of social norms exert a strong influence on their own consideration of sexual assault and their willingness to intervene.

Fears of Others' Reactions to Intervention

One reason why men do not intervene when violence or abuse is occurring or challenge violence-supportive comments is that they are afraid of what may happen if they do. Men fear various things: violence, stigma and homophobia, and social discomfort. Particularly when faced with actual incidents of violence, men may fear a violent response by the perpetrator. This is understandable, as men using violence against a female partner often react angrily and aggressively when this is challenged. Indeed, victims themselves may not welcome men's interventions (Coulter, 2003, pp. 141–142).

Men also may fear that their masculinity will be called into question. For example, in a US study, college men aged 18 and 19 were presented with three vignettes regarding violence, two of which involved men's violence against women. The young men emphasised that one key reason they would not intervene in a potential rape was their fear of being perceived as weak and unmasculine (Carlson, 2008). Concerns about appearing 'sensitive' in front of other men even can stop some men from intervening in a gang rape. Stereotypes about 'real men' clearly can stop men from questioning attitudes and behaviours that harm women and limit men.

Men's inaction is shaped also by homophobia. Some heterosexual men do not speak up or step in because of fears that they will be

perceived as gay. Fear of and hostility towards homosexuality, and particularly gay men, is a powerful influence on boys' and men's identities and relations. Masculinity often is defined against or in opposition to homosexuality, as well as femininity. Homophobic slurs and harassment are routine means for boys and men to police each others' performance of appropriately gendered behaviour (Flood, 2002; Flood & Hamilton, 2008). In short, homophobia is the dragon at the gates of an alternative masculinity. Homophobia encourages boys and men to exaggerate traditional norms of masculinity, including sexist and violent behaviour (Kimmel, 1994). Homophobia is implicated also in men's inaction in the face of other men's violence and abuse. More generally, men and boys who engage in violence prevention may be ridiculed or harassed for lack of conformity to dominant masculine norms (Crooks et al., 2007).

Men may refrain from intervening in other men's sexism or violence because of concerns about rejection from male groups. Some fear being seen as too 'soft' or 'sensitive' and losing social standing among male peers. There are thus powerful ways in which individual bystanders' decision-making processes are influenced by gendered social norms in their peer cultures and in wider society (Katz, Heisterkamp, & Fleming, 2011). Such fears are borne out in some men's experience. For example, some male activists in 'One Man Can', a right-based gender equality and health program implemented by Sonke Gender Justice in South Africa, described how other men ridiculed them for taking on more gender-equitable beliefs or practices in households and relationships (van den Berg et al., 2013).

Women too may resist and stigmatise men's shifts towards gender equality and non-violence. This should not be surprising, given that like men, women can be invested in the gendered status quo. In Latin America for example, efforts by MenCare to increase men's involvements in caregiving have met with resistance from women who adhere to traditional perceptions of men's roles (José Santos, 2015). Among men in India who participated in Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW), some mothers resisted their sons treating their female partners as equals. Some men reported being criticised, even mocked, by their relatives, parents, in-laws, and neighbours, told that would not receive family shares of property, and so on, although some also had positive experiences (Edström, Shahrokh, & Singh, 2015). Both women and men therefore may punish gender-equitable men, shame them in feminising and homosexualising ways, and try to reinforce traditional masculinities (Dworkin, Fleming, & Colvin, 2015).

More generally, men and women alike may fear the negative social reactions they will face in questioning or challenging peers. When a man hears a friend tell a joke about rape or sees a male friend being cruel and abusive towards his girlfriend, he may stay silent because speaking up is ‘breaking the rules’ of social interaction. He risks being seen as weird, a party pooper, a member of the ‘fun police’. Thus, individuals may avoid pro-social action because of their investment in managing others’ impressions of them or their desire to preserve friendly relations (Powell, 2010). Indeed, taking private steps (such as confronting a co-worker) may be harder than public steps (such as going to a rally), particularly as the former involves personally countering ingrained norms of social interaction (Crooks et al., 2007).

At the same time, there are also positive perceptions among men for example of the men who participate in violence prevention work. In a US study among male university students, asked about their perceptions of men who volunteer to be part of a sexual assault prevention program, only 1% agreed that such men would be perceived as homosexual and 3% agreed that they would be perceived as less masculine (Rich et al., 2010). Most respondents saw such men in a positive light and, indeed, some saw them as *more* masculine, with masculinity here associated with being responsible, caring and helpful.

Studies in other domains also show how men may have an advantage over women in advocating for gender equality. While men are less likely than women to recognise and confront sexism, when they do so, they receive more positive reactions from others, experience fewer negative consequences, and their actions are taken more seriously (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). This may be particularly because men, unlike women, are not perceived as acting out of self-interest. In the workplace, while female and non-white executives who promote diversity are punished for this (in their bosses’ ratings of their performance and competence), white men are not (Hekman, Johnson, Foo, & Yang, 2016).

Loyalty to Other Men

Men’s loyalties to other men—their commitments to the ‘team’ of men—are another constraint on men’s capacity to challenge other men’s violence. In focus group discussions with men in New Zealand, some men perceived efforts to address domestic violence against women as a threat to the moral integrity of all men (Towns & Terry, 2014). For them, to challenge men’s violence against women felt like taking a moral

decision to align with women. (One could comment here that, yes, men should align themselves politically or ethically with women, in effect becoming ‘traitors’ to the dominant group.) Men in the focus groups identified related barriers to challenging an individual man’s use of violence against women: it would cross too far across the boundary in male-male friendships between public and private and it would undermine systems of male bonding. On the other hand, some men found a way to balance identification with their mates with a perception of male perpetrators as ‘other’, as men with whom they did not wish to associate (Towns & Terry, 2014, pp. 1029–1030).

Negative Reactions to Violence Prevention Efforts

Some men’s inaction in the face of violent or violence-supportive behaviours is shaped by negative perceptions of violence prevention efforts themselves. Some men perceive anti-violence campaigns as ‘anti-male’, and for many this reflects a wider perception of feminism as hostile to and blaming of men.

Many men feel blamed and defensive about the issue of men’s violence against women (Berkowitz, 2004). This means that many also react with hostility and defensiveness in response to violence prevention efforts, even those which emphasise the positive roles men can play in ending violence against women. For example, men have responded negatively to anti-rape workshops on university campuses by saying that ‘This is male bashing’, to media campaigns in Australia by emphasising that men are the invisible victims of violence (Flood, 2005–2006), and to media campaigns in the USA with resentment at the depiction of men as perpetrators and women as victims (Keller & Honea, 2016). A survey of male students in a required general education course at an urban university in the USA found that some men already feel intense and angry resistance to the prospect of being involved in violence prevention programs. Most do not want to attend, and many feel defensive and angry before the program has even begun (Rich et al., 2010). Asked how they would feel about a mandatory or voluntary one-day sexual assault prevention program, only 5% were generally supportive. 51% said they would not want to attend, and 10% had a visceral, hostile response, expressing anger, outrage, and offence.

In seeking to engage men therefore, anti-violence advocates face a considerable challenge. In an international study, based on interviews with 29 representatives of organisations that engage men and boys in

preventing violence against women and girls, in Africa, Asia, Europe, Oceania, and North and South America, program representatives cited men's assumptions that anti-violence programs are inherently anti-male as a common barrier to involvement (Casey et al., 2013). As I note below, such perceptions are inaccurate.

Men's discomfort with violence prevention efforts focused on men's violence against women is informed in part by negative stereotypes of feminism. They (rightly) perceive such efforts as carried out in particular by feminist activists and groups. It was feminist activism that placed violence against women on community and policy agendas (Maynard & Winn, 1997), and feminist perspectives continue to inform contemporary efforts to address violence against women (Flood, Fergus, & Heenan, 2009). Like many women, many men support basic ideals of gender equality and yet reject the labels 'feminist' or 'profeminist'. Men's discomfort about or hostility towards feminism is fuelled by many of the same factors as women's. Some have been persuaded by media stereotypes of feminism as anti-male or as about being a victim (Hogeland, 1994; Trioli, 1996), or the equation of feminism and lesbianism. UK research finds that some men offer two competing accounts of feminists and feminism, one in which feminism simply wants equality and with which they agree, and another 'extremist' and 'unreasonable' feminism which they reject (Edley & Wetherell, 2001). Men's hostility towards feminism is fuelled above all by feminism's challenge to sexism and male power and the unease and defensiveness this can generate. In a context where male concerns are central in social discourse, feminism is perceived as anti-male because it does not centre men's concerns. It is not 'about' men, so many conclude that it must be opposed to their interests (Bonnemaïson, 2012).

Lack of Knowledge of or Skills in Intervention

There are other, more general factors which shape men's capacity to take action to end violence against women. The capacity to intervene depends on having knowledge of how to intervene, skills in intervening, and the perceived self-efficacy to act. Some men are stopped from speaking up or stepping in because, while they feel uncomfortable or angry about other men's behaviours, they do not what to say or do. For example, in a US survey of 157 male university students, asked about what role men should take in the prevention of sexual assault, over one-quarter (28%) said that they had little idea of what they could do (Rich et al., 2010).

Many men and boys lack skills in raising issues of violence against women, challenging violence-supportive comments, or preventing the escalation of situations involving high risks of victimisation. Furthermore, some men do not feel that they have the courage or determination to take the actions they know are appropriate, or they feel that such actions will be ineffective.

Lack of Opportunity or Invitation

Lack of a tangible opportunity or invitation to participate also is a factor. A US national survey of 1000 men in 2000 explored the reasons why men do not become involved in violence prevention (Garin, 2000). This found that:

- One in five men (21%) reported that they did not actively support community efforts to stop violence against women because no one had asked them to get involved;
- 16% indicated that they did not have time;
- 13% said that they did not know how to help;
- 13% of men reported that their reluctance to get involved stemmed from the perception that they had been vilified and were seen as part of the problem, rather than approached as an important part of the solution;
- 11% indicated that they did not get involved because domestic violence is a private matter and they were uncomfortable getting involved.

This suggests that men's reasons for lack of involvement include a fear of not being welcome, lack of prioritisation, and helplessness (Crooks et al., 2007). If men report that 'no one asked' them to become involved, one could respond critically that they should not wait to be asked, as men's violence against women demands their intervention. Still, as Crooks et al. (2007, p. 219) note, 'Some men want to be involved but are unsure of how to operationalise their motivation. Others have doubts about their role or ownership but are not adamant in refusing to participate'.

Despite such barriers, some men do become involved in collective, public action to end men's violence against women. What inspires their involvement?

INSPIRATIONS FOR INVOLVEMENT

How do men come to be involved as advocates and activists in violence prevention work? There is a small body of research among men involved in anti-violence and gender equality advocacy. It suggests that there are some common themes among men with long-term dedications to such efforts: exposure to or personal experiences with issues of sexual or domestic violence; support and encouragement from peers, role models and specifically female mentors; and social justice ideals or other politically progressive commitments (Casey & Smith, 2010). This research also suggests, however, that men's pathways into feminist and anti-violence work are shaped by wider contexts, particularly the character of feminist advocacy and movements. Before discussing inspirations for involvement, I describe such pathways. I draw mostly on studies among male allies in North America, although there are also now some studies among men in countries in the Global South (Colpitts, 2014; Edström et al., 2014, 2015; Johansson, 2008; Kaefflein, 2013; Minnings, 2014; Shahrokh, Edström, Kumar, & Singh, 2015).

Men who have joined anti-violence advocacy in North America over the past four decades can be divided into three distinct cohorts, according to a study of 52 male anti-violence activists aged 20–70 (Messner, Greenberg, & Peretz, 2015). These men engaged with feminism and anti-violence work at different historical moments, with differing pathways, agendas, and demographic compositions. These cohorts are not divided by the age of their members but by the period in which they took up anti-violence advocacy, although members of the older cohorts typically are younger than those of the most recent cohort.

The first wave of male feminist allies in late twentieth-century North America, the 'movement' cohort, became involved over the mid-1970s to mid-1980s. They were part of a generation immersed in social movement activism, with peace, New Left, civil rights, and women's movements in full flower. Their involvements in such movements shaped an openness to feminist articulations of social justice, but they were influenced too by feminist disenchantment with the male-dominated left. Most were white, heterosexual, and middle-class. Many of these men had strong connections to feminist women, and their work was closely tied to feminist, including radical feminist, activism. Their typical pathways to anti-violence work included involvement in men's anti-sexist

consciousness-raising groups and, from these, profeminist men's networks (Messner et al., 2015).

A second cohort, what Messner et al.'s book calls the 'bridge' cohort, became involved in North American anti-violence work from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. They had more varied pathways than the 'movement' cohort, their race and class backgrounds were more diverse, and their work was more distant from its politicised feminist foundations. Most in this cohort came to anti-violence work either by learning about feminism at university, or after university in organisations and occupations that fostered their interest. The latter included men who came to 'gender work' through 'race' and 'class work', e.g. in work in community organisations with children or adults who were racially marginalised, poor, and so on. Such pathways reflect the influence of wider historical shifts, including the establishment of Women's Studies and feminist scholarship in universities (although it was only the white men in this cohort who reported exposure to this as sparking their interest). These men's developing anti-violence understandings and commitments then could take organisational form within the growing hubs of feminist anti-violence activism (Messner et al., 2015). Their trajectories of involvement were enabled too by wider social shifts in the prevention field, as I return to below.

A third cohort of men in North America, what Messner et al.'s book calls the 'professional' cohort, took up anti-violence work from the mid-1990s through to the present. They did so in the context of further, major shifts in the violence prevention field. These men became involved 'in a historical context of institutionalised (and increasingly networked) organisations with built-in professional occupations', as well as internships and volunteer positions (Messner et al., 2015, p. 109). Some men took up prevention work through institutional infrastructure already in place on campus and in communities and in networks among anti-violence organisations and professionals. Men of colour were part of this cohort in greater numbers than in earlier cohorts of advocates, as well as gay, bisexual, and queer men, and both brought more strongly intersectional understandings to the work.

A slightly earlier study, again of men in the USA involved in anti-violence work, focuses on the factors which shape men's initial entry into and involvement in violence prevention work. Casey and Smith (2010) interviewed 27 men who had recently begun involvement in an organisation or event dedicated to ending sexual or domestic violence. Most

were involved either in employment/volunteer work in a domestic or sexual violence-related program or government agency or in a campus-based anti-violence group or effort. Given their entry to anti-violence advocacy only in the early 2000s, these men are members in effect of the ‘professional’ cohort described in Messner et al.’s book *Some Men*. Regardless, Casey and Smith’s work provides a useful account of three factors that are critical in shaping men’s initial entries into anti-violence work: (1) personal, ‘sensitising’ experiences which raise men’s awareness of violence or gender inequalities; (2) invitations for involvement; and (3) making sense of these experiences in ways which are motivating. I would add another, (4) social conditions, and I explore all four now.

Sensitising Experiences

Many men have some kind of ‘sensitising’ experience which makes the issue of men’s violence against women more real or pressing. Common experiences include the following:

- Hearing women’s disclosures of violence;
- Closeness and loyalties to particular women;
- Political and ethical commitments to justice, equality, and related ideals;
- A sense of distance from traditional, patriarchal masculinity;
- Exposure to feminist ideas;
- Non-traditional peers and relatives;
- Violent victimisation.

One of the most common sensitising experiences is hearing from women about the violence they have suffered. Among the men in Casey and Smith’s (2010) study, many had heard a disclosure of domestic or sexual violence from a close female friend, family member, or partner, or witnessed violence in childhood (Casey & Smith, 2010). Three other studies show similar patterns. Canadian young men who joined in gender equity work had been inspired in part by seeing or learning of the effects of violence or abuse on female family members (Coulter, 2003). In a study of 25 men active in all-male anti-rape prevention groups on 11 US campuses, a primary motivation for participation was personal, knowing someone who had been sexually assaulted, but also hearing personal stories from female victims (Piccigallo, Lilley, & Miller, 2012). In a study

among six Latino men recruited through a Latino anti-violence community group, sensitising experiences comprised either witnessing the suffering that intimate partner caused to women close to them or suffering abuse as children by men in their family (Alcalde, 2014). Similar dynamics were visible among men in a fourth North American study (Messner et al., 2015). In a fifth US study, among Muslim Men Against Domestic Violence (MMADV), because these men had less social contact with women, they were less likely than other men to hear directly of women's experiences of violence or to have close relationships with influential women (Peretz, 2017). Instead, many of the men's sensitising and opportunity experiences occurred online, and through formalised training and education programs, but also through influential female advocates.

Other sensitising experiences also are important, including connections to particular women, and the influence of peers. Some men come to anti-violence involvements because their closeness to a particular woman in their lives—a mother, a partner, a friend, a sister—has forged an intimate understanding of the injustices suffered by women and the need for men to take action (Stoltenberg, 1990). For some, intentional mentoring by feminist women was a critical catalyst to involvement. Research among early cohorts of male anti-violence advocates in North America documents the influence of feminist activists in nurturing, educating, and challenging male feminist allies (Messner et al., 2015). In Brazil, research among male advocates finds evidence also for the influence of non-traditional peers. Some young men questioned prevailing gender injustices because of relationships with a relative, family friend or other person who modelled non-traditional gender roles, membership of an alternative peer group with more gender-equitable norms, and their own self-reflection (Barker, 2001).

Recent research among queer men of colour involved in anti-violence activism finds different pathways to involvement from those documented in research largely among white heterosexual men. Men in the Southern Queer Men's Collective, a US group, explained their pathways into awareness and involvement in terms of their own intersectional identities and experiences as queer men of colour (Peretz, 2017). They were sensitised to issues of gender inequality and gender-based violence through their own lives as African American gay men, rather than through relationships with or listening to women. They offered accounts which

started much earlier, e.g. in boyhood, in narratives of very early awareness of difference or inequality (e.g. ‘it starts with being a little gay Black boy’). Similarly, in a study among six Latino men involved in anti-violence advocacy, self-reflection on their intersectional identities shaped their pathways to engagement. The men spoke of how their intersecting identities as men, immigrants, and Latinos made them feel vulnerable to structural violence, that is, to violence embedded in unjust social structures, including experiences of racism and discrimination (Alcalde, 2014).

Progressive values and the rejection of sexist beliefs also are influential in men’s pathways to involvement. Some men come to anti-violence advocacy because of pre-existing commitments to social justice, gender equality, or related principles and values (Casey & Smith, 2010). In that recent study of cohorts of men’s participation in North American anti-violence advocacy, among the earliest cohort, experiences in the anti-war and New Left movements and other progressive efforts in the 1970s and 80s honed men’s commitments to social justice and feminist politics (Messner et al., 2015). For more recent cohorts, work in organisations addressing social injustices associated with race and class fostered a more deeply intersectional awareness of disadvantage and privilege.

Men are more likely to be allies against sexism if they reject the belief systems that justify social inequalities—if they do not believe, for example, that high status groups have earned their position in the social hierarchy and status differences are the product of hard work (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). The more that men endorse status-delegitimising beliefs, the more likely they are to acknowledge discrimination against low-status groups. Various studies find that men who endorse feminist beliefs are more aware of sexism, more likely to reject the use of sexist language, to acknowledge the problematic impacts of subtle sexism, and so on (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). Men also are more likely to perceive sexist behaviours by others as unacceptable if they are oriented towards social responsibility, in that they have a concern with the well-being of others and the motivation to be helpful and considerate of others (Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010). These progressive values and beliefs then have consequences for men’s actual support for and involvement in anti-violence and gender equality work. In a US survey of male middle and senior corporate managers, willingness to participate in a proposed diversity and inclusion training course was influenced significantly by the

men's perceptions of the training's positive impact on the wider community—by pro-social concerns about the 'greater good' (Prime et al., 2009).

Given the role of beliefs and values, exposure to or education in feminist and anti-violence understandings is important. Canadian young men involved in anti-sexist activism also had been inspired by intellectual engagement with feminist ideas and teachers and a sense that gender equity is 'right' or 'fair' (Coulter, 2003). Some men are exposed to materials about violence against women, for example in a prevention education program (Casey & Smith, 2010). Among men who joined anti-violence advocacy over the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s in North America, white men in particular had been inspired in part by feminist curricula at university (Messner et al., 2015).

Direct experiences of violent victimisation are influential for some men. Some men become involved through dealing with their own experience of sexual violence or sexual abuse from other men and sometime women, perhaps as children or teenagers (Stoltenberg, 1990). Among the first wave of male feminist allies in North American anti-violence work, the 'movement' cohort who became involved over the mid-1970s to mid-1980s as described in *Some Men*, many had experienced men's violence themselves as boys and young men, e.g. from their fathers or step-fathers or from other boys, and this fostered a deep antipathy to violence and abuse (Messner et al., 2015). While witnessing and experiencing violence as boys can increase the likelihood that males will grow up themselves using violence, in these cases instead it informed powerful aversions to violence.

Opportunities for Involvement

A tangible opportunity to participate in an anti-violence group, job, or other involvement also seems influential. In Casey and Smith's research, this happened through formal invitations, having friends or community members involved in anti-violence work, searching for groups which can 'make a difference', or taking up paid or voluntary work (Casey & Smith, 2010). In the study among Latino men in the US, anti-violence engagement was shaped by invitations to participate by a respected woman peer, typically female leaders and prevention advocates (Alcalde, 2014). Similarly, in Messner et al.'s study of three cohorts of male allies, some men in the earliest cohort became involved in the late 70s and early

1980s after direct invitations from feminist groups either to individual men or to early profeminist groups such as Men Against Sexist Violence (Messner et al., 2015).

Making Meaning

However, whether or not initial sensitising events and involvements lead to ongoing involvements in anti-violence work also is shaped by the meanings men give to these initial experiences. Casey and Smith's research among US men found three main themes in the meanings men gave. Some men gave these meanings to their initial sensitising experiences, while for others these meanings arose out of their involvement in anti-violence work, and most men identified more than one (Casey & Smith, 2010).

The young men involved in violence prevention work in Casey and Smith's research described themselves as *compelled to action*. They had come to feel that they no longer have a choice to do nothing, that doing nothing contributes to the problem, that they can make a difference, and that they have strengths and skills which can help (Casey & Smith, 2010). Some men described a *changing worldview*, a profound shift in their own thinking. They now see violence as relevant to their own lives and to the women they care for. They now connect violence against women to other issues of social justice or equality. And they reassess how they have responded to violence in the past (Casey & Smith, 2010). Finally, and still from this research, some men now saw anti-violence work as a way to *join with others*. Involvement allows them to build connections with others, particularly other men, and to foster community and mutual support. And it allows them to have friendships with other men and 'do masculinity' in ways different from 'traditional' approaches (Casey & Smith, 2010).

Again, however, such pathways are not universal among the men who contribute to anti-violence advocacy. While white, heterosexual men in studies by Casey and Smith and others emphasise significant shifts in meaning as part of their pathways to involvement and engagement, the queer black men in Peretz's (2017) work did not. Their exposure to feminist language and theory did not profoundly shift their gendered understanding of the world, but helped give them a better language to articulate existing understandings. The gay or queer men 'described having an organic understanding of gender and of injustice from their own experiences and beginning at a very young age' (Peretz, 2017, p. 544).

Social Conditions

Of course, men's opportunities to become involved in anti-violence work also are shaped in powerful ways by wider social conditions. As the book *Some Men* (Messner et al., 2015) documents, key influences on the extent and character of men's anti-violence work include the state of feminisms and women's movements, violence prevention advocacy and organisations, and government law, policy, and funding. And this means that cohorts of male advocates in different historical periods are likely to have differing opportunities for and pathways into involvement and different demographic profiles.

In the study of North American male activists, *Some Men*, the first wave who joined profeminist and anti-violence advocacy in the late 1970s to mid-80s did so in the context of the blossoming of second-wave feminism, alongside other progressive social movements (Messner et al., 2015). Small numbers of anti-sexist men's groups, and later networks, sprang up, inspiring both personal change and collective activism. A later cohort, who entered violence prevention work over the mid-1980s to mid-90s, was enabled in part by the establishment of feminist curricula at universities, the emergence of professionalised violence prevention organisations, the development of educational programs and curricula aimed at boys and men, and the passage of landmark legislation on violence against women which provided funding and organisational support. For the third and most recent cohort of male anti-violence advocates in North America, their participation was enabled by a growing network of violence prevention non-profit organisations, a government- and foundation-funded marketisation of anti-violence work, and an increasing professionalisation of this work (Messner et al., 2015).

Some Men provides a valuable case study of the influence of wider social conditions on men's entries into violence prevention work in North America, and similar analyses could be conducted in the diverse countries and contexts elsewhere where men's anti-violence advocacy has taken root.

MAKING THE CASE TO MEN

These findings regarding what brings men to an involvement in and commitment to anti-violence advocacy have implications for how we foster men's participation. How then do we reach and engage men? In particular, how do we make the case to men that men's violence against women requires their personal and collective action?

There has been little empirical evaluation of the effectiveness of different strategies with which to inspire men's interest and participation in anti-violence advocacy. Most literature is based on advocates' perceptions of effective strategies rather than empirical tests of the comparative impact of different approaches (Casey, 2010; Piccigallo et al., 2012), and much of this literature comes from countries in the global North, particularly the USA. More generally, there has been little examination of how best to engage members of dominant groups in dismantling systems of oppression (Casey, 2010). The following describes the approaches to reaching and engaging men which receive widespread use or endorsement in the field, without assuming that each has a well-developed evidence base, and notes support for particular strategies where it can be found. The text box summarises these. Note here that I am focused on appeals to individual men, rather than, e.g. appealing to the (often) male leaders of organisations, e.g. by using a 'business case'.

Making the case to men

- Personalise the issue
- Appeal to higher values and principles
- Show that men will benefit
- Start where men are
- Build on strengths
- Start with small steps and build to bigger things
- Identify a desirable end state
- Encourage men to develop a counter-story
- Show that other men agree
- Popularise violence prevention and feminism
- Diminish fears of others' reactions
- Provide knowledge and skills in intervention
- Provide opportunities and invitations for involvement
- Build communities of support.

Frame Violence Against Women as a Men's Issue

One example of the effort to invite men to take on the issue of men's violence against women as their own is the argument that 'violence against women is a men's issue'. This argument was developed by Jackson Katz in his book *Macho Paradox* (2006), and popularised further

in his widely viewed TED Talk in 2012 (viewed close to two million times).¹ I have made a similar argument in my own efforts to invite men into support for ending men's violence against women (Flood, 2009). The argument that 'violence against women is a men's issue' incorporates several of the ways of making the case to men discussed here. I provide this argument in its lay form first, before dissecting the appeals on which it rests and the further appeals one can use in making the case to men.

In my own version of the argument, at least as I wrote it in 2009, it goes like this:

Violence against women is a men's issue. Violence against women is of course a deeply personal issue for women, but it is also one for men.

Violence against women is a men's issue because it is men's wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, and friends whose lives are limited by violence and abuse. It's a men's issue because, as community leaders and decision-makers, men can play a key role in helping stop violence against women. It's a men's issue because men can speak out and step in when male friends and relatives insult or attack women. And it's a men's issue because a minority of men treat women and girls with contempt and violence, and it is up to the majority of men to help create a culture in which this is unacceptable.

While most men treat women with care and respect, violence against women *is* men's problem. Some men's violence gives all men a bad name. For example, if a man is walking down the street at night and there is a woman walking in front of him, she is likely to think, 'Is he following me? Is he about to assault me?' Some men's violence makes all men seem a potential threat, makes all men seem dangerous.

Violence against women is men's problem because many men find themselves dealing with the impact of *other* men's violence on the women and children that we love. Men struggle to respond to the emotional and psychological scars borne by their girlfriends, wives, female friends and others, the damaging results of earlier experiences of abuse by other men.

Violence is men's problem because sometimes men are the bystanders to other men's violence. Men make the choice: stay silent and look the other way when male friends and relatives insult or attack women, or speak up? And of course, violence is men's problem because sometimes men have used violence themselves.

¹See http://www.ted.com/talks/jackson_katz_violence_against_women_it_s_a_men_s_issue.

Men will benefit from a world free of violence against women, a world based on gender equality. In their relations with women, instead of experiencing distrust and disconnection they will find closeness and connection. Men will be able to take up healthier, emotionally in-touch and proud ways of being. Men's sexual lives will be more mutual and pleasurable, rather than obsessive and predatory. And boys and men will be free from the threat of other men's violence.

Violence against women is a men's issue

Violence hurts the women and girls we love
 Violence against women makes all men seem a potential threat
 Violence hurts our communities
 Violence against women is the product of narrow, dangerous norms about being a man which also limit men
 Men are bystanders to other men's violence
 Some of us have used violence ourselves
 Challenging violence is part of challenging inequalities of power and oppression
 Ending violence against women is part of the struggle to ensure safety and justice for all.

Personalise the Issue

When it comes to the issue of violence against women, a routine disavowal of its personal relevance is common to many men. Many men say, 'I don't rape women. I don't hit women. What does this have to do with me?' They may recognise the issue as important, as one worthy of community concern, but they do not see it as salient for them in particular. To the extent that they recognise the reality of victimisation, they do not see themselves at risk (rightly, although as men they are also vulnerable to men's violence). To the extent that they acknowledge perpetration, they again distance themselves from the issue through their self-positioning as non-perpetrators. So one key task here is to persuade men of the personal relevance of violence against women.

One of the most common ways through which men identify violence against women as personally relevant is learning of victimisation among

women or girls close to them. Men whose intimate female partners have been sexually assaulted experience anger, helplessness, and guilt (Smith, 2005). Hearing of women's experiences of violence is a significant source of men's sensitisation to the issue, as the research on men's paths to anti-violence advocacy described earlier suggests.

There are obvious strategies then to mobilise this sensitisation. Invite men to be aware of the routine risks and reality of violence, abuse, and harassment faced by the women and girls they know, for example by highlighting just how pervasive these are. Personalise men's violence by emphasising, as I do above, that 'Violence against women is a men's issue because it is men's wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, and friends whose lives are limited by violence and abuse'. Invite men to consider the likely impact of this on the women and girls whose lives and well-being they cherish. This does not mean that men should be asked to interrogate their female partners, loved ones and friends about whether they have suffered violence. Instead, men can be informed that, given the pervasiveness of violence against women and girls, this is highly likely, and they should be responsive to this. Nor should we burden survivors with responsibility for the anti-violence participation of men (Casey, Carlson, Two Bulls, & Yager, 2016).

Men's concerns about violence against the women and girls they know can be paternalistic or chivalric. For example, in a US survey of 157 male university students, asked about what role men should take in the prevention of sexual assault, one-fifth (21%) responded that men's role is act chivalrously, to physically intervene, to walk women to their cars at night, and so on—in short, to *protect* women (Rich et al., 2010). Men's concerns about violence against women and girls may even be bluntly patriarchal—grounded in a concern about other men's thefts or violation of their 'property' ('How dare you touch my woman!') or the shame brought onto their 'honour'.

Paternalistic and chivalric beliefs can be found even among the men who choose to participate in anti-violence advocacy. Tolman and colleagues (2016) conducted an online, self-selected survey of adult men who had attended at least one event focused on the issue of preventing violence against women. This resulted in a pool of 379 participants, from 54 countries (although over half were from North America). On average, these men had been involved for more than 7 years, and spent an average of more than 15 hours per week involved in the prevention of gender violence. Asked about their motivations for involvement, some men

endorsed the idea that ‘women need protection’. There were regional differences in male advocates’ support for traditional understandings of men’s roles as protectors and voices for women.

Many men have emotional ties to women and girls through families and relationships and are invested in preventing other men from exploiting them (Goode, 1982, p. 289), but this may be as far as their commitments go. We risk strengthening patriarchal norms if we appeal to men as ‘protectors’ of women and girls (Casey et al., 2016; Müller & Shahrokh, 2016). Instead, ideally, men’s concerns are grounded in a fundamental care and respect for women’s and girls’ rights, autonomy, and bodily integrity. Men’s sensitivity to the issue of violence against women and girls remains limited, however, if their concern is contained only to those individuals they know and not applied to all women and girls. Violence prevention efforts instead should move men to a sensitivity to the violence experienced by *other* women, women they *do not* know.

Various means are used in violence prevention work with men and boys to sensitise them to the reality of men’s violence against women. Two strategies are particularly widespread. First, across a range of forms of intervention, it is common to offer statistics on the extent of men’s violence against women. Second, various programs have men and boys listen to women’s and girls’ stories of violence, through written or visual testimonies or first-person accounts by panels of victims and survivors or at events such as Take Back the Night rallies (Casey, 2010). Some programs in mixed-sex groups use additional teaching tools such as an exercise where men, and then women, list all the ways in which they try to protect their safety when in public space, with men realising the myriad steps women take in the face of the routine possibility of harassment or assault. There are further teaching strategies designed to encourage men’s empathy for women’s experience, and I return to these in the following chapter.

While it is valuable for men to recognise that men’s violence impacts on the women and girls they know and on women and girls in general, this represents only one dimension of the personal relevance of violence against women. A further, and ultimately more important, one is for individual men to see men’s violence against women as a problem for which they must take responsibility and as an issue requiring their personal action. However, persuading men of other forms of personal relevance—their own complicity in and culpability for violence, and even their own perpetration of violence—is considerably harder. Even where

men have committed themselves ideologically to the rejection of violence, they may struggle to maintain egalitarian and non-violent relationships. For example, in a US study, some men who had become anti-violence advocates acknowledged that they sometimes still relied on unequal power relations in their intimate relationships and engaged in behaviours that contribute to violence (Alcalde, 2014).

Once men have accepted that men's violence against women is a widespread problem, it is perhaps only a small step for them to also accept that they should refrain from perpetrating violence against women themselves and that they should support women who disclose victimisation. However, it is harder to persuade men that they also have a role in shifting the social and cultural practices and relations which make that violence possible and to invite men into taking everyday actions to break them down. Men may struggle to see the links between other men's perpetration of violence against women and their own everyday practices and relations. Men may also resist the implication that they are responsible for or contribute to the oppressive behaviour of other men. It may be harder still to invite men to reflect critically on their own behaviour towards women. As I noted in Chapter 4, some male anti-violence activists make comforting distinctions between 'us' and 'them', between themselves and those 'other' men who use violence, and breaking this down may be particularly challenging.

My own version above of the 'violence against women is a men's issue' argument tries to further personalise the issue by emphasising that violence by some men makes all men seem a potential threat, gives all men a 'bad name'. In the context of the violence which some men commit or threaten against women, women's concerns about and fears of men are necessary, rational, necessary, and informed. Men therefore are feared as potential rapists. K. E. Edwards and Headrick (2009, pp. 166–167) couch this in terms of 'harm' to men, noting that men are not seen for, and lose, their humanity (in their words). This does not compare to the violence that women experience in a rape culture, but 'As long as some men rape, all men will lose the freedom to not be feared and be perceived as who we really are' (Edwards & Headrick, 2009, p. 167).

Bringing this violence closer to home, my appeal above also notes that men may be bystanders to other men's violence and that 'some of us have used violence ourselves'.

In the wider field of work engaging men in gender equality, there also is endorsement of the strategy of recruiting men through relevant

conversations or ‘hooks’. This can include tailoring initial conversations with men to topics which are relevant and compelling, such as sex, relationships, fatherhood, and sexual and reproductive health (Casey et al., 2016).

Appeal to Higher Values and Principles

In seeking to engage men in the struggle to end men’s violence against women, there are compelling reasons to appeal to higher values and principles. First, and above all, this struggle is grounded in the ethical or political recognition of the fundamental injustice and harm represented by violence against women. Working to end violence against women is the right thing to do. In addition, the evidence is that men’s existing involvement in and support for anti-violence advocacy and gender equality work is motivated by higher values and principles. For example, in a study among senior men in Australian workplaces who had become advocates for gender equality (in a ‘Male Champions of Change’ initiative), the moral or ethical case for change was an important motivator (Bongiorno, Favero, & Parker).

Men’s violence against women has a profound impact on women’s physical and emotional health. This violence, and the threat of this violence, curtails women’s mobility, self-esteem, and everyday safety. Men’s violence limits women’s human rights and their rights to full citizenship. More widely, this violence expresses and maintains structural gender inequalities and women’s subordination (Stark, 2010).

One influential way of framing violence against women as an issue of values or principles is in terms of human rights. Violence against women has been widely recognised as a human rights violation, by the United Nations, its agencies, and the majority of countries participating in human rights treaties (Libal & Parekh, 2009). Beginning in the late 1990s, a human rights approach increasingly was extended to violence against women: women’s rights are human rights, and men’s violence against women is a violation of these rights (Walby, 2005). The language of women’s rights as human rights and the inclusion of violence against women as a human rights violation thus is an available and influential way to frame these issues (although there are also significant challenges in framing violence against women as a human rights violation).

However, this does not mean that appealing to universal values of human rights necessarily will have purchase among men. In a study

among two organisations in South Africa, One Man Can (a gender equality and health program implemented by Sonke Gender Justice) and the Khululeka Men's Support Group (which offers support for HIV-positive men), both organisations drew on a human rights framework, but among participants there were significant tensions between the right-based discourse of gender equality and local discourses of masculinity and social power (Viitanen & Colvin, 2015). Particularly among men in the HIV-positive support group, notions of human rights were undermined by 'a traditionalist discourse of patriarchy and culture that emphasised male control over domestic and social life'. Among these men, human rights discourse had traction only when discussed in relation to issues of general fairness, tolerance, and prohibitions against violence, but not regarding households and issues of children's and sexual rights (Viitanen & Colvin, 2015, pp. 8–9).

The strategy of engaging men by appealing to higher values and principles is supported too by the evidence that it is such values and principles which often motivate existing support among men. As I summarised above, when men have justice-oriented beliefs, they are more likely to reject sexism and inequality. And if they do become involved in anti-violence advocacy, they are more likely to maintain and intensify their involvement if they come to link violence against women to other issues of social justice or equality. Writing in the workplace context about gender equality initiatives, Prime and colleagues (2009) argue for appealing to men's 'higher' ideals of making the world a better place, and the same is true in violence prevention.

Show That Men Will Benefit

If one dimension of making the case to men is persuading them that men's violence against women is of personal relevance, another is convincing them that they will benefit from progress towards its prevention and reduction. As I state in my own version of the 'men's issue' argument above, 'Men will benefit from a world free of violence against women, a world based on gender equality'.

Appealing to men's self-interests to inspire their involvement in violence prevention can be controversial, as I explored in the previous chapter. There I suggested that our efforts to engage men should acknowledge that they must also give up patriarchal privileges. Indeed,

men's collective loss of such privileges is a condition of progress towards a non-violent society. Our appeals to men should be ethical or political in the first instance, premised on the fundamental point that men's violence against women is unjust. But we can also appeal, in part, to how men will benefit. Inviting men to recognise their interests in the cessation of men's violence against women—the stake they have in this—is a valuable strategy in reaching and engaging men. It is also a common strategy, with appeals to how men will benefit visible in much of the wider field of work engaging men in building gender equality.

There is some evidence that such appeals do work in engaging men. In the South African study described above among One Man Can and the Khululeka Men's Support Group, messaging regarding the 'costs of masculinity'—that men incur significant social and health costs as a result of adherence of dominant forms of masculine identity and behaviour—was well-received and effective in shifting gendered perceptions (Viitanen & Colvin, 2015). Messages about the costs of conformity to hegemonic masculinity had meaning, relevance, and traction among both participants and facilitators in these initiatives, more so than messages about multiple forms of masculinity or human rights.

How will men benefit? Connell's document prepared for a UN Expert Group Meeting in 2003 provides an elegant account. She identifies four broad sets of reasons why men (and boys) may support change towards gender equality and will benefit from it, to do with (1) personal well-being, (2) relational interests, (3) collective and community interests, and (4) principle.

Personal well-being: First, men's own well-being is limited by narrow constructions of gender, including those constructions which inform men's violence against women. As Messner (1997, p. 6) succinctly states, 'Men tend to pay heavy costs — in the form of shallow relationships, poor health, and early death — for conformity with the narrow definitions of masculinity that promise to bring them status and privilege'. Thus, dominant norms of masculinity are limiting for men, and in any case, many men struggle to conform to them.

Relational interests: Second, men and boys live in social relationships with women and girls—their wives and partners, sisters, daughters, mothers, aunts and nieces, friends and colleagues, neighbours, and so on (Connell, 2003). As the strategy above of 'personalising' violence against women recognises,

The quality of every man's life depends to a large extent on the quality of those relationships. Living in a system of gender inequality which limits or damages the lives of the women and girls concerned, inevitably degrades the lives of the men and boys too. (Connell, 2003, p. 11)

My own argument above that 'violence against women is a men's issue' picks up on both of these, emphasising the harms done to men's physical and emotional well-being in general, and their sexual and intimate lives in particular, by traditional masculinity.

Progress away from patriarchy, such that men increasingly encounter others through equality and respect, will 'furnish [men] with a deep sense of meaning and well-being' (Salter, 2016). They will afford the 'genuine pleasure of reciprocity' over 'the false gratification of domination' and 'the feelings of belonging and community that sit at the heart of human flourishing'.

Collective interests: Gender reform benefits the well-being of the communities in which men live. For example, men may recognise that they and their communities benefit from flexibility in divisions of labour which maximise labour resources, from improvements in women's health and well-being, or from a diminishing of the civil and international violence associated with aggressive constructions of masculinity and patriarchal nation states (Connell, 2003). Indeed, there is evidence that gender inequality not only harms women's status and well-being, but it increases the likelihood that a nation state will experience internal conflict in the first place (Greenberg & Zuckerman, 2006).

Emphasising the community costs associated with men's violence against women has been a significant component of recent campaigns calling for policy action, and men and women alike can recognise the value to communities of reducing and preventing this violence. While some advocacy efforts emphasise the health burden associated with this violence, others emphasise the economic costs. In Australia for example, an influential report released by the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth, 2004) documented that intimate partner violence is the leading contributor to death, disability and illness in Victorian women aged 15–44. This violence is responsible for more of the disease burden than many well-known risk factors such as smoking, high blood pressure, and obesity. The report calculated that intimate partner violence alone contributes 9% to the disease burden in Victorian women aged 15–44 years, making it the largest known

contributor to the preventable disease burden in this group (VicHealth, 2004). This finding has become a routine inclusion in public calls in Australia for action on men's violence against women. Globally too, estimates of the prevalence and disease burden represented by violence against women are an important part of the case for addressing violence against women as a widespread public health problem (World Health Organization, 2013).

Turning to economic costs, in that same year in Australia, a report was released on the cost of domestic violence to the Australian economy, estimating this at over \$8 billion per year (Access Economics, 2004). Updating this work five years later, the National Council to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children (2009) estimated that violence against women and their children will cost the Australian economy \$13.6 billion in 2009.² Recent research by KPMG puts the cost of this violence at \$14.7 USD billion per year, or roughly 1.1% of Australia's GDP (KPMG, 2013).

Principle: The fourth set of reasons have less to do with direct benefit to men, and more to do with how progress towards gender equality and non-violence sits with men's own beliefs. Men may support gender equality because of their ethical, political, or spiritual commitments—their support for ideals of equality or liberation, their faith-based belief in ideals of compassion and justice, or their sympathy to progressive political values and movements.

Start Where Men Are

In seeking to reach and engage men, we must start with men *wherever they are* (Crooks et al., 2007). We must start with men's existing understandings of violence against women and commitments to preventing and reducing it, as weak or ambivalent or non-existent as these may be. We must use language which is meaningful to men, speak to men's experiences, and address their concerns.

'Meeting men where they're at' is a key means of engaging men as anti-violence allies, at least according to qualitative research among male anti-violence advocates. Casey's (2010) US study drew on qualitative interviews with men who had initiated ongoing involvement in

²This includes domestic (intimate and ex-intimate partner) violence and non-domestic sexual assault, but captures reported violence only.

an anti-violence against women organisation, event, or group within the past two years. The men had been involved for anywhere from one month to 30 months, and ranged in age from 20 to 72. 'Meeting men where they're at' was the most common set of engagement strategies used by men in this study. To do this is to 'approach other men in a tailored and individualised way' (Casey, 2010, p. 274). The men described

a group of strategies generally intended to allow other men to personally relate to anti-violence efforts or conversations and to build on the knowledge and attitudes they hold at the moment they are engaged. (Casey, 2010, p. 274)

The men referred to three kinds of strategies here: tailoring conversations, using relevant messengers and role models, and using masculinity. Tailoring conversations, whether with individual men or groups, involves finding out about these men's attitudes and positions (through questions, conversation, and so on) and using this to frame the ways they then engaged in discussion about violence against women (Casey, 2010, p. 274).

Another dimension of meeting men 'where they are' is having 'messengers' with whom those men can identify. The participants in Casey's study emphasised identification with the messenger as an important precondition for men's engagement. They had two broad kinds of involvement: half were volunteering or working with a domestic and/or sexual violence-related program, government agency, or partnering men's group, while the other half were involved in university campus-based organisations. Particularly among the university-based participants, there was an emphasis on the ways in which 'the identity, perceived identity, age or 'outsider' status of some male anti-violence messengers may have reduced the degree to which they influenced other men or convinced them to attend an event or presentation' (Casey, 2010, pp. 273–274). These male advocates thus emphasised using relevant messengers and role models—individuals in the group 'who appeal to, are respected by, or are reflective of the men they are speaking to, so that men could literally 'see themselves' in the group' (Casey, 2010, p. 275).

'Meeting men where they are' has risks. There is a tension between meeting potential allies 'where they are', on the one hand, and challenging male privilege, on the other (Casey, 2010, p. 279). In order to communicate with the mainstream, we risk setting aside the interests,

concerns and experiences of those groups who are already marginalised: gay, bisexual, and queer men, transgender people, and others. As Murphy (2010) asks, *how much* collusion do we accept? How long for? Who are we willing to exclude?

We must at least remain aware of the costs and limits of speaking to (some) men in terms they already understand. In response to the tension above, Casey (2010) suggests a ‘both-and’ approach, in which we use tailored outreach to men and also provide opportunities to reflect critically on and challenge privilege.

While it makes sense to start with where men are, it makes no sense to leave them there. To engage men in ending men’s violence against women is to invite them into processes of personal and collective change. This does not mean, however, that men entering anti-violence advocacy should be expected to begin with an already sophisticated understanding and practice regarding gender, masculinity, and violence against women. This brings me to a related aspect of the task of reaching and engaging men, providing small steps and specific actions. But first, I discuss the wider point that efforts to reach men should begin with the positive.

Build on Strengths

There is some endorsement in the men’s violence prevention literature of the point that efforts to engage men should begin with *the positive* and build on men’s *strengths*. They should emphasise the positive points that most men treat women and girls with respect and that most do not use violence. They should be ‘strength-based’, that is, building on men’s existing strengths, their existing commitments to and involvements in non-violence. A positive, strength-based approach is seen as vital in minimising men’s defensiveness and disengagement. What are some examples of this endorsement, what evidence is there for this approach, and what are its dangers?

Berkowitz’s (2004) influential account states that,

Men need to be approached as partners in solving the problem rather than as perpetrators. [...] Positive anti-violence values and healthy aspects of men’s experience should be strengthened [...] Most men are not coercive or opportunistic, do not want to victimise others, and are willing to be part of the solution to ending sexual assault. (Berkowitz, 2004, pp. 2–3)

Berkowitz argues that the majority of men already hold attitudes that can be strengthened to prevent and reduce violence and encourage intervention with other men. For example, many are uncomfortable with how they have been taught to be men and with other men's sexism and inappropriate behaviour (Berkowitz, 2004). (Berkowitz also acknowledges that more intensive, and alternative responses are necessary for men who are predatory or who have a history of perpetration.) The same endorsement of positive, affirmative messages is given in relation to mass-media and community outreach campaigns, in a review of the effectiveness of programs seeking to engage men and boys in achieving gender equality and equity in health (WHO, 2007). More recently, an advocacy brief by MenEngage and UNFPA recommends, 'use the positive language of opportunity and responsibility rather than collective guilt or collective blame' (MenEngage and UNFPA, 2013, p. 11). Strength-based approaches, oriented, e.g. to men's investments in being 'good men' and 'good fathers', have also been recommended as generating particular traction among men who are newly arrived immigrants or from new and emerging communities (Department of Social Services, 2015).

Approaches to engaging men which, in contrast, address men as perpetrators or potential perpetrators are seen as less effective as they put men on the defensive and invite a sense of blame (Berkowitz, 2004). Based on a survey among 157 male first-year university students residing on campus, which found that most male students were willing to prevent rape, Stein (2007, p. 85) also argues for 'emphasising men's strengths'. While he acknowledges that men's willingness may have diverse origins, including problematic ones such as chivalrous notions of 'protecting' women, he suggests that 'Portraying men as allies and not adversaries may result in them becoming more fully engaged in seeking solutions'. Similarly, writing on men and gender equality work more generally, other authors and advocates argue that approaching men with a 'deficit' perspective, focused on the negative, is likely to prompt defensiveness (Lang, 2002; Ruxton, 2004). Some writings put this argument more strongly, indeed too strongly, with one piece suggesting bluntly, 'Do not blame or shame men'. (Loschiavo, Miller, & Davies, 2007, p. 197). More widely, some feminist writers such as Black feminist writer bell hooks have criticised an emphasis on 'men as enemy', arguing for example that this neglects the value of solidarity between non-white, poor, and working-class women and men (hooks, 1984).

Three US studies provide some support for the idea that positive, strength-based approaches will be more effective at least in fostering men's initial engagement. Two of the studies were among male university students and related to rape prevention, while the third was among male anti-violence advocates (with half of these again active on university campuses). In the first, a survey of male students in a required general education course at a US university about their responses to a proposed rape prevention program, some emphasised that they would feel personally attacked if asked to attend and that such programs unfairly cast men in the role of perpetrator (Rich et al., 2010). In another US study among 29 first-year male university students aged 18–22 who had completed a school-required rape prevention workshop 3–6 months prior to the interview, there was a general rejection of an approach focused on men as potential perpetrators. Many of the men reported that such an approach felt 'male bashing' and was irrelevant to them (Scheel, Johnson, Schneider, & Smith, 2001, p. 261). They did not see themselves as potential rapists and were upset most about the negative stigma that all men receive when some men rape. Third, in a study among 27 male anti-violence advocates, over one-third identified as a primary barrier to men hearing their messages or connecting with their engagement strategies any strategy with 'a remotely *negative approach to men*' (Casey, 2010, p. 277). These activists and educators

described negative approaches as dwelling on statistics about the proportion of perpetrators who are male, giving men behavioural 'don'ts' to avoid rape, or talking about men's responsibility *for* the problem, and suggested that these strategies create an environment in which men feel defensive, 'bashed', or blamed. Respondents suggested that because most men are not perpetrators, hearing about men as perpetrators may feel inordinately shaming, or make the content seem irrelevant. (Casey, 2010, p. 277)

Evidence for the greater effectiveness of a 'positive' approach also comes from the WHO's (2007) review of the effectiveness of programs seeking to engage men and boys in achieving gender equality and equity in health. This drew on 58 evaluation studies, involving interventions addressing five program areas: sexual and reproductive health, fatherhood, gender-based violence, maternal, newborn and child health, and

gender socialisation. The authors conclude that effective and promising campaigns among men overwhelmingly used positive, affirmative messages (WHO, 2007).

Given the levels of defensiveness and resistance visible among men, beginning with a 'positive' approach which does not address men exclusively as potential perpetrators is warranted. If our approaches intensify men's defensiveness, we risk failing to engage men at all and thus prevent any capacity to involve them in change. Educational and other approaches among men which incite hostility and disengagement are unlikely to generate positive attitudinal and behavioural change. Even worse, they may have a negative impact. Some violence prevention sessions have created 'attitude backlash', for example in which boys' attitudes towards sexual coercion worsened (Jaffe, Sudermann, Reitzel, & Killip, 1992; Winkel & De Kleuver, 1997) or increased sexually coercive behaviour among those men in the program who were already at high risk of perpetration (Stephens & George, 2009). Scholarship documents two instances where males' (but not females) attitudes moved in negative directions in response to social marketing campaigns (Keller, Wilkinson, & Otjen, 2010; Winkel & De Kleuver, 1997).

Rape prevention programs that use a style of personal confrontation with participants actually appear to be harmful, with one study evaluating such a program finding that it resulted in greater tolerance among men of the justifiability of rape (World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2010, p. 46). Instead, as A. D. Berkowitz (2004, p. 3) advocates,

effective approaches create a learning environment that can surface the positive attitudes and behaviours that allow men to be part of the solution. This can be accomplished in the context of a safe, non-judgmental atmosphere for open discussion and dialogue in which men can discuss feelings about relationships, sexuality, aggression, etc. and share discomfort about the behaviour of other men.

There are obvious dangers in positive, strength-based approaches to men's violence prevention. They risk abandoning any critical edge, watering down a feminist agenda, and naïvely celebrating men's 'strengths'. I have several caveats therefore to this recommendation.

First and most importantly, violence prevention work with men must continue to centre a feminist critique of men's violence and men's

power. Beginning with the positive does not mean condoning men's endorsement of sexist or oppressive understandings and practices. Any work with men must retain a fundamental, feminist-informed concern with gender equality and a critique of those practices, understandings, and relations which sustain violence and inequality. Doing this does not require aggressive forms of interaction with participants in an intervention. As Lonsway (1996, p. 250) recommends,

although educational programs challenging rape culture *do* require confrontation of established ideologies, such interventions *do not necessitate a style of personal confrontation*. Neither do such interventions necessitate personal confrontation among participants as a measure of success.

With regard to men's defensiveness, interventions should not take it as given or go to any lengths to avoid it but should respond critically to it. They should seek to break down men's defensiveness, by undermining the ill-informed perceptions which structure it, as I note below. Work with men should not seek to avoid prompting defensiveness and discomfort altogether. Some level of these is inevitable, and even desirable. If they are entirely absent among participants in an intervention, it is unlikely that those men are undergoing personal change.

Finally, addressing men as potential perpetrators of violence against women should be part of our work. Many men *are* perpetrators and potential perpetrators of violence against women, and addressing their roles instead in practising non-violence is vital. Although (Scheel et al., 2001) argue instead for addressing men as allies to and supporters of women, they acknowledge the legitimacy of the men-as-potential-perpetrators material given evidence of the high degree of rape-tolerant attitudes and proclivity to rape among particular groups of men.

While violence prevention efforts with men should seek to change men's own violent practices and violence-supportive attitudes and relations, there is little evidence with which to assess the relative merits in achieving this of what Scheel et al. (2001) describe as four typical appeals to men: 'men as potential perpetrators', 'men as supporters and allies', 'men as potential victims', and 'men as protectors'. For example, even though 'men as allies' approaches begin by addressing men not in terms of their own perpetration but in terms of their roles in preventing and reducing other men's violence, they may still be more effective than 'men as perpetrators' approaches in shifting men's *own* violent behaviour,

precisely because they foster greater engagement. Thus, in working to reach and engage men in the task of ending men's violence against women, it may be most effective to begin with the message that men are vital to efforts to end violence against women, they have important strengths to offer, and they are part of the solution (Casey, 2010).

Start with Small Steps and Build to Bigger Things

If starting where men are, and building on strengths, are two desirable aspects of how to reach and engage men, then a third is to give men initial, small steps and actions to take. Drawing on cognitive-behavioural therapy, Crooks et al. (2007) suggest that to engage in a change process, men need both a desired end state and small steps and mini-goals that will lead to the desired outcomes. The goal of developing new forms of masculinity and selfhood widely is seen as central to the goal of engaging men and boys in violence prevention. However, it is unreasonable to expect individual men to have completed a thorough self-evaluation and reconstruction prior to their involvement in anti-violence work (Crooks et al., 2007). Few men will 'walk in the door' with an already sophisticated understanding of gender, violence, and power. Instead, individual men can be given an action list of specific, small actions to take as part of their growing involvement in ending men's violence against women. Indeed, these actions in turn are likely to alter their attitudes to masculinity and raise their awareness of gender issues (Crooks et al., 2007).

In advocating for smaller, interim goals for men who join efforts to end men's violence against women, Crooks et al. (2007) also argue for acknowledging 'well-meaning' as a launching pad for men's involvement. That is, they emphasise the need to make space for men who first become involved as 'well-meaning men' or 'nice guys', men who occupy a middle ground somewhere between violent and profeminist (Crooks et al., 2007). In my words, such men are not directly involved in the perpetration of obvious physical or sexual violence and profess at least some basic support for gender equality and a commitment to the reasonable treatment of and respect for the women in their lives. Claire Crooks and her colleagues argue for both appreciating such men's positions and challenging them to reach further (Crooks et al., 2007).

These well-meaning men are 'allies for self-interest', as described in greater detail later in this book. Our goal is move men from being allies for self-interest (with limited paternalistic motivations for involvement, a

focus on ‘other’ and ‘bad’ men, and little sense of wider inequalities) to allies for social justice (who have stronger, justice-oriented motivations, acknowledge their own privilege and complicity, and recognise the problem as grounded in systems and structures).

In addition, prevention efforts should not naively assume that such men never are involved in forms of controlling and coercive behaviour against women, nor should they accept ‘well-meaning’ as a sufficient end state. But welcoming men with good intentions into this field, and then working with them to build these into more substantive personal commitments and transformations, seems sensible practice.

Identify a Desirable End State

In engaging men in violence prevention, what do we want them to *become*? Part of this work is identifying a desirable end state for men, the forms of identity, selfhood, and personal practice we wish them to adopt.

The goals of violence prevention often have been defined only at the societal level: an end to violence against women and the establishment of gender equality. However, our goals also must be defined at the individual and interpersonal levels (Crooks et al., 2007). In fact, some argue that even at the societal level, there has been little examination of what a society free from violence against women might actually look like, a positive vision of a truly non-violent society (Salter, 2016).

Desired end states at an individual level sometimes are ill-defined in violence prevention efforts aimed at men. Is it merely refraining from violence, or more active efforts to build equitable relationships, or activist involvement in anti-patriarchal efforts (Crooks et al., 2007)? Campaigns and materials aimed at men typically do include lists of ‘what men can do’, as I describe below, and these go some way towards constructing visions of the alternative ways of being to which men should aspire. To be effective however, they will have to engage men in explicit critiques of masculinity.

Encourage Men to Develop a Counter-Story

Another way of understanding this ‘desirable end state’ is the ‘counter-story’. Part of our work is to work with men to develop alternative narratives of self and identity. These involve looking critically at, and outside, the dominant cultural stories of masculinity, particularly those

based on dominance and aggression, and highlighting alternative or counter-stories of men's lives and experiences which have been disregarded or marginalised (Dabby, 2013; McGann, 2014). These include the experiences of men who are marginalised because of racism, classism, or homophobia, but also the non-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic experiences of privileged men. In practice, the strategy of the counter-story may involve noting those aspects of men's experiences which do not fit dominant narratives of masculinity, amplifying men's resistance to dominant narratives, framing these as positive and desirable expressions of an alternative form of masculinity or selfhood, and intensifying men's investment in these. One factor shaping male anti-violence advocates' involvements in prevention work is the development of a sense of strength, skill, or responsibility (Casey & Smith, 2010). Therefore, men who participate in developing counter-stories, and investing in these, may be more able to define their identities in gender-equitable ways and to maintain an involvement in anti-violence advocacy.

Show That Other Men Agree

Men's engagement in violence prevention is stymied by their overestimation of other men's comfort with violence and unwillingness to intervene, as described above. There are several ways to break this down: use communications materials showing other men's agreement, gather and disseminate actual data on the extent of other men's agreement, and leverage the influence of powerful figures.

Some efforts, such as communications campaigns focused on bystander intervention, show men speaking up or taking other forms of action in the face of other men's violent or violence-supportive behaviours. For example, the US organisation Men Can Stop Rape developed a series of posters showing men taking pro-social action to address violence-supportive behaviours and situations and stating, 'I'm the kind of guy who takes a stand. Where do you stand?'. Such campaigns have various goals, including increasing normative acceptance of bystander intervention, such that men for example come to believe that other men also will intervene.

A strategy more focused, however, on undermining people's overestimation of others' support for unhealthy or antisocial behaviours is the social norms campaign. Social norms campaigns have been used

in relation to various problem behaviours such as alcohol abuse, but in relation to violence against women, they seek to close the gap between men's perceptions of other men's agreement with violence-supportive and sexist norms and the actual extent of this agreement (Fabiano et al., 2003). Rather than simply portraying men speaking up or taking action, one important approach in a social norms campaign is to gather and publicise actual data on men's behaviours and attitudes in order to reduce the effects of norms misperception. Where there is in fact a silent majority of men who condemn men's violence against women and who are willing to intervene to prevent or reduce it, highlighting this thus amplifies its voice (Fabiano et al., 2003).

A third strategy is to draw on the influence of other men who are powerful and persuasive. In workplace settings for example, efforts to generate men's support for diversity and inclusion initiatives have drawn on influential managers, especially men, in inviting employees to participate in D&I training (through intra-company broadcasts and in-person meetings), and delivering training content where appropriate (Prime et al., 2009).

Popularise Violence Prevention and Feminism

Men's receptivity to efforts to engage them in preventing violence against women is limited by their negative perceptions of feminism in general and (feminist) violence prevention in particular. As I noted earlier, many men perceive such campaigns as anti-male and as tarnishing all male as perpetrators. It is vital therefore to tackle such perceptions directly.

Obvious framing strategies here include emphasising that violence prevention campaigns addressing men are based on a recognition that most men are not violent and a hope and optimism for both women's and men's lives. Campaigns focused on men's violence against women also acknowledge that men too are the victims of violence, and that ending violence to girls and women and ending violence to boys and men are part of the same struggle—to create a world based on equality, justice and non-violence.

Men who become advocates for ending violence against women ideally will learn a language for claiming their support for feminism. As I have argued elsewhere for male advocates,

Reclaim the F-word. Men's violence against women is an unavoidably feminist issue: feminist women first identified the problem, and have led the way in analysis and activism in response. Develop a simple language for expressing your support for feminist ideals – for the principle of equality between men and women, for the simple idea that women are people too, for women's right to live free of violence, and so on. You don't have to be, or claim to be, an expert on feminism. But learn what feminism really is, whether through books or websites or groups, and move beyond simplistic and negative stereotypes in media and popular culture. Get good too at side-stepping or rebutting the idea that campaigns focused on violence against women are 'anti-male'. (Flood, 2011, p. 21)

As well as directly addressing men's perceptions of feminism and feminist campaigns, there are other ways to lessen the likelihood of defensive and hostile reactions among men. Measures that can lessen men's defensiveness include approaching males as partners in solving the problem rather than as perpetrators of the problem, addressing men as bystanders to other men's sexism or violence, creating safe and non-judgmental environments for open discussion and dialogue, and using male facilitators. I explore some of these in more detail in the following chapter, while strategies to address men's organised anti-feminist resistance are examined in Chapter 10.

Diminish Fears of Others' Reactions

Men may fear being seen as 'less than real men' for taking up the issue of men's violence against women. Men's inaction in relation to men's violence against women is informed in part by concerns about their masculinity or heterosexuality being called into question (Crooks et al., 2007, p. 231). One common way to invite men into this work, and to head off such concerns, is to appeal directly to men's investments in masculinity. Various campaigns emphasise that 'real men' don't use violence or draw on stereotypically masculine qualities such as strength, bravery, or courage. Ideally however, this is complemented by strategies which defuse the challenges to men's masculinity and heterosexuality, not by defensively reasserting men's manly credentials but by undermining the bases of these challenges themselves. As I have suggested to male advocates themselves,

Decide to discard the narrow, sexist gender stereotypes – real men put other men first, real men are dominant over women, and so on – which keep men in line.

Reclaim the G-word. If someone accuses you of being gay because of your action to end violence against women, say, ‘So what? What’s the problem?’ Again, question the homophobic assumptions which guide such reactions. Argue that all men – straight, gay, and every other sexual flavour – can be great allies for women. Acknowledge and affirm gay and bisexual men’s participation in this work. Point out the irony that men are thought to be gay for being involved in ending men’s violence against women when many are involved because of their love and care for the women in their lives.

In short, move beyond the anti-feminist and homophobic norms which structure so many men’s lives. (Flood, 2011, p. 21)

Another form of concern involves fear of negative social reactions from peers and others for challenging their attitudes and behaviours (Powell, 2010). Men may fear how they will be perceived or what costs to their friendships they will incur in questioning a joke about rape or criticising abusive behaviour. One key to overcoming this is fostering a sense among men that they have a responsibility, even a duty, to take action. Research among male anti-violence advocates in the USA found that one important understanding which sustained their involvement was the sense that they are compelled to action. Men reported for example that they feel obligated to take action, to do nothing is to acquiesce with violence, merely refraining from violence in their own lives is not enough, and they can make a difference (Casey & Smith, 2010).

This sense of being ‘charged with a mandate’ can be seen as part of a broader orientation towards *activism* or *the political*. I see this as defined by a passionate ethic that one must, can, and will contribute to social change. Feminist politics takes for granted that ‘the personal is political’—that the social injustices associated with gender are present in personal lives and relations just as they are in social institutions and structures. (Similar assumptions are visible too in anti-racist politics.) An activist orientation, particularly one involving the politics of gender and sexuality therefore, involves challenging unjust behaviour in everyday life.

Even if men feel mandated to take action regarding men’s violence against women, they may not have the skills or knowledge to do so, and this brings us to a further strategy.

Provide Knowledge and Skills in Intervention

Building men's skills in everyday practices associated with violence prevention is a common strategy in the field. While campaigns may help to motivate men to take action, we must also ensure that men have the skills to do so (Crooks et al., 2007).

Individual men can help to prevent or reduce men's violence against women by taking three forms of action: behaving non-violently themselves, taking action among other men and women, and taking wider collective action. There are now a range of 'what men can do' lists which identify actions men can take with regard to the first two forms of action. My account in the report *Men Speak Up* (2011) synthesises such lists, offering a detailed discussion of the steps men can take, and these are summarised in the text box here.

What individual men can do

- Start with yourself.
 - Don't use violence.
 - Build respectful and non-violent relations with women.
 - Boycott and resist sexist and violence-supportive culture.
 - Inform yourself of the realities of men's violence against women.
- Be an active and involved bystander.
 - Intervene in violent incidents.
 - Intervene in high-risk situations.
 - Challenge perpetrators and potential perpetrators.
 - Support victims and survivors.
 - Be an egalitarian role model.
 - Challenge the social norms and inequalities which sustain men's violence against women. (Flood, 2011, p. 10)

Simply offering such guidance is not enough, and violence prevention programs also should include activities focused on skills development, fostering the development of the specific behavioural skills required.

Part of the work of building skills in violence prevention is addressing men's internal dialogues, the thought processes which shape whether or not they will speak up and take action. A well-developed example of this is evident in the 'Playbook' developed by Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP), which depicts the internal dialogues which shape

whether or not a young man will intervene in violent or violence-supportive situations (Katz, 2004). The MVP guide provides a range of realistic scenarios, a ‘train of thought’ identifying the typical thoughts which men have in response (including good, bad, and indifferent thoughts), and options for intervention. The following is one of the scenarios given;

Talkin’ Trash (Katz, 2004)

You’re sitting on the stairs outside of school with a few friends. A young woman walks by wearing a tight mini-skirt. Your friends start making crude gestures and harassing remarks, referring to her body and clothes, and saying things like ‘we know you like it’. The young woman is obviously getting upset.

Train of Thought

Is she really upset, or does she like the attention? ...Is it true what they’re saying? ...Does that matter? ...Girls have the right to wear whatever they want ... How would I feel if the girl was my sister, or my friend? ... If I remain silent, am I agreeing with my friends’ behaviour? ...What if she reports the incident? ...Will my friends ask me to lie for them? ... What should I do?

Options

1. Keep quiet.
2. Join in (although my heart’s not in it) because I don’t want my friends to think less of me.
3. Drift off to the side, away from the activity. Later, apologise to the young woman for my friends’ immature and sexist behaviour.
4. Distract my friends by saying something like ‘chill out, guys’ and try to convince them to stop.
5. Leave the scene, but later talk to each guy individually and let them know that I have a problem with the way they treated this person.
6. Talk about the issue with a parent, a teacher or another adult I can trust.
7. Personal option: _____ . (Katz, 2004, p. 8)

I return to the issue of prevention skills in the following chapter.

Provide Opportunities and Invitations for Involvement

To be successful in engaging men in violence prevention, we must also provide concrete opportunities and invitations for men's involvement. US research finds that reasons why men do not become involved in prevention campaigns include the absence of a request or invitation to be involved, not having time, and not knowing how to help (Garin, 2000). Providing tangible opportunities or invitations to men therefore is a vital strategy.

There are various potential means or settings with which to recruit men. The Texas Council on Family Violence's *Guide to Engaging Men and Boys in Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls* (2010, p. 22) provides a useful list, including:

Poster Campaigns: Including ones designed by men and boys themselves, to increase their interest and involvement. Placed strategic locations (i.e. schools, restrooms, restaurants, sports fields, Boys and Girls Club, etc.). As well as PSAs.

Incentives: Offer incentives to encourage men and boys to attend meetings/events. Incentives can involve awards ceremonies, food, positive reinforcement.

Social Change Organisations: Build relationships with other organisations engaged in social change, to connect with men and boys who have made a commitment to improving their communities.

School Personnel: School personnel interested in supporting young men and boys with whom they work can collaborate with community leaders and recruit other volunteers.

Group Members' Peer Group: Male youth and adult men invested in making a change can recruit members of their peer groups.

Community Leaders: Men often are part of other networks and can introduce the topic to groups to which they belong and invite prevention advocates to speak at their meetings. Identifying community allies that work with men can be a great place to grow a volunteer base.

As part of 'meeting men where they are', some men's anti-violence advocates literally go to the places where men are likely to be, such as fraternities (all-male university residences), traditional men's clubs, sports, and male-dominated workplaces (Casey, 2010, p. 274). Some try to reach men by organising trainings, workshops, and conversation groups where violence against women is part of a wider discussion about topics which

may be appealing to men such as sex, dating, communication, or masculinity (Casey, 2010).

Reaching men through personal networks seems a particularly important strategy. In a US qualitative study among 27 men who had initiated membership or involvement in an anti-sexual or domestic violence effort within the past two years, participants identified a variety of strategies for ‘getting men in the door’. However, the one which was endorsed most widely was gaining access through personal networks, largely through ‘tailored, individual conversations with men in their existing social, family or professional networks’ (Casey, 2010, p. 270). The male advocates suggested that non-personalised or generalised strategies—such as flyers or leaflets, letters and mass emails, posters or other media campaigns, and broad community events—were less ineffective in attracting men’s attention and attendance (Casey, 2010). Other projects, such as efforts to recruit male allies to support gender equity on campus, also find that personal recruitment is more effective than institution-wide solicitations (Bilen-Green et al., 2015).

While there is no direct evidence that it is more effective to reach men through their existing social networks than through generalised approaches, there are several reasons to think this is the case. First, a range of studies demonstrate that men’s beliefs regarding men’s violence against women and their self-reported likelihood of perpetrating sexual assault against a woman are shaped to a significant extent by their perceptions of their male peers’ attitudes and behaviours (Flood & Pease, 2006). Second, there is also evidence that men’s willingness to intervene in sexual violence is shaped by their perceptions of their male peers’ willingness to do so (Stein, 2007). Third, men (and women) leveraging their own social, professional, and familial ties has various advantages: they have easier access to their own social circles, potential recruits are more likely to see the movement as relevant, and they are more likely to see the ‘messenger’ as credible (Casey, 2010, p. 278). At the same time, advocates must also reach out beyond the social networks of existing advocates and allies.

Of course, given the gender gap in men’s and women’s attitudes towards men’s violence against women, providing such opportunities will not easily close the gap in men’s and women’s readiness to take part in violence prevention efforts, but it may at least increase the numbers of men who are exposed to violence prevention messages and the numbers who walk through the door.

Build Communities of Support

Communities of support are vital to men's ability to sustain a personal commitment to and involvement in anti-violence work. Social support networks among activist men are valuable for alleviating the isolation, marginalisation, frustration, and stress of social change work, assisting in rejecting patriarchal masculinity, and affirming and nurturing each other (DeKeseredy, Schwartz, & Alvi, 2000). Such communities may be found through informal friendship groups and formal organisations and networks, both face-to-face and online. Research among men involved in anti-violence work finds that this involvement allows men to build connections with others, particularly other men, and to foster community and mutual support. And it allows them to have friendships with other men and 'do masculinity' in ways different from 'traditional' approaches (Casey & Smith, 2010). Male anti-violence advocates in a US study reported that participating in these mutually supportive groups and communities was a transformative personal experience, and also an effective way to foster other men's participation (Casey, 2010). In another qualitative study of 25 men in all-male anti-rape prevention groups on campuses, again in the USA, participants reported that the organisations or groups became new kinds of social networks or peer groups for men. They met men's social and expressive needs, and were different from men's traditional homosocial networks. These organisations thus became self-sustaining in two ways: using influential males to draw men in, and providing supportive peer networks for men (Piccigallo et al., 2012). Creating 'compelling communities', groups which others will admire and want to join (Casey, 2010, p. 276) thus seems an important part of engaging men.

Another key strategy here is the provision of safe and supportive spaces in which men can engage in critical reflection. Non-judgmental environments for open discussion and dialogue are valuable means to foster men's feminist awareness and lessen their defensiveness (Berkowitz, 2004). Critical reflection can be used for both personal change, shifting men's identities and their relations with women and other men, and social change, inspiring and sustaining collective activism. (I return to the question of the merits of single-sex and mixed-sex groups in Chapter 6.)

The physical exclusion of women from such spaces is controversial, with some authors arguing that this reinforces the privileging of male voices and risks the reproduction of dominant forms of masculinity and

complicity in violence (Marchese, 2008; Pease, 2017). While I have described such environments as ‘safe spaces’, safety here does not mean freedom from discomfort or critique. Such spaces should involve honest and robust discussion of men’s involvements in sexism and violence, while limiting hostile and shaming dynamics (Funk, 2017). Processes of accountability therefore are a vital part of the workings of all-male spaces.

Providing positive reinforcement for men’s engagement in violence prevention is useful. This may include intrinsic rewards such as the benefits of participating in groups and friendship circles with positive identities. It may include extrinsic awards, such as leadership awards nights and other public affirmations of particular men’s or groups’ efforts (Crooks et al., 2007).

This chapter has explored the ways in which to begin to foster men’s and boys’ interest and engagement in preventing men’s violence against women. In practice, one of the most common ways in which this has taken place is through face-to-face education, whether in school and university classrooms or community workshops or other settings, while other educational strategies rely on communications and media. The book moves now to a focused examination of these forms of intervention.

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CHAPTER 6

Educating Men Face-to-Face

Educating men and boys is at the heart of efforts to engage them in preventing men's violence against women. Whether speaking to young men in a school, or running training among men on a factory floor, or addressing men through a media campaign, educating men and boys is core business. This and the following chapter explore two streams of education: face-to-face, on the one hand, and through media, on the other. Across these, there are similar challenges: how to craft messages to men and boys which will engage and motivate them, what forms of education work, which people are best placed either to facilitate face-to-face programs or to appear in media campaigns, and so on. At the same time, each stream also involves distinct issues and challenges. This chapter focuses on face-to-face education, while the next chapter focuses on social marketing and communications strategies.

FACE-TO-FACE EDUCATION

Face-to-face education is the most common way in which programs have sought to engage men in preventing and reducing violence against women. Indeed, it is the most common form of primary prevention activity related to violence against women. Because of this, it is also the strategy which has been evaluated most and for which there is most guidance regarding effective practice. It is encouraging to report that face-to-face educational programs among or including men and boys show evidence of effectiveness. To give some examples:

- One of the most well-documented programs for young men has been developed by Program H, a consortium of NGOs. In Brazil and Mexico, young men exposed to weekly educational workshops and a social marketing campaign showed improved attitudes towards violence against women and other issues (Pulerwitz, Barker, Segundo, & Nascimento, 2006).
- The Program H materials and process have been adapted to the Indian context, and here too, young men in the intervention sites showed declines in their support for gender-inequitable norms and in self-reported violence against a partner relative to a comparison group (Verma et al., 2008).
- In South Africa, men who participated in workshops run by the Men As Partners project were less likely than non-participants to believe that it is acceptable to beat their wives or rape sex workers (White, Greene, & Murphy, 2003).
- In the Democratic Republic of Congo, in a program engaging male community leaders in the prevention of rape as a weapon of war, participants showed improvement in both attitudes and behaviours, with this confirmed by women's groups (International Planned Parenthood Federation, 2010).
- In the USA, among adult men in a multi-module education program, five months after the program, while some men had 'rebounded', others continued to show improvement on attitudinal and behavioural measures (Heppner, Neville, Smith, Kivlighan Jr., & Gershuny, 1999).
- In South Africa, in a cluster-randomised trial of the program Stepping Stones among young men and women aged 15–26, two years after the intervention, men's self-reported perpetration of physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence was significantly lower than that of men in the control villages (Arango, Morton, Gennari, Kiplesund, & Ellsberg, 2014).
- In the USA, in concurrent programs among male and female first-year students in university residence halls, the men's program showed positive impacts on participants' labelling of particular scenarios as rape, perceptions of other men's likelihood to intervene in an inappropriate dating situation, associations with sexually aggressive peers, and engagement in sexual aggression, compared to a control group, but no impact on males' rape myth acceptance, hypergender ideology (agreement with stereotypical gender roles),

perceptions that their friends would disapprove of aggressive behaviour, or their own reported likelihood of intervening in inappropriate dating situations. (Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011)

There is a significant body of scholarship on the effectiveness particularly of school-based violence prevention education, often called ‘respectful relationships’ or ‘healthy relationships’ education. In a detailed report on this field, I and my colleagues identified five criteria for good practice: (1) a whole-school approach; (2) a program framework and logic; (3) effective curriculum delivery; (4) relevant, inclusive and culturally sensitive practice; and (5) impact evaluation (Flood, Fergus, & Heenan, 2009). In this chapter I focus on the first and third of these dimensions in particular: a whole-of-institution approach, and effective curriculum delivery. The remaining three apply across a range of violence prevention strategies and are addressed in other chapters.

Much of the scholarship and experience regarding violence prevention education concerns programs in school and university contexts among children, young people, and young adults. Far less has been published on education in other formal settings such as sporting codes or workplaces or informal settings. This chapter draws largely on the former, that is, in educational settings, but on the latter where it can.

A Whole-of-Institution Approach

The single most important criterion for effective violence prevention and respectful relationships education in schools, universities, and other institutions is the adoption of a whole-of-institution approach. It may be tempting for educators and others to focus on issues of program content and delivery, and these are undoubtedly important, but more important is the comprehensive involvement of the institution in violence prevention. In schools for example, a whole-of-institution approach is critical to the effectiveness of such efforts as it:

- addresses the context and culture in which children and young people learn and interact in order to foster safe and supportive school environments;
- fosters sustainable and comprehensive efforts among teachers, other staff and schools, and builds capacity to initiate and sustain program efforts and innovations;

- engages all relevant stakeholders;
- involves a concerted approach across entire schools, which is necessary to effect cultural change; and
- addresses the practices, policies and processes in classrooms, schools and departments relevant to building health-promoting and non-violent schools (Dyson, Mitchell, Dalton, & Hillier, 2003; Tutty et al., 2002).

Whole-of-institution approaches are particularly well-developed in schools. A whole-of-institution approach in schools includes (but is not limited to) the following program characteristics: it involves teachers, parents and student welfare coordinators; it has clearly articulated educational principles; it is integrated into a comprehensive curriculum context (Dyson & Fox, 2006; Mulroney, 2003); it is reinforced in extracurricular activities through partnerships with organisations and clubs (Smith & Welchans, 2000); and it is strategically planned to take into account local needs and issues (Mulroney, 2003).

Whole-school approaches address and change the larger context within which children and young people's experiences of, and responses to, interpersonal violence are shaped. Given that 'youth violence and conduct problems are socially embedded phenomena' (Prinz, 2000), programs should attempt to change the whole culture in which children learn, targeting aspects of the school climate that are conducive to violence. Comprehensive, multiple intervention programs are needed in terms of targeting a range of behaviours and recognising the multiple contexts in which adolescents live. These should involve the different critical domains of influence (peers, teachers, parents, community, media) in program design and implementation, and focus on the importance of relationships and the types of skills needed for different types of relationships (Hassall & Hanna, 2007).

Whole-of-institution approaches are likely to have a greater impact on men's violence against women than uncoordinated single initiatives. They enhance the effectiveness of teaching by giving multiple exposures to key messages. They enable participants to experience the issues in different contexts and to associate the importance of non-violent behaviour with a wide range of staff, leaders, or educators. As an Australian evaluation of a sexual assault prevention program in secondary schools concluded, programs are most effective when:

- all teaching and support staff receive specialised training and resources;
- school structures support reinforcement of student program learnings and encourage peer-based learning; and
- respectful relationships and open communication are visibly modelled and rewarded throughout the school community (CASA House, 2008).

Evaluations and reviews of violence prevention and sexuality/relationships education are unanimous in advocating a ‘whole-school approach’ in order to maximise program effectiveness (Ellis, 2008; Tutty et al., 2002). As a British review concluded, the long-term impact of programs on violence prevention ‘is likely to depend on the extent to which the issues are embedded within the curriculum and wider school activities’ (Hester & Westmarland, 2005). Despite such endorsement, actual empirical evaluation of the effectiveness of whole-of-school approaches relative to other approaches still is small. Fulu et al. (2014) identify ten studies of this approach, with one randomised controlled trial and the others largely non-randomised quantitative or mixed method studies. Only four of the studies measured the intervention’s impact on the prevalence of violence in schools, generating only weak evidence regarding whether such interventions reduced overall levels of violence or violence against women and girls. In addition, given the multi-pronged character of such interventions, it is difficult to make attributions about impact. On the other hand, these studies find that whole-of-school approaches show positive results regarding risk factors for violence, including girls’ feelings of safety and support, as well as positive outcomes regarding school enrolment and attendance, girls’ school performance, girls’ self-confidence and other capabilities, and teacher and parent understanding and attitudes towards violence (Fulu et al., 2014).

If face-to-face education in a school, university, or other institution is best accomplished through a whole-of-institution approach, then there are four further elements which should be in place: institutional support, integration and stakeholder involvement, standards and accountability systems, and assessment and reporting.

Institutional Support

For violence prevention education to be effective in a particular institution, considerable efforts and resources are required to set up the systems

and structures that will enable the sustainability of initiatives and their adoption across the institution's whole culture. The risk otherwise is that the effective implementation of programs is reliant on the goodwill and energy of certain committed educators, who may well 'burn out' without wider support (Institute of Women, 2002). Systems and structures are therefore required to support institutions to implement violence prevention and respectful relationships programs effectively. Using the example of schools, a sound education strategy is one that:

- is incorporated into the curriculum at all levels so that violence prevention education is compulsory and available in every school across the state;
- is implemented in line with school protocols to deal with violence, harassment and bullying (Institute of Women, 2002; Urbis Keys Young, 2004);
- makes resource provisions to set up and evaluate programs systematically, to monitor the progress made and continuously improve (Mulroney, 2003);
- involves partnerships between Departments of Education and specialist agencies, and coordinates with state and national anti-violence and gender equality frameworks and strategies;
- is supported by standards, guidelines and performance indicators against which schools are required to report;
- systematises and develops existing school-based prevention programs that have been positively evaluated;
- develops educational procedures that make widespread implementation and expansion possible; and
- includes comprehensive training for all teachers.

Integration and Stakeholder Involvement

Whole-of-institution approaches also require the involvement of a variety of stakeholders operating at different levels. This includes decision-makers in the institution itself, policy-makers, representations of the staff or workers in the institution, and community organisations. In a school for instance, a variety of relationships are relevant, such as those between staff and students, parents and students, parents and staff, the school and the community, and of course between students (Magill, 2000).

Connections and partnerships between schools and community agencies and settings are valuable extensions of the impact of school-based prevention work. Community agencies such as domestic violence and sexual assault services may play particularly vital roles in providing specialist resources such as counselling and intervention for students experiencing or using violence. They can also be vital in building schools' capacity to conduct violence prevention, through teacher training, liaison, forums and the provision of information about community resources (Dyson & Fox, 2006; Tutty et al., 2002).

Standards and Accountability Systems

There is a saying that 'What gets inspected gets expected'. The development of standards and accountability systems related to institutions' success or failure in reducing and preventing violence against women is central to the implementation of a comprehensive prevention strategy (Greenberg, 2004). In a school or university or workplace, this includes the collection of measures of outcomes among students and staff or workers, as well as measures of institutional climate.

Assessment and Reporting

Overlapping with this, assessment and reporting processes related to violence prevention can strengthen institutional commitments to prevention and provide accountability regarding impact. This is particularly straightforward in schools, where students already are routinely evaluated. Respectful relationships education in schools therefore should include assessments of student achievement, including the development of assessment tools and the identification of relevant competencies. Schools should report on students' achievement of particular understandings and skills, making themselves accountable to learning and teaching processes, parents, and government departments.

I have argued so far that violence prevention education must give as much emphasis to the structural and institutional supports for prevention—the 'scaffolding' of violence prevention programs—as to the form and content of program delivery. When delivered within a school, university, workplace, or other institutional setting, a whole-of-institution approach must provide the overarching framework within which education sessions occur.

Effective Curriculum Delivery

To maximise the effectiveness of violence prevention education, we must also maximise the effectiveness of its curricula—what is taught, how it is taught, and by whom. I break down pedagogy into four dimensions of educational delivery. They are not in any particular order, as there is insufficient evidence to determine whether some dimensions have a greater influence on program effectiveness than others.

- Curriculum content,
- Pedagogy (teaching methods),
- Curriculum structure:
 - Duration and intensity,
 - Timing,
 - Group composition.
- Curriculum teachers and educators.

Curriculum Content

Violence prevention education, like any prevention intervention, must be based on a sound conceptual framework, as I argued in Chapter Three. Interventions aimed at reducing and preventing men's violence against women, and indeed other forms of violence in relationships and families, must draw on feminist theoretical understandings.

A feminist approach to violence prevention does not require a single-minded or exclusive focus on gender. Contemporary feminist scholarship on physical and sexual violence in families and relationships recognises a wide variety of other factors that also shape violence, taking as given that violence is 'a multifaceted phenomenon grounded in the interplay among personal, situational and sociocultural factors' (Heise, 2011, p. 6). Thus, a feminist approach to violence prevention can address determinants of family and relationship violence at multiple levels of the social order, while taking as given that gender and gender inequalities are central across these.

Articulating an explicitly feminist understanding may be problematic among some audiences and stakeholders, as there is considerable ignorance of, and sometimes hostility to, feminism in the community (Carmody et al., 2009). While the inclusion of feminist content on gender inequality and sexism is widely seen as necessary for effective programs, there is evidence of resistance for example among teachers and

schools (and students themselves) to feminist approaches (Ellis, 2008). As a result, some programs adopt gender-neutral content and offer individualistic frameworks that neglect social and structural factors sanctioning boys' and men's violence. However, a feminist conceptual framework is essential both to reflect scholarship on violence in relationships and families and to anchor the political commitments of the program.

Above all, program content should be informed by contemporary scholarship on men's violence against girls and women. There are three overlapping implications of this imperative.

First, good-practice programs ideally address both physical and sexual violence, including the behaviours and dynamics associated with each, rather than one or the other. In other words, they address domestic violence or family violence *and* sexual violence, sexual assault and/or rape. They also recognise and address overlaps between these and other forms of violence and abuse, including sexual harassment, homophobic violence and bullying.

The focus on either domestic violence or sexual violence in many violence prevention and healthy relationships programs perhaps is a legacy of their delivery, in that many are developed and delivered by community agencies that themselves focus on either domestic violence or sexual violence. However, it is time to move beyond these 'silos' of activity. There is a clear rationale for violence prevention to be inclusive in the kinds of violent behaviours and interactions it addresses. Briefly, domestic violence and sexual violence tend to co-occur. Explanations for these form of violence, and therefore the risk and protective factors associated with them, overlap (although they are not identical). And relevant prevention strategies for each also overlap. For example, strategies to encourage respectful intimate relationships should have impacts on both physical and sexual violence.

Critics of this inclusive approach may contend that the dynamics and causes of domestic violence and sexual violence are so distinct that addressing them in the same program is inappropriate. However, there is also significant diversity *within* the areas of both domestic violence and sexual violence. In relation to domestic violence, for example, there is growing recognition of distinct typologies of perpetration and victimisation and of perpetrators themselves (Cavanaugh & Gelles, 2005; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000).

Violence prevention education therefore should address a variety of forms of violence occurring in intimate, dating and familial relationships.

Educators may do so consecutively or by examining them using a more general language of violence and abuse. At the same time, curricula should not be so general in their approach to violence that they fail to examine the specific dynamics and determinants of sexual violence and domestic violence. This means, for example, that violence prevention curricula should include materials on sexual consent and coercion, on strategies of coercive control associated with domestic violence, and on alternatives to both.

Second, program curricula should directly address the factors known to be antecedents to violent behaviour. These factors include violence-supportive and sexist attitudes and norms, gendered power relations and inequalities, and a host of other social and cultural factors. Specifically, the curricula of violence prevention and respectful relationships programs should:

- address the intersections of gender and power and their relationships to intimate and family violence;
- undermine constructions of gender and sexuality that sustain violence in relationships and families;
- encourage, teach skills in, and provide practice at egalitarian relations between and among males and females; and
- work to construct an alternative, a set of norms, behaviours and interpersonal relations centred on non-violence, gender equality and social justice.

While the third implication is implicit already in this book's mentions of power relations, behaviour and skills, it deserves emphasis given the overwhelming focus on attitudes in existing violence prevention efforts. Violence prevention work must *go beyond attitudes*. Program content should address not only attitudes, but behaviours, interpersonal relations and collective and institutional contexts.

There are good reasons for violence prevention and respectful relationships programs to address attitudes. Men's adherence to sexist attitudes is one of the strongest predictors of their use of violence against women (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002), and there are clear links between violence perpetration and traditional attitudes about women's gender roles (Flood & Pease, 2006). More widely, constructions of gender and sexuality that sustain violence against women include notions of masculinity as essentially aggressive, dominating and sexually coercive,

and norms of gender and sexuality involving male entitlement or privilege, sexual double standards and homophobia.¹ Surveys of young people's attitudes have shown that negative social constructions of masculinity and femininity, as well as stereotypical attitudes towards sexuality, remain common among young people. Such attitudes include those that cast young women as either 'good girls' or 'bad girls' ('sluts'), or those that encourage young men to act in a sexually predatory way towards young women in order to avoid being labelled homosexual or weak (Hird & Jackson, 2001).

Prevention programs must also go beyond attitudes and norms. They must address the cultural, collective and institutional underpinnings of relationship and family violence. They must change not only individual attitudes and community norms, but also behaviours, social and sexual relations, and the structural conditions that perpetuate violence (Flood & Pease, 2006). In short, interventions aimed at attitudinal and cultural change must be accompanied by changes in social practices and structural relations if violence in relationships and families is to be undermined and prevented.

Ideally, violence prevention programs should include curricula focused on skills development. This report addresses skills development under 'Curriculum delivery' below.

There is a developing consensus in the violence prevention field that educational efforts among young people must go beyond, or indeed abandon, a focus on teaching potential victims how to 'avoid rape' or 'keep safe' (Gourlay, 1996; Smith & Welchans, 2000). This focus has been criticised for placing the responsibility for violence prevention upon individual women (or children), and for potentially exacerbating victim blame when some women inevitably are unsuccessful at applying the skills and lessons learnt (Carmody, 2006; Keel, 2005; Yeater & O'Donohue, 1999). There are two complementary alternatives. First, program curricula should include work at a 'systems level', addressing systemic constraints to young women's personal and sexual safety, such as sexist social norms and inequitable power relations. For example, programs may examine the sexist construction of the 'good girl'—'slut' dichotomy and encourage young women to feel positive about their

¹'Constructions' are broader than 'attitudes', in that they may include values, social norms, media and other representations, and in some uses, behaviours and collective relations.

sexuality, as well as to make decisions regarding what they do and do not want from sexual and personal relationships (Hillier, Dempsey, & Harrison, 1999).

Second, rather than teaching young women how to ‘avoid rape’, programs can teach young men why and how to avoid perpetrating it. This focus on men’s behaviour may take the form of examining the links between the social construction of masculinity and the use of violence, challenging men’s conformity to such constructions, encouraging victim empathy, and teaching skills in consensual sex and non-violent conflict resolution (Flood, 2005–2006). This approach is considered to generate better outcomes for both young men and young women (Flood, 2002–2003). Challenging social constructions of masculinity gives young men alternatives to the limited range of behaviours and attitudes which traditionally define a ‘real man’. For example, it can enable young men to express themselves emotionally and improve their capacity to establish equitable intimate relationships.

It would be problematic to focus education efforts exclusively on boys and men. At least when it comes to voluntary education programs, not all males will participate in programs, those who do are likely to have a lower potential of perpetrating intimate partner violence, and even if all men participated, no intervention is one hundred per cent effective (Yeater & O’Donohue, 1999). Failing to direct violence prevention and respectful relationships education efforts to girls and women would be to miss the opportunity to increase women’s critical understandings of intimate partner violence and to build on women’s existing skills in recognising, resisting and rejecting violence. There is merit in working with young women given the evidence that education programs focused on primary prevention among college women can reduce women’s risk of victimisation (Yeater & O’Donohue, 1999). In addition, educating women can change men: by shifting women’s expectations of partners and intimate relations, interventions may increase the pressures on and incentives for heterosexual men to adopt non-violent practices and identities. Interventions can harness men’s motivations to be accepted and liked by women, by encouraging women’s unwillingness to associate with sexist and aggressive men (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004).

Pedagogy (Teaching Methods)

There are some general characteristics of effective teaching and learning practice, as a recent review documents (Dyson & Flood, 2007):

- *Respectful*: The program uses a positive, asset-based approach. For example, participants should be treated as bystanders to violence as opposed to potential perpetrators. By maintaining a focus on cultural norms, skill-building and respect for self, others and the group or community, participants should leave with the message that they can do something.
- *Goal-oriented*: Participants should have a clear understanding about why they are participating in the program and what it aims to achieve.
- *Relevant to them*: This is related to the program goal, but if participants have clearly identified expectations for the program, rather than feeling that they are expected to attend, they are more likely to actively participate.
- *Practical*: This is related to relevance. What will they get out of the program that is useful to them now or in the future?
- *Autonomous and self-directed*: This is achieved through the process, not the content. The program should be interactive and participants should have some input to the shape of the program.
- *Focused on the environment and changing social norms*: Assumptions about peer group norms being an asset, and care of the self and others being a norm can help to establish a climate of trust and acceptance. Participants need to feel that they each have a role to play, whether it is personal, or in support of others, or the girls and women they know.
- *Capacity-building*: Dominant positive norms to reframe assumed (negative) norms should be identified. Capacity should be enhanced and skills built to help participants feel like they can be effective bystanders (that is, the creation of a culture of responsibility and respect).
- *Engagement*: Increase receptiveness to prevention messages and decrease defensiveness.
- *Teach and practise skills*: The program teaches relevant skills, e.g. in practising sexual consent and intervening effectively in violent and violence-supportive situations.

Good-practice education programs are characterised by six further features. First, they involve the use of quality teaching materials. Second, they are interactive and participatory. Third, they address cognitive, affective and behavioural domains: what people know, how they feel and

how they behave (Berkowitz, 2004). Fourth, and as part of this, they give specific attention to skills development. Fifth, they are matched to stages of change. Sixth, they respond supportively and appropriately to participants' disclosures of victimisation and perpetration (Ellis, 2008).

Effective approaches to educating boys and men require quality teaching materials. There is evidence, particularly from the sexuality education field, that the quality of teaching materials has a significant impact on teachers' implementation of curricula. An evaluation of the SHARE program, a particularly well-developed sexuality education program in South Australia, cited the quality of the teaching materials as one of the program's great strengths (Johnson, 1989). Several features of SHARE's main resource, titled *Teach It Like It Is*, were considered to demonstrate its quality. The resource:

- has a research base;
- is conceptually well organised and integrated within the overall school curriculum;
- relies on teachers' professional judgement: teachers are positioned as learning facilitators who are best placed to make decisions about the appropriateness of particular activities and resources, rather than 'technicians' who simply follow a syllabus set down by others;
- is practical, containing concrete teaching suggestions and practical step-by-step procedures to apply them;
- is well structured: each lesson has a familiar structure with the same elements; and
- includes some essential teaching resources (rather than requiring teachers to prepare time-consuming charts and information sheets—these are included in the body of the lesson plans or as appendices, if they are large) (Dyson & Flood, 2007).

Given that teachers are time-poor, it is particularly important to provide materials that are useable and practical, and minimise additional preparation time.

Education in violence prevention and respectful relationships is more effective if it involves interactive and participatory group processes. Delivery should include greater flexibility and variation in instruction; use modelling as an influence; group participants into smaller 'schools within schools'; and include more supportive interactions, such as group work, cooperative learning, discussions, role-plays and behavioural

rehearsal. Participatory and active teaching approaches are seen as good practice in sexuality and relationship education and personal, social and health education, and various studies find them to be more effective than didactic methods (Ellis, 2008).

Critical reflection and discussion are vital processes if men are to come to more progressive understandings of gender and violence. Research among male anti-violence activists finds that critical self-reflection is an important component of their pathways to engagement (Alcalde, 2014). Violence prevention education should involve men in consciousness-raising or conscientisation, involving structured space for reflection on personal values, perceptions and power. This is a vital way for men to start to question dominant constructions of masculinity and develop egalitarian masculinities (Barker, 2000; CARE, 2014). It is particularly important that this work engage men in critical reflections on their own and other men's privilege (Anicha, Burnett, & Bilen-Green, 2015; Case, Hensley, & Anderson, 2014; Davis & Wagner, 2005; Watt, 2007). Men also should be involved in critical reflection on their own positions and practices as allies for change. For example, is their role as allies characterised by paternalistic or more progressive motivations, do they neglect or address their own complicity in systems of oppression, and do they hold themselves and each other accountable (Edwards, 2006)?

Interaction and participation are related to group size, and group size has also been found to contribute to educational effectiveness. Brecklin and Forde's (2001) meta-analysis of university-based programs found that larger groups were related to weaker effects, and they suggested that programs may be more effective if small-group approaches were used. Similarly, an earlier evaluation of rape prevention programs concluded that the most effective format involved small groups that used interactive discussion formats, maximised opportunities for self-examination and encouraged introspection (Earle, 1996). Another evaluation across four school interventions found that, for single-sex groups, students showed greater change over time in dating and relationship norms in small-group settings than in a classroom setting. However, for mixed-sex groups, students showed greater improvement when in classroom settings. It may be that, particularly for mixed-sex groups of adolescents, classroom settings allow for greater control by the educator and greater focus than in less structured formats (Clinton-Sherrod et al., 2009).

Educational programs are more effective if they address three domains: cognition, affective or emotional responses and behaviour

(Heppner, Humphrey, Hillenbrand-Gunn, & DeBord, 1995). Some programs engage participants only at the cognitive level, by offering information in lecture format or by interactive exercises on 'myths' and 'facts'. But programs that explore only what participants know are less effective than programs that also address how they feel and what they do. Merely conveying information to students in order to raise awareness of violence and sexual assault is not enough to create the change needed to actually prevent violence (Gourlay, 1996; Hillier et al., 1999). In this, recent violence prevention and 'healthy relationship' programs (like sexual health programs) are distinct from the rest of the school curriculum in their aim to influence behaviours as well as increase knowledge (Kirby & Alter, 1980).

Affective or emotion-oriented strategies include having participants listen to stories or speakers regarding violence and its impact, in order to elicit empathy. Behavioural strategies include interactive role-plays and drama. For example, in a US program, student actors portray a scene of sexual coercion, and the audience is then invited to rewrite the scene by making suggestions about how the actors could have interacted differently so that sexual coercion did not occur. The actors then recreate the scene, incorporating these suggestions. Such an exercise facilitates behavioural change by modelling the specific behaviours men can adopt to minimise their likelihood of coercing a partner into sex (Heppner et al., 1995).

Good-practice programs include activities focused on skills development. Experience in both violence prevention and sexuality education suggests that programs that have been evaluated positively on behavioural measures are those in which the focus is on skills development, and there is a clear 'behavioural message' (Wight et al., 2002). For example, students who participated in the skills-focused Safe Dates program in the USA reported less perpetration of psychological abuse, physical violence and sexual violence against a current dating partner than did students in the control group. They also were more critical of norms supporting dating violence and used more constructive communication skills (Foshee et al., 1998). Participants continued to report less physical and sexual dating violence perpetration and victimisation four years following the program (Foshee et al., 2004).

Skills development should include conflict resolution, negotiation and interpersonal skills in order to empower students to negotiate sexual and personal relationships and reduce unwanted sexual experiences (Wight, 1993). Imparting assertiveness as well as support-seeking skills to young

women is seen as particularly valuable, and again demands specific skill-based training as opposed to information-based sessions (Sikkema, Winett, & Lombard, 1995).

Experience in sexuality education suggests that programs should provide students with the tools to think critically about real-life situations, and assess and adapt their own values and behaviours. Dyson et al. note that this approach demands a high level of aptitude from educators, who need to be able to clarify their own values if they are to help young people clarify theirs (Dyson & Fox, 2006). What educators say, as well as their silences, body language and role-modelling, will invariably impart their values to students, meaning that ‘attempts by teachers to adopt a value-neutral stance are doomed to failure’ (Harrison, Hillier, & Walsh, 1996).

Ideal programs are matched to participants’ stage of change. In relation to relationship and family violence, individuals and groups are at different places along the continuum from passive indifference to active intervention, and different educational approaches should be adopted for males and females at earlier and later stages of change (Berkowitz, 2002). I return to this in more detail in Chapter 10.

Good-practice education programs involve appropriate responses to participants’ disclosures of victimisation and perpetration. In school-based work for example, schools should have systems in place with which to respond to students who may have been abused or have witnessed violence. While there has been less attention to this in violence prevention education, programs must also respond to disclosures of *perpetration* or potential perpetration, and have protocols in place for responding to individuals who disclose having perpetrated or intending to perpetrate behaviour that meets criteria for physical or sexual assault.

Curriculum Structure

Three aspects of curriculum structure are addressed here: duration and intensity, timing and developmental appropriateness, and group composition.

Duration and Intensity

Good-practice programs have sufficient duration and intensity to produce change. In the violence prevention field, there is widespread endorsement of an association between program duration or intensity and program impact (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Bachar & Koss, 2001;

Hassall & Hanna, 2007; Lonsway, 1996; Nation et al., 2003; Tutty et al., 2002; Vladutiu, Martin, & Macy, 2011; Yeater & O'Donohue, 1999).

In violence prevention parlance, the quantity and quality of program contact is referred to as program 'dosage'. Aspects of dosage include 'the session length, number of sessions, spacing of sessions, and the duration of the total program' (Nation et al., 2003), while further dimensions of dosage include the use of follow-up and 'booster' sessions. Education programs for children and young people vary in their duration, although there is no clear rationale for such variation, and most are relatively short. For example, a US review of eleven primary prevention programs among school-aged young people found that only five programs were five hours or greater in duration (Whitaker et al., 2006).

The rationale for greater dosage is obvious. Greater duration:

- Means greater exposure to the prevention messages and materials;
- Facilitates the acquisition of new skills and knowledge through both 'exercise'—meaningful repetition and application of information—and 'intensity'—lucid, exciting learning experiences and opportunities to practise putting new knowledge and skills into action (B. Perry, 2008a); and
- Allows educators to move beyond lecture-style instruction to the use of participatory teaching strategies that have been shown to increase impact, such as role-plays, skills training and so on.

There is a general consensus in the violence prevention field that education programs require sufficient duration and intensity to generate behavioural and attitudinal change (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Bachar & Koss, 2001; Carmody et al., 2009; Hassall & Hanna, 2007; Lonsway, 1996; Nation et al., 2003; Tutty et al., 2002; Vladutiu et al., 2011; Yeater & O'Donohue, 1999). Four successive reviews of interventions find that education programs with greater amounts of contact with participants have larger impacts on participant outcomes. Among five school-based interventions focused on dating violence prevention in the USA, programs with greater amounts of contact with students (and greater embeddedness in the classroom curriculum over time) reported greater impacts on students' attitudes and norms (Meyer & Stein, 2004). Safe Dates, a program comprising ten sessions (amounting to 7.5 hours in total) integrated into the school curriculum, had a more substantial

and consistent impact than five-session programs of shorter total duration. Second, in another review of eleven primary prevention programs among school students, among the four studies that assessed changes in behaviour, two reported a positive intervention effect, and these—the Safe Dates project and the Youth Relationships project—were two of the longest programs, at 7.5 and 36 hours respectively (Whitaker et al., 2006). Third, in a recent systematic meta-review of evaluations of youth violence prevention, in all reviews that considered ‘dosage’ as a variable, increased dosage was associated with larger effect sizes in desired outcomes (Matjasko et al., 2012). Fourth, a recent systematic review of outcome evaluations of primary prevention strategies for sexual violence perpetration reports that,

While it may be possible to impact some behaviours with a brief, one-session strategy, it is likely that behaviours as complex as sexual violence will require a higher dosage to change behaviour and have lasting effects. Indeed, we found that interventions with consistently positive effects in this review tended to be 2 to 3 times longer, on average, than interventions with null, negative, or mixed effects. (DeGue et al., 2014, p. 357)

In this review, programs of 1 or 1.5 hours were far less likely to be effective than programs of 4.5 hours, and the short programs often had no effect at all, e.g. on sexual violence perpetration

A further way to assess the impact of dosage is to compare the outcomes of short and long versions of a single program. Two such comparisons exist. In a study in four Canadian high schools, there was greater change in attitudes and knowledge among students who attended a half-day intervention (a one-hour general assembly and two one-hour workshops) than among students who attended only a one-hour assembly (Hilton, Harris, Rice, Krans, & Lavigne, 1998). As the authors summarise, ‘The value of schoolwide, single-event mass training is questioned by our finding that only classroom workshops imparted information’ (Hilton et al., 1998, p. 737). In a US study among undergraduate students, the longer three-session version of the ‘Bringing in the Bystander’ program had a greater impact on participants’ willingness to use bystander interventions compared to a truncated, one-session version of the program (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007).

There are important caveats to the general principle of greater dosage. First, length alone is no guarantee of program effectiveness. Various

other factors interact with program duration to influence impact. Second, at this stage there are few means to judge exactly what level of dosage is sufficient to ensure a significant positive impact. Is five hours enough? Is ten hours twice as effective as five hours? Third, the relationship between dosage and response may be complex, with J-shaped, plateau, or other patterns possible.

The importance of sufficient dosage seemingly is undermined by the fact that relatively short programs can generate positive impacts, at least in attitudes in the short term. For example, nine of eleven primary prevention programs among school-aged young people in the USA reported at least one positive effect (in knowledge, attitudes, or behaviour), with five of the nine programs measuring attitudes reporting positive changes (Whitaker et al., 2006). To focus on some Australian examples, positive impacts were reported in evaluations of the Respectful Behaviours in Sport training delivered to AFL players and the youth-focused prevention program Kinks and Bends, with both programs involving only a single two-hour session (Dyson, Mitchell, & Fox, 2007; T Issues Consultancy, 2004). However, both evaluations were limited in important ways: assessment took place immediately after the intervention, there was no long-term follow-up and responses were likely to be shaped by social desirability. Furthermore, how much positive change is enough? For example, if after an education program the proportion of young men who see sexual coercion as legitimate in certain circumstances has fallen from 20 to 15%, can the program adequately be described as having had a 'positive impact'?

There is little reason to think that one-off, short-duration education sessions, by themselves, can achieve lasting change in violent attitudes or behaviours. They may have more impact when they are accompanied by substantial wider changes. For example, the impact of single-session interventions among NRL players may have been intensified by the dramatically changed organisational structures within which they were delivered. Similarly with the AFL's Respect and Responsibility program, while AFL players are only exposed to single interactive training sessions each year, their clubs have each endorsed a wider program of activity that seeks to promote a workplace culture that is safe, supportive and inclusive for women. The Respect and Responsibility policy also states its intention to provide an industry-wide response to addressing the issue of violence against women through introducing workshops and materials to players in state leagues and community clubs about how to build, value

and maintain equal and respectful relationships with women, developing policies and procedures that provide for respectful workplace behaviour, and through making a commitment to participate in the White Ribbon Day campaign each year.

Although there is debate over duration, I recommend that good-practice programs using classroom-length or similar sessions (45–60 minutes in length) comprise at least five sessions. To achieve behavioural and attitudinal change, programs ideally run over a lengthy period of time, with multiple sessions over successive years (Tutty et al., 2002).

An ideal feature of violence prevention education is that participants have multiple points of contact with reinforcing messages (Berkowitz, 2004). In institutions such as schools or workplaces, this may be done through multi-year, sustained programs.

Timing and Developmental Appropriateness

Violence prevention and respectful relationships education among boys and men is most effective if it is timed and crafted to suit their developmental needs, including the character of their developing identities and social and sexual relations. This fits the general principle in public health that prevention initiatives will be more effective if they are appropriately timed: directed towards people within a certain developmental range and with content and format tailored to this range (Perry, 2008b).

Although most ‘respectful relationships education’ takes place among children and young people, the most effective timing of program delivery is unknown (Wolfe & Jaffe, 2003). Nevertheless, there is a strong rationale for ‘starting young’. It is well documented that children may hold rape-supportive attitudes such as victim-blaming before they even reach high school (Anderson, Simpson-Taylor, & Herrmann, 2004; National Crime Prevention, 2001; National Youth Affairs Research Scheme, 1995). Children should be exposed to violence prevention education early enough to have an impact on the potential development of problem behaviours, ideally beginning in primary school, with this then built and reinforced progressively across year levels.

Part of designing an effective education curriculum for boys and young men is tailoring it to their intellectual, cognitive and social development in general, and to their emerging social and sexual identities and relations in particular. There is evidence in studies of adolescent sexual behaviour, for example, that changing the message of the intervention

according to the developmental stage of the participants was associated with positive outcomes (Nation et al., 2003). Among older, adolescent populations, the curriculum should give greater and more explicit attention to sexual behaviours and sexual relationships. It should work to identify and undermine dynamics of power, control and coercion in young people's intimate and sexual relations. Such a curriculum ideally builds on a curriculum for younger age groups that has addressed issues of power, justice and respect in more general terms.

Among adult men (and women), the same principle of developmental appropriateness applies. Education programs should be tailored to men's life stages and trajectories, including their involvements in long-term relationships and marriages, parenting and family life, and paid and unpaid work. Men's involvements in and performances of gender shift as they age, and this too should inform educational curricula.

Mixed-Sex or Single-Sex Classes?

When we educate boys and men as part of preventing men's violence against women, should we do so in all-male or mixed-sex groups? There are advantages to both, so I start with this. However, the most important question in relation to group composition is 'What is most effective?', and this section weighs the existing evidence. A related issue is the sex of the educators, and this is addressed under 'Curriculum teachers and educators' below.

The evidence regarding the significance of sex composition comes largely from sexual violence prevention programs among university students in the USA. It suggests that there are obvious advantages to single-sex groups in violence prevention education, for females and males alike and for men in particular. Arguments for single-sex groups for females and males alike include differently gendered involvements in violence, comfort and safety, and participant preference.

- Males and females are in different places in relation to violence, and violence prevention therefore should engage them in different ways.
 - Males and females differ systematically in their attitudes towards and involvements in violence, for example with males showing higher agreement with violence-supportive attitudes and far higher involvements in perpetration. Goals and strategies in working with males and females may therefore be different, and there will difficulties in combining them.

- Both males and females may be more comfortable and expressive in single-sex groups. In sexuality education, for example, there is evidence that young people can be uncomfortable when asked to discuss sexual matters in front of members of the other sex and reluctant to fully participate in sessions held in a mixed-sex environment (Wight, 1993).
 - Mixed-sex discussions can become polarised (Berkowitz, 2002).
 - Working in single-sex groups can minimise the harmful, gendered forms of interaction that are common in mixed-sex groups.
- Girls and women with prior histories of sexual assault may experience mixed-gender workshops as revictimisation, while potential male perpetrators may misuse information on how girls and women can reduce their risk of assault (Yeater & O'Donohue, 1999).

Scholarship on violence prevention education among men in particular tends to emphasise the need for male-only groups, for example because:

- men are more comfortable, less defensive and more honest in all-male groups;
- men are less likely to talk openly in the presence of women:
 - single-sex groups reveal a diversity of opinions among men that may not be expressed when women are present.
- men may be more prepared to reveal, and thus reflect critically, on sexist and abusive histories in all-male settings;
- men's attitudes and behaviour are shaped in powerful ways by their male peers, and male–male influence can be harnessed for positive ends in all-male groups; and
- there may be greater opportunity to discuss and craft roles for males in ending sexism and violence (Berkowitz, 2002; Funk, 2006).

At the same time, there are clear benefits for mixed-sex groups. In particular, they:

- may be preferred by female and male participants alike (Elias-Lambert, Black, & Sharma, 2010);
- create opportunities for dialogue between females and males regarding gender, sexuality, violence and relationships, fostering cross-gender understanding and alliance;

- create opportunities for males to listen to females regarding these issues;
- can lessen the potential for male-male collusion regarding sexism and violence; and
- can give girls and young women useful exposure to problematic male understandings and behaviours and valuable experience in challenging these or seeing them challenged.

What group composition in violence prevention education is most effective? Various evaluations of US university-based programs find that separate-sex programs are more effective than mixed-sex programs (Berkowitz, 2002; Earle, 1996). A 2001 meta-analysis supported the argument for single-sex sessions for male participants, and showed that interventions had more impact on male participants in single-sex than mixed-sex programs (Brecklin & Forde, 2001). Conversely, a more recent meta-analysis of 69 education programs for university students on sexual assault found little evidence that men were more likely to benefit from single-sex group interventions than mixed-group interventions (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). One possible explanation for the contradiction is that while the 2001 meta-analysis did not include behavioural intentions, the 2005 one did. Still, a review of the effectiveness of college- or university-based sexual violence prevention programs, integrating the reviews already cited and other reviews, states that separate-sex programs are more effective than mixed-sex programs (Vladutiu et al., 2011). On the other hand, other reviews report more mixed patterns of change. In a review of interventions for preventing boys' and men's sexual violence, discussing 65 studies, similar proportions of the single-sex and mixed-sex programs reported significant positive findings (Ricardo, Eads, & Barker, 2011), while another review focused on school-based programs found different degrees of change among boys (but not girls) in mixed-sex versus single-sex groups (Clinton-Sherrod et al., 2009).

Thus, there is less consensus on the greater effectiveness of single-sex groups than first appeared. A key question here is 'Effective for whom?'. There are two axes of comparison here: single-sex versus mixed-sex, and male versus female. A manual on educating men suggests that 'men benefit more than women from mixed-gender programs, and... mixed-gender programs are less effective for women than single-sex presentations' (Funk, 2006, p. 63). Support for this comes from a study of over

1180 participants in four school-based sexual violence preventions. It found that boys, but not girls, had steeper rates of improvement in attitudes towards sexual coercion in mixed-sex than single-sex groups. In other words, for boys in particular, participation in mixed-sex groups was influential in improving their knowledge and attitudes (Clinton-Sherrod et al., 2009). In another review, among mixed-sex groups, several reported greater levels of change for females and several reported greater levels for males (Ricardo et al., 2011), with this review concluding that ‘more research is needed to determine whether, and under what circumstances, single-sex or mixed-sex implementation may be more effective’. Clinton-Sherrod et al. (2009) suggest that while single-sex activities remain important, their findings point to the value of incorporating activities that allow participants in single-sex programs—and perhaps boys in particular, from their findings—to have some dialogue with the other sex.

The most effective sex composition of groups may depend on such factors as the age of the group, the focus and goals of the teaching sessions, and the nature of the teaching methods used. Mixed-sex groups may be more effective if the program or session is intended to encourage male empathy for females or victims of violence, to create gender dialogue, or to create opportunities for males to listen to females. However, if the program or session is intended, for example, to encourage males’ ‘ownership’ of the issue or to facilitate their move from bystander to ally, then single-sex groups may be more effective (Funk, 2006). There is some argument for using different sex compositions at different points in an education program, such as working with males and females separately, and then bringing them together (Tutty et al., 2002).

The existing evidence does not point to the clear benefits of either single-sex or mixed-sex formats for violence prevention education. Therefore, the best that can be done is to pay attention to group composition, tailor it to the teaching methods involved, and have clear rationales for one’s strategies.

Curriculum Teachers and Educators

The final issue of effective curriculum delivery I consider is *who* should teach violence prevention. There is a strong consensus that violence prevention programs should be delivered by skilled and trained staff, as is discussed below. However, beyond this, there is little consensus on whether programs in schools for example should be delivered by

teachers, community educators, or peer educators, and on whether educators should be of the same sex as the students, and there is wide variety in actual prevention practice. On these last two issues therefore, again I urge that education programs have a clear rationale for their practice, or where there is less choice about who delivers the program, at least a critical understanding of its potential implications.

Skilled and Trained Teachers and/or Educators

The competence of those who deliver violence prevention and respectful relationships curricula may well be one of the most important influences on program effectiveness. Literature on sexuality and relationship-oriented programs suggests that the competency of educators is a critical factor (Bowden, Lanning, Pippin, & Tanner Jr, 2003). In order to achieve good practice both in content and in skill-building pedagogies, there is an obvious need to ensure that educators have the knowledge and skills to effectively conduct such programs. It is suggested in the literature on sexuality and sexual health education that, first of all, educators should be well trained in gender, violence and sexual health issues (Dyson & Fox, 2006). Further positive qualities are an approachable manner; being comfortable talking about 'taboo' issues such as the physical aspects of sex (Buston, Wight, & Hart, 2002); being able to create a climate of trust and being seen by students as 'protector and friend' (Wight, 1993); being assertive enough to eliminate hurtful humour while not being dismissive or judgemental; and being able to make the program fun (Dyson & Fox, 2006). Reviews from other fields suggest that 'various communicator characteristics are positively associated with heightened influence, such as perceived expertise, trustworthiness, status, likeability, and attractiveness' (Lonsway, 1996, p. 255). Educators in violence prevention and healthy relationships curricula may require qualities additional to those required of sexuality educators, particularly with regard to the ability to model appropriate non-violent, non-discriminatory behaviours and to provide strong ethical leadership (Fergus, 2006).

Requiring skilled staff to deliver violence prevention necessitates training. US research finds that many violence prevention educators lack a grounding in primary prevention (Martin et al., 2009), and the same is likely to be true in Australia. Workers who deliver violence prevention education in schools often come from agencies focused on work with victims and survivors (and indeed perpetrators), and it should not be assumed that they have adequate training and skills to deliver prevention education (Carmody et al., 2009). Few countries have substantial

training programs intended to build the capacity of educators to deliver primary prevention education programs. International research suggests that training of educators is often limited, and, ironically, does not meet standards of good educational practice (Carmody et al., 2009). On the other hand, evaluations of successful sexuality education programs find that external support for teachers—in the form of comprehensive teacher training, regional coordination, and support from experienced and successful community educators—is one of the key factors that promotes schools' use of programs (Johnson, 2006).

Good-practice violence prevention and respectful relationships curricula must be supported by resources, training and ongoing support. In particular, programs must identify how they will develop the knowledge and skills of those delivering the program, whether they are teachers or community-based workers.

Teachers, Community Educators and/or Peer Educators?

What are the ideal institutional locations and professional qualifications for the people who deliver violence prevention education? This issue is starkest in schools, as they are already well populated by teaching staff, although similar issues are relevant for workplaces and sporting codes. In schools for example, should curricula on violence prevention and respectful relationships be offered by teachers, community educators, or peer educators, or some combination or sequence of these? There are clear advantages to using existing school staff to deliver programs. This facilitates a whole-school approach, enables more effective integration of program messages into other areas of the curriculum, and teaching staff are a permanent presence in the school and therefore a more 'available' resource for students. However, training is a key issue. Recent European research notes that where existing school staff deliver violence prevention education programs, the lack of comprehensive training is the most common impediment to success (Institute of Women, 2002). Thus, in order to deliver such programs effectively, there is a need to ensure all teachers receive training (whether in Diploma of Education courses or through professional development) on issues such as the links between sexism, gender and violence, as well as how to develop students' skills in this complex behavioural domain.

There are also disadvantages to having teaching staff deliver violence prevention and respectful relationship programs, including teachers' lack of knowledge or skills, discomfort with the issues, competing demands, and a perception that the topic area is beyond what they should be

expected to teach. Given their ongoing position in the school and professional relationship with students and other staff, teachers may, for example, be unwilling to offer the more personal reflections that can sometimes enrich the delivery of violence prevention education, or be uncomfortable addressing issues of gender and sexuality with students whom they also see in other contexts. Teachers may feel ill-equipped, particularly in dealing with disclosures of victimisation (which do occur) (Ellis, 2008). Time for ongoing professional development is required in order to acquire and maintain sufficient knowledge and skills to be effective educators in the field of interpersonal violence. This may be difficult for staff and schools, with their already intensive curricula and the heavy teaching loads of secondary school staff. Violence prevention activities compete with other subjects in an increasingly crowded school curriculum, and there is some evidence that school administrators may be unable or unwilling to devote the time and resources needed to substantive violence prevention (Whitaker et al., 2006). Such difficulties perhaps can be overcome if certain teachers were to choose to 'specialise' in this area, and obtain accredited qualifications to undertake student programs, with the subsequent resource allocation this would entail.

Much of the violence prevention education in schools in Australia for example is delivered by external educators, and there are advantages to this. Community educators typically have specialist knowledge of, and comfort with, the topic (Tutty et al., 2002). They can relieve pressure on teachers to handle disclosures and potentially embarrassing material. They provide links to agencies and services for children and families living with violence. However, there are also disadvantages. Delivery by external educators is less likely to be integrated comprehensively into the school curriculum, may reach only those classes or schools with teachers or staff sensitised to the issue, may be unsustainable if programs are dependent on short-term funding, and neglects teachers' and schools' direct responsibility for fostering respectful relationships. In addition, as a British report notes, 'external staff are less likely to impact on school culture, or provide continuity and progression to learners, making long-term change more difficult' (Ellis, 2008, p. 131).

Again, what does the evidence say?

The use of peer educators and/or the incorporation of peer support was identified as an element of good practice in several early reports or evaluations. In their meta-analysis of interventions designed to reduce

rape-supportive beliefs among college men, Flores and Hartlaub (1998) found that one of the most effective programs utilised peer educators. They theorised that the peer leaders were able to speak to participants from a familiar perspective, which enabled participants to relate more easily to the information presented. Some authors have asserted that young men are more likely to learn from their peers, and trained peer educators have had the most effective outcomes in rape prevention programs (Earle, 1996). Another study, on approaches to teaching a broader health-related program, suggested that peer educators should be other students chosen for their ability to provide leadership and influence the behaviour of others (Carter, 1999). It was found that the use of such peer educators had a significant effect on how other students responded to the program.

However, more recent and wide-ranging investigations challenge the apparent effectiveness of peer-based delivery of violence prevention curricula. A 2005 meta-analysis of 69 studies of sexual assault education on US college campuses did not support an emphasis on peer education (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). It found that the status of the facilitator appeared to influence attitude change and behavioural intentions, but not in a direction supporting peer delivery. Across the 102 interventions in the study, professional presenters were more successful than either graduate students or peer presenters in promoting positive change. A review of 65 interventions for preventing boys' and men's sexual violence found that findings across the studies did not vary with any consistency depending on whether professionals or others implemented the intervention (Ricardo et al., 2011). Peer-led delivery may fail because of under-investment in peer education as 'cheap labour', or for the same reasons that teacher-led delivery may fail: inadequate training, support and supervision.

The immediate impacts of implementation by teachers, community educators, or peer educators seem to depend above all on their skills, training and support. Therefore, whoever delivers curricula on violence prevention, they must be supported by resources, training and ongoing support, and programs must articulate rationales for their use. However, in schools, given that a key criterion for good practice is a whole-of-school approach, there is a strong argument for delivery by teachers, whether side by side with community and/or peer educators or not. Teacher-based delivery seems essential to the integration and sustainability of violence prevention curricula in schools.

Sex of Teaching Staff?

Most violence prevention educators in many contexts are female, reflecting women's much higher levels of participation and employment in services, agencies and community efforts addressing men's violence against women. However, as engaging boys in violence prevention has become more prominent and as men's roles have received increasing emphasis, there has also been some emphasis on the need for work with boys and young men to be conducted by male facilitators in particular. Arguments for using male facilitators and peer educators when working with all-male audiences include the following:

- Given the benefits of all-male groups or classes (discussed above), male educators or facilitators are a necessary complement to this.
- Male educators and participants can act as 'role models' for other men.
- Male educators possess an insider's knowledge of the workings of masculinity and can use this to critical advantage with male audiences.
- Male educators tend to be perceived as more credible and more persuasive by male participants.
- The use of male educators embodies the recognition that men must take responsibility for helping to end men's violence against women (Flood, 2005–2006).

However, female facilitators can work very effectively with boys and men, and there are benefits to women and men working together. Such partnerships demonstrate to participants a model of egalitarian working relationships across gender; they model women's and men's shared interest in non-violence and gender justice; they give men opportunities to hear of women's experiences and concerns and to further mobilise their care for the women and girls in their own lives; and they enhance accountability to women and women's services (Flood, 2005–2006).

There is little robust research evidence in the violence prevention field regarding the effectiveness of matching educators and participants by sex. In relation to violence prevention, there is anecdotal evidence that men will listen more readily to other men than to women, with men in all-male anti-rape prevention groups on US campuses sharing the belief that men are more receptive to hearing anti-rape messages from other men than women (Piccigallo et al., 2012). Research in higher education

documents that male teachers addressing gender issues are evaluated by students as less biased and more competent than female teachers (Flood, 2011). On the other hand, various studies find that many men's initial sensitisation to the issue of violence against women was fostered in particular by listening *to women* and women's experience (Casey & Smith, 2010; Piccigallo, Lilley, & Miller, 2012).

If men will listen more readily to men, then violence prevention efforts among men may, understandably and pragmatically, rely on male educators and leaders. Yet men's greater willingness to listen to other men also reflects men's homosocial investment in evaluation by male peers and the social marginalisation of women's voices and experiences, and both can feed indirectly into violence against women (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Simplistic assumptions about 'matching' educators and participants, for example by sex, may not address the complex interactions and negotiations that take place regarding a range of forms of social difference, from age and ethnicity to class and sexuality. Indeed, sharing a biological sex is no guarantee of individuals' compatibility, given males' and females' diverse gender identities and relations. In any case, there may be practical constraints on 'matching' educators, particularly when it comes to working with boys and young men. At the same time, some programs which cannot access male educators find other ways of including male voices, e.g. by incorporating music and music videos by male artists, using male advocates and 'heroes' as examples, and relying on influential and respected local men (such as coaches or teachers) to introduce speakers and the importance of the topic (Hillenbrand-Gunn, Heppner, Mauch, & Park, 2010, p. 50).

Therefore, while there are arguments for matching the sex of the educator(s) and their students in violence prevention education, I take the position only that programs have clear rationales for, or at least a critical understanding of, their use of female or male staff.

BYSTANDER INTERVENTION

An approach which is increasingly common in violence prevention is bystander intervention. Bystander intervention is an increasingly visible aspect of both face-to-face education and communication-based strategies for preventing men's violence against women, and thus worthy of discussion here. Before outlining this strategy, what is a 'bystander'?

Bystanders are individuals who observe or are aware of violence and violence-supportive behaviours and incidents. This definition includes both ‘passive’ bystanders (those who take no action) and ‘active’ bystanders (those who take action to prevent or reduce the harm). Bystanders, in the violence prevention literature, are understood to be individuals who observe an act of violence, discrimination, or other problematic behaviour, but who are not its direct perpetrator or victim (Powell, 2011). Rather, bystanders are onlookers, spectators or otherwise present in some sense (although in some accounts of bystander intervention, the term ‘bystander’ expands to include those who directly perpetrate violence).² Bystander approaches focus on the ways in which individuals who are not the targets of the conduct can intervene in violence, harassment or other antisocial behaviour in order to prevent and reduce harm to others (Powell, 2011). Work on bystanders to violence distinguishes between ‘passive’ bystanders, who do not act or intervene and ‘active bystanders’ who take action. Active or ‘pro-social’ bystanders may take action to:

1. Stop the perpetration of a specific incident of violence;
2. Reduce the risk of violence escalating and prevent the physical, psychological and social harms that may result; and
3. Strengthen the conditions that work against violence occurring (Powell, 2011).

Most attention to bystanders has focused on their action or inaction at or after the time of specific violent incidents, thus locating bystander intervention within secondary and tertiary forms of prevention. Bystanders can contribute to secondary and tertiary prevention by acting to reverse progress towards violence and to reduce its impact. However, bystander intervention is also identified as a strategy of primary prevention precisely because bystanders can take action to prevent initial perpetration

²For example, in a revision by McMahon and colleagues of a scale for measuring bystander behaviour first developed by Banyard and colleagues, several items regarding individuals’ own practices of sexual consent were included. Such accounts blur the line between bystanders *to* violence and perpetrators *of* violence. In practice of course, individuals who act as prosocial bystanders, intervening in others’ violent and violence-supportive behaviours, should ‘put their own house in order’, ensuring that they do not use violence themselves. Notwithstanding this conflation of terms, it is preferable to reserve the term ‘bystander’ for those who are not directly involved in the violence in question.

or victimisation. Individuals can do more than responding directly to victims and perpetrators, and can also challenge the attitudes and norms, behaviours, institutional environments, and power inequalities which feed into violence against women.

Bystander Intervention in the Field

Bystanders have received growing attention as a potential means of violence prevention. Among efforts oriented towards the primary prevention of domestic and family violence, sexual violence and other forms of interpersonal violence, mobilising bystanders to prevent and respond to violence or to the situations and factors which increase the risk of violence taking place ('bystander intervention'), is understood as an important form of primary prevention and is an increasingly prominent strategy, particularly in North America (VicHealth, 2012). For example, an assessment of the four official sexual assault prevention programs used within the USA. Air Force (USAF) over 2004 to 2014 found that while bystander intervention was not well-developed in the 2004 program, it had become a clear focus by 2009 (Gedney, Wood, Lundahl, & Butters, 2015).

One of the first bystander-focused programs in the domestic violence and sexual assault fields was Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP), which began in 1993. According to its founders, the bystander approach was seen to offer a way to transcend the limitations of the perpetrator-victim binary which had dominated gender violence prevention theory and practice, and in particular, to engage *men* in prevention (Katz, Heisterkamp, & Fleming, 2011). The bystander approach also was a strategy to get MVP 'in the door', in face of resistance and defensiveness, and as a *complement* to other forms of sexual assault and abuse education (Katz et al., 2011).

The growing prominence of bystander intervention thus has been influenced by the increasing emphasis in violence prevention on the roles men in particular can play. Primary prevention strategies aimed at men typically emphasise that most men do not use violence against women and that non-violent men can play a positive role in building a world where such violence is unthinkable. In one typical account for example, men have three roles to play: 'Men can prevent violence against women by not personally engaging in violence, by intervening against the violence of other men and by addressing the causes of violence' (Berkowitz, 2004). The second and third of these effectively constitute forms of bystander intervention. Bystander intervention (whether framed

in these terms or not) then becomes an obvious way in which to mobilise non-violent men's actions to prevent violence. In relation to engaging men, appeals to men as bystanders to other men's violence and violence-supportive behaviour are evident in the curricula and content of a range of face-to-face and media-based initiatives. In addition, some programs centre entirely on a bystander approach.

Most educational programs with a bystander intervention component are addressed to children and young people and in school and university settings. Violence prevention education is particularly well-developed on college and university campuses in the USA and a number of notable bystander intervention programs in the USA take place primarily in such settings, such as *Bringing in the Bystander* and *The Men's Program*. Another prominent bystanders program is the *Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP)* program, which runs among student athletes, student leaders, military personnel, and others. Many violence prevention education programs among young people include components intended to foster individuals' pro-social bystander behaviour. To give a prominent US example, the campaign organised by *Men Can Stop Rape*, involves a multi-session education program involving 'Men of Strength' clubs, while similar Australian examples include the *Sexual Assault Prevention Program for Secondary Schools* and *Sex & Ethics*. In addition, some violence prevention initiatives are focused particularly on the creation of settings and contexts which are conducive to prevention, including bystander intervention. Some prevention programs frame their efforts in terms of creating institutional environments and cultures which are conducive to individuals' bystander behaviours, such as some schools programs addressing bullying and other forms of violence or coercion.

Violence prevention initiatives involving or focusing on bystander intervention typically rely on one or more of three streams of action to effect change: face-to-face education, social marketing and communications, and policy and law. Within face-to-face education, existing strategies include:

- Strategies to build individuals' skills in behaving as active bystanders and their perceived capacity to do so (their self-efficacy);
- The formation of groups or clubs of individuals who act as peer-based educators, mentors and supporters in local contexts such as schools and universities;

- ‘Buddy’ and befriending schemes; and
- Public commitments or pledges to speak up and act in relation to others’ violence (Powell, 2011).

Some violence prevention initiatives focused on bystander intervention use multiple strategies, such as both face-to-face education and social marketing. I return to social marketing interventions in the following chapter.

How effective is this particular stream of violence prevention? While bystander intervention is an increasingly popular approach, in fact the evidence for its effectiveness is limited, as two reviews suggest. Ricardo et al. (2011) review of interventions for preventing boys’ and men’s sexual violence notes 14 studies that included measures of bystander attitudes, efficacy or intentions. Only four of these studies could be classed as methodologically ‘strong’ or ‘moderate’, and only three of these reported significant findings (Banyard et al., 2007; Gidycz et al., 2011; Moynihan, Eckstein, Banyard, & Plante, 2010). Five of the 65 studies examined bystander behaviours, with three of these classed as ‘strong’ or ‘moderate’, and only one of the two moderate studies reported increases in bystander behaviours (Banyard 2007). Fulu et al.’s (2014) review identified 13 interventions, including seven randomised control trials. Nearly all interventions were from the USA, and at the time of this review there was no evidence for bystander intervention in low- and middle-income countries. Six studies measured the perpetration of sexual violence or IPV and the remainder measured impact on knowledge, awareness and attitudes (Fulu et al., 2014). Only one randomised control trial found positive outcomes in terms of intimate partner violence perpetration, Coaching Boys into Men (Miller et al., 2012). The interventions’ impact on risk factors related to violence against women was mixed. None showed any positive impact on attitudes towards gender roles, rape myth acceptance decreased in two studies but showed no change in two others, and the main positive impact concerned participants as bystanders—their intentions to intervene, knowledge of intervention, efficacy, and recognition of abusive behaviours (Fulu et al., 2014).

More recent evaluations of bystander intervention approaches continue to show mixed results. For example, at a US university, undergraduate fraternity men with an average age of 21 underwent the ‘Bringing

in the Bystander' program, delivered in a single, 90-minute session by peer educators (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2015). The evaluation used a quasi-experimental design, with a comparison group and short-term follow-up at five weeks. The men showed no change in their bystander attitudes or behaviours at post-test or follow-up, a modest decline in rape myth acceptance, and the decline they showed in attraction to sexual aggression at post-test had rebounded by follow-up. The men showed a decline in self-reported sexually coercive behaviours, which persisted at follow-up five weeks later. However, this was also the case among the control group, so there was no difference between the intervention and control groups at follow-up (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2015). The study also compared the program's impact among men at low and high risk of using sexually coercive behaviour (as assessed by their previous use of sexually coercive behaviour), finding that high-risk men showed no decline in rape myth acceptance.

There is some evidence that bystander approaches are no more effective than other educational approaches at least at shifting attitudes condoning sexual and dating violence. In an experimental comparison, first-year university students completed either a 90-minute bystander intervention program or a 90-minute traditional psychoeducational program. The programs had very similar effects, with students in both programs showing similar increases in knowledge regarding sexual and dating violence and declines in violence-supportive attitudes (Palm Reed, Hines, Armstrong, & Cameron, 2015).

For bystander approaches in violence prevention education to be effective, they will need to meet the same principles of good practice outlined throughout this and earlier chapters. One principle is that programs be based on sound theoretical frameworks and program logics. In this regard, it is troubling to note the turn in bystander programs towards gender neutrality. Jackson Katz and colleagues express concern about a shift in the field towards degendered discussions of bystander intervention, including the deemphasising of gender in violence perpetration. They contrast this with the social justice roots of bystander intervention, emphasising that social justice approaches 'begin with the premise that structural and systemic inequalities are the context for, if not the root cause of, most interpersonal violence' (Katz et al., 2011). In this context, bystander approaches must address 'the role of complicit silence on the part of members of dominant groups' and the ways in which individuals can 'interrupt the enactment of abuses that are often

micro manifestations of macro systems of power and control' (Katz et al., 2011, p. 689). Gender-neutral approaches to bystander intervention will miss the gendered norms which constrain men's and women's interventions in distinct ways and the wider gendered dynamics of the violence and sexism they purport to address.

Preventing and reducing men's violence against women through face-to-face education involves important challenges regarding engaging and challenging men. Many of the same issues—of what kinds of content and curricula work best, of how best to reach men, of who should work with men, and so on—are relevant for another important stream of prevention activity, communications and social marketing, and the next chapter turns to this.

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Educating Men Through Media

Communications and social marketing campaigns, alongside face-to-face strategies, are a second common strategy of violence prevention education. Whether involving print posters for a university campus, radio advertisements or plays in a local community, or large-scale campaigns using multiple forms of offline and online media, communications and social marketing are well-established elements in efforts to prevent and reduce men's violence against women. Some campaigns are universal, targeting norms, values, beliefs and attitudes across communities or even countries. Others are tailored to specific local contexts or targeted to particular population groups.

Men are a significant audience for communications campaigns addressing violence prevention, with around one-third of 32 communications campaigns reviewed in a report on social marketing and public education campaigns directed at a male audience (Donovan & Vlasis, 2005). Internationally, one of the biggest communications campaigns is that run by White Ribbon Australia, one of five of so major strategies it organises (with the others comprising community and national public events, a schools program, a workplace program, and a high-profile advocates' [Ambassadors'] program). White Ribbon Australia's communications campaign includes print, radio, and video materials and a wide range of social media strategies. According to its 2015 figures, the White Ribbon campaign in Australia reaches two million people across social media channels per week, over 157,000 people have taken the White Ribbon Oath ('never to commit, excuse or remain silent about violence

against women'), and 70% of men in Australia can accurately identify what White Ribbon stands for (according to White Ribbon's own market research, conducted in December 2014).

One of the most well-known communications campaigns internationally is Men Can Stop Rape's 'My strength is not for hurting' campaign in the USA, which ran from 2002 to 2011. This used media materials, in tandem with school-based Men of Strength (MOST) Clubs for young men and other strategies, to build norms of sexual consent, respect, and non-violence. The MOST clubs provide high-school-age young men with a structured and supportive space to learn about healthy masculinity. The social marketing campaign has been taken up in other countries such as South Africa and Brazil, with culturally appropriate language and models appearing in these campaigns, and extended to other contexts in the USA such as the US military. In 2011 Men Can Stop Rape followed its 'My strength is not for hurting' effort with the campaign 'Where do you stand?' This new campaign focuses on bystander intervention, with its posters describing particular forms of action taken by individuals to prevent or reduce men's violence against women. Each poster ends, 'I'm the kind of guy who takes a stand. Where do you stand?'

Both of Men Can Stop Rape's campaigns are interesting examples of social marketing campaigns which seek to speak to, and rework, social norms regarding masculinity in the service of violence prevention. Both campaigns are designed to encourage and enable young men to take action to prevent sexual violence. While the earlier campaign reframes the notion of male strength to suggest a kind of ethical or moral strength in the service of consent ('My strength is not for hurting'), the more recent one draws on men's investments in being men who take strong ethical or moral positions ('I'm the kind of guy who takes a stand').

While Men Can Stop Rape's two campaigns invite men's adoption of and identification with the figure of a *non-violent* man, who is respectful and consensual and ethical, another campaign aimed at men centres on men's avoidance of the figure of a *violent* man. The campaign 'Don't Be That Guy' focuses on challenging men's sense of entitlement to sex and access to women's bodies and encouraging men to take responsibility for their sexual behaviour (Castelino, Colla, & Boulet, 2013). 'Don't Be That Guy' was developed in Canada in 2010 by a collaboration between various women's, violence, and other organisations, and now managed by Battered Women's Support Services in partnership with others. Its posters use text accompanying its images such as 'Just because

she's drinking, doesn't mean she wants sex', 'Just because you help her home... doesn't mean you get to help yourself', and 'Just because she isn't saying no... doesn't mean she's saying yes'.¹ Other campaigns directed at young heterosexual men encourage practices of consent, such as the 'Voices Not Victims' campaign at the State University of New York at Fredonia, USA.² Communications and social marketing campaigns directed at men show increasing use of a bystander intervention approach, and I discuss this further below.

Communications and social marketing campaigns aimed at men do show some evidence of success. While the evidence base for social marketing is far smaller than for face-to-face educational interventions in schools and universities, there are some robust studies showing impact.

- In the USA, an evaluation of the Californian 'My strength is not for hurting' campaign documented that high-school students exposed to the campaign had slightly more respectful and equitable attitudes, while schools with MOST Clubs had more favourable social climates (Kim & White, 2008).
- In Nicaragua, a mass-media campaign among heterosexual men aged 20–39 generated increased support for the ideas that men can prevent gender-based violence and that men's violence affects community development (Solórzano, Abaunza, & Molina, 2000). Launched by Puntos de Encuentro and the Asociación de Hombres Contra la Violencia in 1999 in the wake of Hurricane Mitch, the campaign was called 'Violence Against Women: A Disaster We Can Prevent as Men'. It encouraged men to respect their partners and to resolve conflicts peacefully and seek help to avoid domestic violence, and included community outreach and mobilisation. The campaign included national and local media advertisements over a five-month period, posters, pamphlets, educational materials, and training for activists.
- In India, Breakthrough's *Bell Bajao!* (Ring the Bell) campaign calls on men and boys to challenge violence against women through bystander intervention in intimate partner violence. The multimedia

¹The campaign is organised by Battered Women's Support Services, a coalition of grass-roots activists, survivors and volunteers, in collaboration with other organisations. See www.theviolencestopshere.ca.

²See www.fredonia.edu/cease/posters.asp.

component of the campaign shows men or boys who overhear a man beating his wife and then ring at the door of the home and ask for a cup of milk, to use the phone or to retrieve a ball, as a pretext to let the perpetrator know that the violence is unacceptable. The campaign also relies extensively on community mobilisation. Evaluations of *Bell Bajao!* have shown significant increases in awareness and understanding of domestic violence among those exposed to the campaign (Silliman, 2012).

There is more evidence that media and communications campaigns can change attitudes than that they can change behaviours. A 2007 report by the World Health Organisation reviewed the effectiveness of programs seeking to engage men and boys in achieving gender equality and equity in health, assessing interventions addressing five program areas: sexual and reproductive health, fatherhood, gender-based violence, maternal, newborn and child health, and gender socialisation. It noted that

Mass-media campaigns on their own seem to produce limited behaviour change but show significant change in behavioural intentions and self-efficacy, such as self-perceived ability to talk about or act on an issue or behavioural intentions to talk to other men and boys about violence against women. (WHO, 2007, p. 19)

Some social marketing and communications interventions have proven ineffective in reaching and changing men. Perhaps this is not surprising, given the significant obstacles to and challenges in engaging men already documented in this book. Indeed, some media campaigns even have made men's attitudes *worse*. For example, in a recent study of a social marketing campaign in the USA regarding intimate partner violence, men responded far more negatively than women to the campaign, with male attitudes moving in fact in a negative direction. In response to the campaign, women increased their awareness of community services and their disagreement with common myths regarding intimate partner violence, but men moved towards greater acceptance of abuse-related societal myths (Keller, Wilkinson, & Otjen, 2010). Qualitative data collected during the campaign suggest that this response was informed in part by men's resentment regarding existing gender stereotypes and their resistance to campaign messages showing men as perpetrators and women

as victims (Keller & Honea, 2016). In Australia in 2006, television and print materials produced pro-bono for the White Ribbon Campaign by the advertising agency Saatchi and Saatchi did little to engage men in violence prevention and attracted negative publicity (Donovan, Jalleh, Fielder, & Ouschan, 2008).

Another example comes from a Dutch campaign addressing males' sexual intimidation of females (from sexual harassment through to sexual assault). This entailed a large-scale, multimedia campaign aimed at prompting discussion of gender roles and ultimately shifting young men's behaviour towards young women, particularly by generating new understandings of heterosexual sexual interactions. Winkel and De Kleuver (1997) drew on one element of the campaign, a video produced for schools, to compare two persuasive strategies, one victim-focused and the other perpetrator-focused. Students in a secondary educational institution, with an average age of 16, were shown one of two versions of the video, alongside a control group shown nothing. Both versions drew on three scenarios of sexual intimidation, but they focused on differing aspects of these, with the perpetrator-focused version concentrating on the negative consequences for the young male perpetrator. What was striking in this study was that the perpetrator-focused strategy backfired: boys had more evaluations of macho behaviour in interactions with girls, greater acceptance of myths about sexual intimidation, and greater acceptance of coerced sex (Winkel & De Kleuver, 1997). The authors reflect that aspects of the perpetrator-focused video may help explain these effects, including that the perpetrator is not remorseful and offers justifications for his violent behaviour.

Other media-based campaigns have been unable to shift entrenched patterns of behaviour among men, such as men's reluctance to speak to other men about violence against women. The Australian campaign 'Violence Against Women: It's Against All the Rules' (2000–2003) did achieve message recognition. A post-campaign survey indicated that 83% of the respondents correctly reported that the message of the campaign was that violence against women is 'not on', and 59% of respondents could recall the campaign slogan. However, 91% of the target group reported that violence against women was not an issue they would discuss with their peers, irrespective of the campaign (Hubert, 2003).

Finally, the actual implementation of well-designed media campaigns may be stymied by powerful men's (and women's) resistance. To highlight a notable example in Australia, a major communications campaign,

‘No Respect No Relationship’, was dropped by the conservative Federal Government in 2003 only weeks before its planned release. According to news coverage at the time, a handful of senior male members in the government had several objections to the \$15 million campaign: it did not focus exclusively on physical violence in relationships but also included other coercive or abusive behaviours, it had an ‘anti-male’ focus on men as perpetrators, and its call to action was to contact a website.³ In fact, the planned ‘No Respect No Relationship’ campaign had three key strengths. First, it drew on formative research among young people and pre-testing of campaign messages. Second, it rightly addressed a spectrum of forms of violence and abuse in relationships, including the ‘grey’ or ‘soft’ areas of control, jealousy, and so on. Third, the campaign involved very substantial efforts to engage local communities, including sporting and music competitions, concerts, a film festival, a youth e-zine, a curriculum resource for schools, website materials for young people and for parents, activities at major music festivals, and more. The Federal Government did eventually release a version of the campaign, although much of the media space which had been booked was lost, and two-thirds of the original campaign, its strategies of community engagement and community development, were missing.⁴

Before exploring some general principles of educating men through media, a word on definitions is necessary. While media-based campaigns can include awareness-raising, public information and social marketing interventions, these terms are not necessarily interchangeable (Powell, 2011)

For instance, while awareness-raising and public information campaigns may seek to convey information in a straightforward fashion to the general population, social marketing more specifically refers to the use of marketing principles to ‘sell’ social norms, attitudes and behaviours to the broad population in order to achieve social change. (Powell, 2011, p. 23)

³“Controversy over shelved domestic violence strategy”, 7:30 Report, ABC Television, 17 February, 2004; “Say no to assault—A message that didn’t get through,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 May, 2004.

⁴“Media release: Government confirms \$ millions wasted on anti-violence campaign,” Nicola Roxon MP, Shadow Attorney-General, Shadow Minister Assisting the Leader on the Status of Women, 26 May 2004.

Social marketing can be defined as the use of marketing to influence behaviours that benefit individuals and communities for the greater social good. While social marketing draws on the technologies of commercial, profit-oriented marketing, it is distinguished by its goal of enhancing community well-being (Castelino et al., 2013). The term ‘social marketing’ should not be confused with ‘social media’ (computer-mediated tools that allow people to create, share or exchange information, ideas, and pictures/videos in virtual communities and networks, such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram). While social marketing may involve social media it is not defined by its use. Nor is the term ‘social marketing’ synonymous with the term ‘mass-media campaign’. While social marketing campaigns may involve mass-media campaigns, equally they can involve small-scale, low-cost campaigns targeted at local contexts. Whether comprising national TV advertising or posters on a university campus, these involve the same principles of communication (Castelino et al., 2013).

Social marketing overlaps with other forms of marketing or communication directed towards social change, such as cause-related marketing (where a for-profit organisation forms a partnership with a pro-social organisation such that sales of the commercial entity’s products assist in promoting or funding the cause), corporate philanthropy (in which a commercial organisation adopts a cause that has no direct relationship to sales or to the company’s target market), and edutainment (the use of entertainment media to disseminate information, raise awareness, or change behaviour) (Castelino et al., 2013).

PRINCIPLES OF EFFECTIVE PRACTICE

Effective communications and social marketing strategies aimed at men should be informed by the same principles which guide effective violence prevention in general. I argued in Chapter 3 that in the literature, effective interventions generally are said to be (1) informed; (2) comprehensive; (3) engaging; and (4) relevant. They incorporate both an appropriate theoretical framework and a theory of change; they use multiple strategies, in multiple settings, and at multiple levels; they engage participants; and they are relevant to the communities and contexts in which they are delivered.

Looking first at the requirement that interventions be comprehensive, there is evidence that communication and social marketing interventions have greater impact if they are more intensive, involve exposure

to messaging through more than one component, and/or are complemented by on-the-ground strategies. For example, *Bell Bajao!* (Ring the Bell) used a campaign approach based on the integration of mass media, community mobilisation, and leadership development training. It drew on a wide range of communication tools, including television, radio and print ads, mobile video vans, media coverage, support of high-profile celebrities, an interactive website, and a wider online presence. These were complemented by education and training tools and an intensive leadership development and capacity-building initiative, alongside training activities on community education and women's rights and outreach by community partner organisations. Its evaluation found greater changes in individuals exposed to both media and on-the-ground training components of the intervention, compared to individuals exposed only to the media component (Fulu, Kerr-Wilson, & Lang, 2014).

Support for the greater effectiveness of more comprehensive, multi-pronged interventions comes also from an earlier WHO review (2007). This examination of 58 evaluation studies reports that,

combining individual- based or group-based programmes (counselling or group education) or telephone hotlines with mass media and/or community campaigns shows some the strongest evidence for achieving lasting behaviour change. Mass-media campaigns on their own show evidence of sustained change in attitudes and behavioural intentions but show more evidence of sustained behaviour change when combined with more interpersonal activities (group education and/or individual counselling). (WHO, 2007, p. 25)

In contrast, one-off media interventions such as showing a film are unlikely to produce lasting attitudinal change, or even any change at all. This is true even if the film is designed to encourage awareness of men's violence against women. For example, in an experimental evaluation of the impact of a popular documentary-style film, *War Zone*, men who saw the film did not report less acceptance of street harassment or more empathy for women experiencing street harassment than men who viewed a comparison film (Darnell & Cook, 2009). Similarly, individuals who saw a widely used 20-minute sexual harassment awareness training video were no more knowledgeable about sexual harassment after the video than individuals who saw an unrelated training video, nor any less likely to engage in sexually inappropriate behaviour (Perry, Kulik, & Schmidtke, 1998).

As with face-to-face education, the duration of the intervention matters. Most of the effective campaigns identified in the WHO review lasted four to six months or even up to a year (WHO, 2007).

If effective interventions are both engaging and relevant, then in social marketing and communication these overlap. Interventions which engage their audiences do so in part because they are perceived as relevant to them, and interventions designed to be relevant to particular audiences are more likely to engage them. I comment here on four dimensions of this: understanding the audience, offering a positive message, using influential messengers, and drawing on masculine culture.

Understanding the audience: Any kind of educational effort, whether face-to-face or via media and communications, will be more effective if it is based on understanding of its audience. A recent review of social marketing for violence prevention describes this in terms of ‘centralising the customer as the target for change’ (Castelino et al., 2013). Although the term ‘audience’ misleadingly may suggest passive receivers of educational messages, in social marketing audiences are seen instead as an active and dynamic part of the process. Understanding them thus is vital to effective interventions. For example, in engaging men, there are differences between addressing oneself to men who perpetrate violence, men with violence-supportive attitudes, and men who are bystanders to others’ violent and violence-supportive behaviour (Castelino et al., 2013).

One example of the value of understanding one’s audience comes from a social marketing campaign from Australia. ‘Freedom From Fear’ was one of the first major social marketing campaigns to target perpetrators of intimate partner violence. This campaign by the West Australian Government in 1999 was aimed at male perpetrators of domestic violence and men ‘at risk’ of perpetrating domestic violence (Gibbons & Paterson, 2000; Wood & Leavy, 2006). Formative research for this campaign, involving focus groups with target group members, found that perpetrators of intimate partner violence more effectively could be mobilised to address their own violence (by contacting a phonenumber) through concerns about their roles as fathers rather than their roles as partners. Appealing to such men in terms of the impact of their intimate partner violence on their partners proved less effective than appealing to them in terms of the impact of this violence on the children who witness it.

If media and communications campaigns are to be informed by knowledge of their target group or population and their local contexts, this requires research. As the WHO review notes,

Nearly all the effective campaigns and community outreach reviewed here reported extensive and sometimes costly formative research to test messages, develop characters or storylines and determine the most effective and relevant media in consultation with members of the target group. (WHO, 2007, p. 24)

Formative research to determine existing attitudes and beliefs and ways of motivating people to change their behaviour, and pre-testing of messages, are typical elements in social marketing practice (Castelino et al., 2013). Informed by the target audience's perceptions of perceived costs and benefits, social marketing then can seek ways 'to increase the benefits of non-violence-supportive attitudes and behaviours and to lower the costs of behaviour change' (Castelino et al., 2013, p. 14).

It is important for the individual or group to relate strongly to the message being promoted. In general, 'Social marketing campaigns need to research relevant and connecting places, products and people in order to create familiarity and commonality for the target audience' (Castelino et al., 2013, p. 12). This sense of familiarity, or 'social self-identification', is valuable in inspiring attitudinal change. For example, in a social marketing campaign on a US university campus intended to foster students' willingness to intervene as a pro-social bystander, the posters were designed using content familiar to students by staging and casting scenes to look similar to the people and situations that they regularly encounter. The authors suggest that seeing oneself and one's peer group in the posters was associated with greater attitudinal change (Potter, Moynihan, & Stapleton, 2011). A follow-up study, translating the campaign from university campuses to a US army installation in Europe, again found that social self-identification—seeing the images as resonating with oneself and the context as familiar—was associated with increased sense of personal responsibility for ending sexual assault, confidence in acting as a bystander, and reported engagement as a bystander (Potter & Stapleton, 2012). Campaigns seeking to encourage men to intervene in sexist and violence-supportive attitudes and behaviour among their peers thus should conduct or draw on research on how men see their behaviour in relation to their peers.

Positive messages: In Chapter 3, I identified a range of elements which help to 'make the case' to male audiences in particular, including personalising the issue, building on strengths, and so on. In relation to building on strengths, the research on communications campaigns suggests

that a similar approach is warranted. The 2007 WHO review notes that effective and promising campaigns ‘overwhelmingly used positive, affirmative messages showing what men and boys could do to change, affirming that they could change and showing [...] men changing or acting in positive ways’ (WHO, 2007, p. 24). Some interventions demonstrate to men and boys what they personally gain from changing their gender-related behaviour, while others appeal to men’s sense of justice or their desires to provide care and support for their partners or children. Social marketing typically targets voluntary behaviour and seeks to make some choices more attractive than others, although this emphasis on choice and engagement, rather than coercion and punishment, may be fraught when addressing behaviours such as men’s violence against women which are often criminal. Nevertheless, social marketing campaigns generally require ‘a giving up of a less desirable behaviour for a more desirable, socially more acceptable and positive behaviour’ (Castelino et al., 2013, p. 13).

Given the evidence from some studies that men are resistant to campaign messages on domestic violence showing men as perpetrators and women as victims (Keller & Honea, 2016), it may be tempting to de-gender one’s depictions of violence and portray potential (male) perpetrators only as ‘good guys’ who need a little help. However, the former is inaccurate and will increase misperceptions of domestic violence, while the latter risks contributing to the cultural minimisation and denial of the seriousness of partner violence (Keller & Honea, 2016). One suggestion in the literature is to

continue to employ gender scripts in social marketing campaigns (depicting men primarily as perpetrators and women primarily as victims) but to show men in agentic roles; seeking help and improving their relationships, rather than demonising them as members of a dominating, misogynistic fraternity of men. (Keller & Honea, 2016, p. 10)

The challenge here is to craft messages which are effective, accountable, and do not simply alienate their intended audience.

Influential messengers: Another dimension of media campaigns’ ability to engage audiences is the use of influential messengers and spokespeople. Some campaigns feature in their materials men who are well known to large numbers of other men, whether as celebrities (actors, sports stars, and so on) or men in positions of power. UN Women’s

'HeForShe' campaign, launched in April 2014, is a significant global example. Other national and local campaigns draw on high-profile men relevant to their countries and contexts. One example is the media campaign 'Violence Against Women – It's Against All the Rules', run in Australia over 2000–2003 and targeted at men aged 21–29 (Hubert, 2003). Posters, booklets, drinks coasters, and radio advertisements used well-known sportsmen and sporting language to deliver the message to men that violence against women is unacceptable. For example, a famous rugby league player is shown alongside the words, 'Force a woman into touch? That's sexual assault'. A well-known cricketer says, 'Sledging a woman? That's abuse.' ('Sledging' is a colloquial term in cricket for the verbal abuse of an opposing player.) A famous soccer player says, 'Mark a woman, watch her every move? That's stalking'. For the use of high-profile message bearers showing the alternative and positive behaviour to work well, such individuals must be relevant to and connect with the target audience (Castelino et al., 2013). Other social marketing campaigns do not draw on famous men but on men who influence the behaviour of other men, such as sporting coaches, fathers, and religious leaders (WHO, 2007). They seek to mobilise these men's roles as peer opinion leaders and gatekeepers. Yet other media campaigns depict 'ordinary' men of the community collectively voicing their concern about violence against women.

The strategy of showing men (whether high-profile or not) speaking out or standing together against violence has an obvious rationale. First, these men function as role models, whose intolerance for violence ideally will be emulated. For example, men in focus groups regarding the Australian campaign 'Violence Against Women – It's Against All the Rules' perceived the sportsmen shown to be credible and authoritative 'real men'. Indeed, they also praised the fact that these were 'ordinary blokes' with faults and weaknesses, rather than 'gods' like the famous tennis player Pat Rafter who probably 'unpacks the dishwasher for his mum' (Hubert, 2003, pp. 40–41). Second, peer acceptance and collective norms are particularly influential among men. Men's lives are highly organised by relations between men. Males seek the approval of other males, both identifying with and competing against them. If men's perceptions of collective masculine norms can be shifted, then individual men may shift as well. Third, given the cultural authority given to men's voices over women's, men may listen more readily to men than to women. While it is desirable that men listen to *women's* voices, to

women's stories of the harms and indeed the pleasures of their relations with men, it may be more effective to continue to use men to say the things that we wish men could hear from women.

Masculine culture: In trying to appeal to and engage with men, some communications and social marketing campaigns draw on stereotypical masculine culture. Some for example use the imagery, language, or heroes of male, team-based, contact sports. Yet drawing on sporting culture may be problematic given that sport can contribute to the construction of violent masculinity as a cultural norm. Sport is an important site for teaching boys and men some of the key values associated with dominant masculinity, such as extreme competitiveness, aggression and dominance, and violence is normalised, naturalised and rewarded particularly in men's contact sports (Flood & Dyson, 2007). In drawing on stereotypical masculine culture, communications campaigns seek to balance complicity and challenge. As I wrote elsewhere, 'They collude enough with masculine cultural codes that they engage a male audience, yet hopefully they subvert the association of masculinity and violence enough to make a difference to men's attitudes and behaviours' (Flood, 2002–2003).

There are further features of good practice associated with communications and social marketing interventions. For example, if quality teaching materials are desirable in face-to-face education, they are also useful in media-based education. The production of high-quality, high-cost media content is not a necessary element of effective mass-media campaigns. At the same time, such content—produced by commercial studios with professional actors—may be more effective at reaching high numbers of men and boys (and women and girls) (WHO, 2007).

There are two approaches in communications and social marketing for violence prevention—social norms and bystander intervention—which are increasingly prominent, and I turn to these now.

SOCIAL NORMS CAMPAIGNS

Social norms marketing is defined by its focus on perceived community norms. Rather than focusing on shifting individuals' attitudes and beliefs, it focuses on social norms considered normal by the community, although they inform each other. As Paluck, Ball, Poynton, & Sieloff, (2010, p. 2) comment in their useful review,

Social norms marketing conveys messages aimed at convincing its audience that certain attitudes and behaviors will be received as “normal” (typical or desirable) by relevant community members. Messages carrying information about social norms (e.g. “men in this community believe in treating women with respect!”) can thus be distinguished from marketing aimed at improving individual attitudes (e.g. “women are worthy of respect!”) or at changing individual beliefs (e.g. “beating a woman does not prove your authority over her!”).

Social norms marketing aims to shape and energise positive social norms, and may also aim to discourage certain attitudes and behaviours (Paluck et al., 2010).

Social norms involve perceptions of ‘where a social group *is* or where the social group *ought to be* on some dimension of attitude or behaviour’ (Paluck et al., 2010, p. 9). In other words, they may be *descriptive* (identifying the typical attitudes and behaviours of the group) or *injunctive* (identifying the desirable attitudes and behaviours of a group). ‘In our community men typically hit their wives’ is a descriptive norm, while ‘In our community, it is acceptable for men to hit their wives’ is an injunctive norm.

Violence prevention efforts include attention to social norms because of their impact on behaviour. Social norms are influential because of individuals’ general drive to fit in with their group—to conform to the standards of the groups to which they belong. Social norms have a powerful influence on individual attitudes and behaviours both by licensing behaviours and by sanctioning or punishing others, e.g. through shaming and shunning (Paluck et al., 2010). A number of characteristics of norms shape their power and influence. Norms are the property of groups, and their power is shaped by the group’s size and its salience to particular persons’ everyday lives (Paluck et al., 2010, p. 10). Norms’ influence also is shaped by their ‘central tendency’ (their strength) and their ‘dispersion’, how uniformly the group conforms to the norm.

‘Social norms’ theory suggests that people often are negatively influenced by misperceptions of how other members of their social group act and think. In making decisions about behaviour, individuals take into account what ‘most people’ appear to be doing (Kilmartin et al., 2008). There are two typical kinds of misperceptions. In situations of ‘pluralistic ignorance’, individuals assume that they are in the minority when in fact they are in the majority—for example, that they are in the minority

in believing that violence against women is unacceptable. They therefore go along with the attitudes and behaviours in which they mistakenly believe most people engage. In situations of ‘false consensus’, on the other hand, individuals believe that they are in the majority when in fact they are in the minority—for example, that their comfort with violence against women is widely shared. They therefore continue to hold their attitudes or practise their behaviours without the awareness that these are non-normative (Kilmartin et al., 2008, pp. 264–265).

With regard to engaging men in prevention, social norms matter in various ways. Men typically overestimate other men’s agreement with rape myths and comfort with stereotypically masculine behaviour, and underestimate other men’s discomfort with sexism or violence and willingness to intervene in sexual violence (Castelino et al., 2013). While in these instances men’s perceptions of the attitudes and behaviours of other men (and women) in their groups and communities are *inaccurate*, men’s perceptions also may be *accurate* but problematic. For example, men may correctly perceive that most men around them do not see violence against women as an issue of concern for them. As Lee, Guy, Perry, Sniffen, and Mixson (2007, p. 187) caution,

While there may be some utility to the notion that individuals behave in a sexually violent manner because they mistakenly perceive their peers are more accepting of corresponding social norms, there are still situations in which harmful social norms are perceived accurately and internalized accordingly

Thus, both accurate and inaccurate perceptions of others’ attitudes and behaviours should be the target of social norms campaigns. Social norms campaigns directed at men should seek to correct men’s misperceptions of other men’s norms, as well as challenging the violence-supportive norms which are accurately perceived among other men, and foster healthy and egalitarian norms regarding gender, relationships, and violence (Castelino et al., 2013).

Social norms—people’s beliefs about typical or desirable attitudes and behaviours—can be perceived incorrectly by individuals or groups and still influence their behaviour, as it is the perception of the norm that influences behaviour (Paluck et al., 2010). For example, individual men on a university campus may mistakenly believe that most men on that campus see violence against women as legitimate in some circumstances

(an injunctive norm) or that most men on that campus use violence against women (a descriptive norm), whereas both may be inaccurate. Social norms can influence people's behaviour even when their personal beliefs and attitudes conflict with them (Paluck et al., 2010). An individual man may feel privately that violence against women always is unacceptable and yet behave in accordance with the norm he perceives, that violence against women is acceptable in some circumstances.

Some social norms campaigns thus begin by recognising, and seeking to close, the gap between men's perceptions of other men's agreement with violence-supportive and sexist norms and the actual extent of this agreement (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003). By gathering and publicising data on men's attitudes and behaviour, US campaigns on university campuses have sought to undermine men's conformity to sexist peer norms and increase their willingness to intervene in violent behaviour.

Several evaluations of interventions addressing violence or sexism and using a social norms approach have shown positive impacts. For example, two evaluations show positive results, although both involved only short-term follow-up:

- In two experiments among young men on a US university campus, college males reduced their overestimation of other males' sexist beliefs and comfort with sexism after a social norms intervention (Kilmartin et al., 2008). The men, prior to the interventions, overestimated the sexist and rape-supportive attitudes of the other men. A social norms intervention, comprising a 20-minute presentation, then reduced this overestimation at three-week follow-up, while there were no changes in a control group. The first experiment involved unacquainted males while the second involved males known to each other. The intervention was more successful with unacquainted males, with the second experiment showing improvements in the accuracy of perceptions of others' attitudes only for two of the four dependent measures.
- In a US study among high-school students, males and females participated in three 45-minute co-educational sessions based on a social norms approach and drawing on a 'men as allies' philosophy (Hillenbrand-Gunn, Heppner, Mauch, & Park, 2010). The intervention used a range of activities embodying a social norms approach, including reading and discussing 'courageous' acts of challenging sexist and abusive behaviour and attitudes, music and

language emphasising the positive roles of men, the ‘My Strength is Not for Hurting’ posters, and posters with accurate statistics regarding high-school males’ perceptions and statements such as ‘A real man respects when his date says ‘No’’, ‘8 out of 10 [name of the high school] guys would stop advances the first time a girl said ‘No’’, and so on. Both male and female study participants showed a significant decrease in rape-supportive attitudes immediately after completion of the program, and this was maintained at four-week follow-up, while participants in a control group did not. Female students’ willingness to engage in rape-preventive and self-protective behaviours increased after the intervention. However, male students’ willingness to commit coercive behaviour and willingness to intervene in another’s behaviour did not change significantly during the study, perhaps indicating that attitude change and changes in perceptions of peers did not translate into behavioural change.

- A third intervention, again among US university students, involved social norms materials alongside other components including empathy induction, a discussion of consent, and bystander intervention (Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011). Male first-year students in university residence halls participated in a 1.5-hour prevention program and a 1-hour booster session four months later, alongside a concurrent program for female students. Compared to a control group, the participants had lower self-reported rates of sexual aggression, were more likely to label particular scenarios as rape, and were more likely to perceive other men as likely to intervene in inappropriate dating situations. However, the program had no impact on participants’ acceptance of rape myths or stereotypical gender roles, perceptions that their friends would disapprove of aggressive behaviour, or their own reported likelihood of intervening in inappropriate dating situations (Gidycz et al., 2011).

Other interventions with significant evaluation research include *Soul City* (South Africa), *Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales* (*We Are Different, We Are Equal*) (Nicaragua), and *Program H* (Brazil, Mexico, and India) (Paluck et al., 2010).

Other social norms campaigns rely on media materials such as posters, seeking to close the gap between men’s perceptions of other men’s violence-related attitudes and behaviours and their actual character. For example, the US-based Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network

(RAINN) ran a social norms poster campaign on university campuses beginning in 2006 with posters proclaiming, ‘83% of college men respect their partner’s wishes about sexual activity’, and ‘74% of college men would intervene to prevent a sexual assault.’ (Its statistics were based on a review of data from eight universities.) A similar campaign at the University of Oklahoma, the Prevention, Advocacy, and Education (PAE) Project run over 2003 to 2004, drew for the media component of its work on statistics gathered from a survey at this university in particular. For example, one of the 11 posters and newspaper advertisements states, ‘I listen. When she says no, I stop’, and below this states, ‘The overwhelming majority of OU men STOP sexual activity the FIRST TIME their partner says ‘No’’. Another begins with the text, ‘The decision is mutual’, and then shows the same text below. A third poster features the text, ‘Trashing women?’ and below this, ‘The majority of OU men don’t like hearing women being put down’.

Another social norms campaign, not based on actual data regarding men’s attitudes and behaviours but also aimed at encouraging norms of sexual consent and respect, is *We Can Stop It*. This Scottish campaign targeting young men was launched in 2012 by Scotland Police. Its posters include text such as the following:

“I know when she’s asleep it’s a no. Do you?”;

“I’m the kind of guy who doesn’t have sex with a girl when she’s too drunk. Are you?”;

“I listen when a guy says no. Do you?”; and ‘I’m the kind of guy who doesn’t pressure his girlfriend to have sex. Are you?’.

This campaign addresses men as potential allies and advocates in preventing violence against women, in part by mobilising men’s investments in approval from other men.

There is increasing guidance available regarding the use of social norms approaches in violence prevention, for example in Paluck and Ball’s (2010) review. As with communications and media strategies in general, baseline studies are an essential element of programs. These may identify norms by asking for example what kinds of behaviours towards women are ‘typical’ and are ‘desirable’. It is vital to know the local context, in order ‘to tune a social norms message to the correct group, to the existing social norms within that group, and to the wider social environment in which that group exists’ (Paluck et al., 2010, pp. 39–40).

Which social norms should be targeted? As Paluck et al. (2010, p. 14) note,

Interventions to change social norms can choose to target perceptions of what is typical or desirable (descriptive or injunctive norms), and can aim to change the perceived location (the central tendency) of the norm or the perceived dispersion (uniformity) of the norm.

There is some consensus that it is best to target injunctive norms ('Men in this community see violence against women as unacceptable') rather than descriptive norms ('Most men in this community don't use violence against women'). Messages about injunctive norms are more difficult to disconfirm through observation than messages about descriptive norms. In addition, while injunctive norms can work to discourage undesirable behaviours, descriptive norms can 'set a standard that acts as a magnet' (Paluck et al., 2010, p. 14). That is, if one says for example that '7 out of 10 men do not beat their wives', this acknowledgement of men's use of violence can elevate the perception of an unhealthy norm.

Depending on the contexts they address, social norms campaigns may seek to mobilise a new norm or to weaken a negative norm. One way to weaken a negative norm's influence is to undermine its 'central tendency', e.g. by trying to persuade people that most people in the community privately believe that violence against women is unacceptable, or if this is too extreme and not credible, that some people believe it is unacceptable (Paluck et al., 2010, pp. 15–16). Norm change is easier when there is some degree of private disagreement with the norm, rather than trying to motivate behaviours that are discouraged by *both* social norms and private opinions (Paluck et al., 2010).

BYSTANDER INTERVENTION CAMPAIGNS

Among communication-based interventions, social norms campaigns overlap with bystander intervention campaigns. Some social norms campaigns focus on bystander-related attitudes and behaviours, e.g. encouraging the perception among men that other men are willing to intervene in violence against women or that other men do intervene in violence against women. (An example is the RAINN poster campaign above, with one poster stating, '74% of college men would intervene to prevent a sexual assault'.) However, other bystander-focused media campaigns are

less focused on changing perceptions of descriptive or injunctive social norms, and more focused, e.g. on fostering skills in or commitment to bystander intervention.

Bystander intervention has received increased emphasis in violence prevention in recent years, as I discussed in the previous chapter, and this is evident in both face-to-face education and communications campaigns. Some bystander intervention campaigns address themselves to both men and women or to communities in general. One of the most well-established examples in the USA is part of the ‘Bringing in the Bystander’ work developed by the Prevention Innovations Research Center at the University of New Hampshire. The ‘Know Your Power Bystander Social Marketing Campaign’ complements face-to-face education in the ‘Bringing in the Bystander In-Person Prevention Program’.⁵ Both focus on reducing sexual and relationship violence and stalking on college campuses, with the social marketing campaign highlighting the role that all community members have in ending sexual assault, relationship violence, and stalking and modelling active bystander behaviours that target audience members can use. The ‘Know Your Power’ campaign includes materials directed at men, e.g. showing young men confronting other young men who are speaking or acting in violence-supportive ways (Castelino et al., 2013). Another example is the Red Flag Campaign (USA), which seeks to prevent sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking on university campuses.⁶ The campaign encourages friends and other campus community members to ‘say something’ when they see warning signs (‘red flags’) for sexual assault, dating violence, or stalking in a friend’s relationship. Outside the USA, a further example is ‘Are You That Someone?’, a six-week social marketing campaign developed by the Ministry of Social Development in New Zealand in 2014.⁷ This shows a series of scenarios where sexual coercion is taking place and there are bystanders who potentially could intervene. Bystander intervention is increasingly ubiquitous in violence prevention, and campaigns such as Bell Bajao and Soul City have bystander elements (Fulu et al., 2014).

⁵See <http://cola.unh.edu/prevention-innovations-research-center/known-your-power/C2%AE-bystander-social-marketing-campaign>.

⁶See <http://www.theredflagcampaign.org/>.

⁷See <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/stop-sexual-violence/index.html>.

Other communication-based bystander intervention programs focus on men in particular. ‘Make Your Move’ is organised by the YWCA in Missoula, a city in Montana, USA. The campaign has three components: advertising (posters, newspaper advertisements, and movie theatre advertisements), community member participation through social media, and bar staff and patron education. The posters’ text combine challenge to rape myths and examples of bystander intervention strategies. Most of the posters feature men as bystanders, with these posters including text such as the following:

I could tell she was asking for it... to stop, so I stepped in and told my buddy that’s no way to treat a lady.

She was on her own so I made my move... and told the guys hassling her back off. They were really crossing the line.

A girl that wasted [drunk] is way easy to hook up with... so I made sure her friends got her out of there. She was in no shape to be going home with some guy.

Men Can Stop Rape followed their well-known ‘My strength is not for hurting’ campaign in the USA (2002–2011) with the campaign ‘Where do you stand?’. This was again aimed at men, but now focused on bystander intervention. The posters for this campaign feature messages such as those below, with each poster ending with the text, ‘I’m the kind of guy who takes a stand. Where do you stand?’

When Nicole couldn’t lose that drunk guy, I called her cell [mobile phone] to give her an out.

When Karl kept harassing girls on the street, I said: ‘Stop being a jerk.’

When Kate seemed too drunk to leave with Chris, I checked in with her.

When Jason wouldn’t leave Mary alone, I said: ‘She’s not into you anymore. Let it go.’

There are a small number of evaluations of bystander-focused communications campaigns. For example:

- A bystander-oriented, multimedia social marketing campaign was implemented on a US university campus. The Know Your Power campaign models active bystander behaviours in order to increase students’ awareness of their role, willingness to intervene, and actual intervention in the prevention of sexual and relationship violence and

stalking on campus (Potter & Stapleton, 2012). The campaign uses a number of methods, including campus bus side-wraps, products with campaign logo (e.g. water bottles, flashlights), computer screen pop-up images, table tents, bookmarks, and posters. It was rolled out across a university campus in 2009. An evaluation used a quasi-experimental pre- and post-test design, surveying students before and after the six-week campaign (without a control or comparison group or longer-term follow-up). This found that the campaign did increase students' bystander awareness, willingness to be involved, and actual involvement (e.g. participating in a program or project) (Potter & Stapleton, 2012). Improvements were greatest for those individuals who agreed more strongly that the people in the campaign images looked like them ('social self-identification'), and for those who reported more frequent exposure to the campaign (greater 'dosage'). Both men and women improved, although men started in a worse place than women (Potter & Stapleton, 2012).

- A follow-up study involved translation of the campaign from university campuses to a US army installation in Europe. Soldiers in military barracks (with a mean age of 26.4) were exposed to the campaign images, through posters and table tents, for a six-week period at a US military institution (Potter & Stapleton, 2012). The evaluation involved only a post-test design and a small sample of 150 soldiers. Compared to soldiers who had not seen the images, those soldiers who had seen the images showed differences in pre-contemplation (seeing themselves as having a role to play in preventing sexual assault), but not in contemplation (a willingness to get involved in reducing violence), action (actually taking action to prevent violence), bystander action, or bystander efficacy. Soldiers who identified more strongly with the people shown in the social marketing materials and saw the contexts depicted as familiar had a greater sense of personal responsibility for ending sexual assault, bystander efficacy, and reported pro-social bystander behaviour.

Both face-to-face education and communications campaigns address men as the *targets* of education. There is growing sophistication in the strategies and approaches used among male audiences. However, another stream of violence prevention activity involves men more directly as the *agents* of prevention, in which men themselves take collective action, and this is the focus of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 8

Mobilising Men

Men are the targets of a wide range of face-to-face and communication-based prevention efforts, but men themselves increasingly are also involved in violence prevention as advocates and activists. That is, men not only are the *objects* of prevention, but its *agents*.¹ Growing numbers of men, with women, are engaged in collective advocacy to end men's violence against women. Men's and women's campaigns, groups, networks, and movements represent an important strategy of violence prevention, community mobilisation. In Chapter 3 discussion of six levels of intervention, the fourth concerned 'engaging, strengthening, and mobilising communities'. The last of these is the focus of this chapter: strategies in which men themselves mobilise to prevent and reduce violence against women.

COMMUNITY-LEVEL STRATEGIES

Community mobilisation can be broadly defined as 'individuals taking action organised around specific community issues' (Kim-Ju, Mark, Cohen, Garcia-Santiago, & Nguyen, 2008). It involves bringing individuals and groups together through coalitions, networks, and movements to broaden prevention efforts (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010, p. 93). Community members become involved in a social process

¹This is a matter of emphasis rather than a hard-and-fast distinction, as the strategies discussed thus far also involve, to varying degrees, engaging men as agents of change.

whereby community needs are addressed through social action. While definitions of 'community' in the field vary, the term often is used to refer to people who share a concern, geographic area, or one or more population characteristics (Kim-Ju et al., 2008).

Community mobilisation strategies are one expression of a growing emphasis on community-based strategies in violence prevention, disease prevention, and health promotion. Community-based approaches that engage community members in tackling community issues were increasingly taken up in the 1990s in relation to public health. They embodied the 'new health promotion' philosophy, emphasising community participation, organisation, and empowerment. This focuses on the social determinants of health, highlighting the need for broad-based changes in the social and economic environment to improve health (Kim-Ju et al., 2008). With regard to violence prevention, community-level strategies seek to modify the characteristics of settings (such as schools, workplaces, or neighbourhoods) that increase the risk for violence victimisation and perpetration, for example by shifting community-level norms, risk factors, or policies (DeGue et al., 2012).

Community-level strategies for the prevention of men's violence against women are rare. They have been implemented less often than individual-level strategies and evaluated even less often (DeGue et al., 2012). There is an increasing consensus, nevertheless, that community-level strategies are a necessary component of violence prevention efforts. Community-level strategies have been described as a vital next step in prevention:

Existing approaches to SV [sexual violence] prevention, which focus mainly on the individual level, have often demonstrated small or short-lived effects. Although these strategies likely represent an important piece of the prevention puzzle, enacting individual behavior change within an environmental context that continues to support, facilitate, or encourage those behaviors is challenging, and traditional strategies aimed at changing individual attitudes and behavioral intentions may be insufficient when implemented in isolation. Indeed, researchers have argued that individual-level approaches, even when brought to scale and implemented widely may be unlikely to achieve desired impacts on overall rates of violence. Thus, a move toward the implementation of strategies that operate across the individual, relationship, community, and societal levels is needed, with the development and evaluation of community-level strategies representing a critical next step toward this end. (DeGue et al., 2012, p. 2)

Community mobilisation, in which community members are engaged and mobilised to address social problems such as men's violence against women, is one important form of community-based strategy. Its primary rationale is that, as with other community-level strategies, community mobilisation contributes more than smaller-scale strategies to the fundamental social changes needed to end violence against women (Michau, 2005). Community and societal strategies are essential to shift the cultures, social relations, and structural inequalities which underpin this violence. In other words, they address preventable risk factors at a scale beyond individuals and their relationships, and thus they generate greater impact.

Community-level strategies such as community mobilisation bring violence prevention efforts closer to the general ideal in prevention that initiatives be comprehensive, relevant, and engaging (see Chapter 3). Initiatives are more likely to be comprehensive if they rest on community participation and collaboration. If community members or their representatives are involved in the design and implementation of prevention initiatives, this is likely to lead to the development of more culturally relevant and thus engaging interventions (Kim-Ju et al., 2008). In addition, the active participation of community members and groups leads ideally to greater effectiveness and efficiency in addressing problems, in that it requires:

community building and social capital to foster positive connections among individuals, groups, neighbourhoods, and organizations, and [...] empowerment-based interventions to strengthen the norms and problem-solving resources of the community. (Kim-Ju et al., 2008, p. S7)

Activist coalitions and networks ideally are empowering for participants themselves, as members become involved in both personal and collective change. More widely, they increase the critical mass behind prevention efforts and their potential to make lasting social change. Engaging men (and women) in activism is a vital strategy of social change. As participants in a forum on 'politicising masculinities' (in Senegal in 2007) argued,

engaging men in rights-based activism and community mobilisation around issues of social and gender justice is an important strategy in efforts to move beyond the personal and catalyse broader social change.

Participants argued that social mobilisation and political action can reach large constituencies of people and enable an engagement with structural factors often neglected in work on gender and men, such as structural unemployment. Mobilisation can also be critical in terms of putting pressure on governments to take action to challenge gender inequities and injustices. (Esplen & Greig, 2008)

MEN MOBILISING

Collective mobilisations focused on men's violence against women have a long history, particularly in the women's movements and feminism. The violence against women movement emerged in particular as part of the second wave of feminism in the 1970s. Women's groups, networks, and campaigns have played a vital role in countries around the globe in raising community awareness of men's violence against women, establishing legal and community responses to its victims and perpetrators, and challenging the social norms and gender inequalities which sustain this violence. Activist men's groups focused on challenging men's violence and building gender equality also have emerged, albeit on a much smaller scale. Anti-sexist and anti-violence men's groups began amidst the second wave of feminism in countries such as the USA, Canada, UK, and Australia. In the US for example, profeminist men's groups first formed in the 1970s and intensified particularly in the 1990s (Macomber, 2012).

Grassroots men's anti-violence groups are active in countries across the world, including countries both rich and poor. In many instances such men's groups and networks are initiated by men themselves, but in others, women's or civil society groups and organisations have nurtured and trained male anti-violence advocates. In Kenya for example, the African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) organised a regional 'Men to Men Conference' in Nairobi in 2001. Men For Gender Equality Now (MEGEN) was established at this event, and later became an autonomous NGO (Edström et al., 2014). Internationally, prominent examples of men's collective mobilisations include Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW) in India, One Man Can in several countries in Africa, and the White Ribbon Campaign, which spans countries across the globe.

Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW): In India, Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW) is an alliance of men and organisations focused on men's roles in building gender

equality and ending gender-based violence. Men in the network engage with other men in their communities and organise cultural and advocacy campaigns, with network members active primarily in the state of Uttar Pradesh and the neighbouring state of Uttaranchal.² The organisation began in 2001, and it has become a prominent element in men's anti-violence organising in India. As Shahrokh, Edström, Kumar, and Singh (2015) describe,

The MASVAW campaign grew out of a dialogue between men and women engaged in addressing women's health rights in Uttar Pradesh, 'the conscience of a shared responsibility for dealing with and possibly eliminating [violence against women].. stirred into action a movement' [...] Founding members were associated with SAHAYOG, a non- profit organisation working on these issues. As such, from the outset, MASVAW held significant value to their allies in the women's movement that supported the development of the approach to engaging men in ending gender-based violence – both as direct contributors and as critical friends [...] MASVAW also holds that it is the responsibility of both men and women to ensure a society free of gendered violence. Gender is not used as a single dimension of analysis but as it intersects with class, gender, age, caste, education, and the distribution of power in relation to experiences of equality and rights. MASVAW's work emphasises the importance of men's self-reflection and how their actions produce and reproduce inequalities that are harmful to both men and women [...] and has spread to schools and universities, villages and urban communities. MASVAW groups are active in 40 districts of Uttar Pradesh and three districts in the neighbouring state of Uttaranchal. (Shahrokh et al., 2015, p. 7)

One Man Can: 'One Man Can' is a right-based gender equality and health program implemented by Sonke Gender Justice in South Africa. Sonke Gender Justice Network is a non-government organisation (NGO) that was established in 2006 in order to support men and boys to take action to promote gender equality and prevent both violence against women, and HIV and AIDS. In the context of very high levels of HIV and of violence against women in South Africa, 'One Man Can' (OMC) seeks to improve men's relationships with their partners, children, and families, reduce the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS, and reduce violence against women, men, and children van den Berg, 2013

²See <http://www.chsj.org/masvaw.html>.

#5774@111}. The campaign was developed by the feminist organisation Sonke Gender Justice in 2006, in collaboration with women's rights and other organisations. It has now been implemented in countries across Africa.

To achieve its goals of engaging men in preventing gender-based violence, reducing the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS, and achieving greater gender equality, the One Man Can campaign adopts comprehensive, multifaceted strategies, 'including training and technical assistance to government and civil society organisations, community education – especially through the development and dissemination of digital stories, community mobilisation, and advocacy for the implementation of existing gender and HIV and AIDS related policy and legislation' (Colvin, 2009, p. 7). These strategies are seen to be mutually reinforcing. OMC's community mobilisation includes training of individuals from selected civil society organisations, leading to the formation of community action teams in each municipality that carry out community education, mobilisation, and advocacy to reach and engage men for gender transformation. One Man Can complements these with communications strategies aimed at shifting social norms; advocacy to support or indeed pressure governments to implement existing or improved laws and policies related to violence, HIV, and related issues; and work with local governments to increase men's involvement in achieving gender equality (Colvin, 2009).

The OMC campaign's major goal is to support men to advocate for gender equality, including making change in their own lives and taking public action. The OMC workshop activities and materials are intended to assist in these overlapping processes, including an Action Kit (comprising a workshop manual and other materials such as music and videos, stickers, posters, and fact sheets) (Colvin, 2009).

White Ribbon Campaign: The most widespread contemporary form of collective mobilisation among men addressing violence against women is the White Ribbon Campaign. The campaign centres on men showing their opposition to men's violence against women by purchasing and wearing a white ribbon. The White Ribbon Campaign is the first large-scale *male* protest against violence in the world. It began in 1991 on the second anniversary of one man's massacre of 14 women in Montreal. Working with and inspired by women's groups, a handful of Canadian men began a White Ribbon campaign to urge men to speak

out against violence against women. They distributed 100,000 white ribbons to men across Canada, and promoted widespread community discussion about violence in personal relationships. The White Ribbon Campaign has now spread to the USA, Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Australia.

In Australia, the White Ribbon Campaign first was taken up by a pre-existing network of profeminist men's anti-violence groups. Anti-sexist men's groups had first emerged in the 1970s, with such names as Men Against Patriarchy (MAP), Men Opposing Patriarchy (MOP), and the Men's Anti Gender Injustice Group (MAGIC). These groups are similar to those identified in a North American study of successive cohorts of male allies and advocates (Messner, Greenberg, & Peretz, 2015) and, like these, emerged in the context of second-wave feminism and grassroots feminist activism. Such small, scattered grassroots men's groups did address some of their energies to violence against women, but in the early 1990s this became the focus of a new network of activist men's groups under the banner Men Against Sexual Assault (MASA). Men's involvement in collective efforts regarding violence against women in Australia thus intensified, with the formation of Men Against Sexual Assault groups in most capital cities over 1991–1993. MASA groups held rallies under such banners as 'Men Can Stop Rape', conducted educational programs in schools and among men in workplaces, and held three annual national gatherings.³ Men Against Sexual Assault groups around the country took up the White Ribbon Campaign in 1992 and 1993, selling ribbons and holding rallies and marches. At the height of this first wave of men's anti-violence activism in Australia, there were major White Ribbon events in various capital cities, small levels of state government funding in Brisbane, Canberra and elsewhere, and a level of national networking. In 1993 for example, Melbourne MASA's rally attracted 400–500 participants to a rally and march in the city centre. There were perhaps 40–60 men around the country involved in a substantial and regular way as organisers of MASA groups and activities. However, these men's anti-violence groups suffered the same fate as many volunteer-based, grassroots groups, losing members and

³ More detail on this early history can be found in the pages of the now-defunct profeminist men's magazine *XY: Men, Sex, Politics*.

momentum, such that MASA groups had all but ceased to exist by the mid-1990s.

The second wave of men's anti-violence activism in Australia really only began in earnest early this century. This time, at least in the beginning, it was organised by women and women's organisations. The Office of the Status of Women ran small White Ribbon events in 2000, 2001 and 2002. In 2003, the Australian branch of the United Nations Development Fund for Women, UNIFEM, took up the campaign. Women in UNIFEM, working in collaboration with men, began coordinating a national White Ribbon Campaign. They formed a National Leadership Group, coordinated the large-scale production of white ribbons and the development of a range of print, radio and TV materials, and later formed the White Ribbon Foundation to raise funds to sustain the Campaign. Activities focus on and around November 25th, a day declared by the United Nations General Assembly as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (IDEVAW).

The contemporary White Ribbon Campaign in Australia represents not only the most significant manifestation of men's involvement in preventing violence against women this country has seen, but perhaps the largest White Ribbon Campaign in the world. The Sydney-based White Ribbon Foundation coordinates national-level advocacy and social marketing, and supports and works with a wide range of organisations and workplaces running local White Ribbon events, typically on and around November 25th, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. The Australian campaign is the most prominent violence prevention effort in the country. Compared to its manifestation in the early 1990s, the contemporary White Ribbon Campaign in Australia involves far greater numbers of men (and women), has far greater reach in national media, embodies greater involvement by senior men who are leaders in their fields (whether business, policing, media, or elsewhere), and enjoys greater funding and institutional support. To give some numbers:

- The campaign has distributed over 200,000 ribbons in the each of the five years over 2010 to 2014.
- There has been a 230% increase in the number of WR community events since 2010.
- 2 million people are reached across social media channels per week.
- Over 157,000 people have taken the White Ribbon Oath.

- 70% of men can accurately identify what White Ribbon stands for, signalling a striking increase in ‘brand’ recognition.⁴
- Over 2000 men have signed up as White Ribbon Ambassadors (public advocates for the campaign).

These activities and involvements mean that the Australian White Ribbon Campaign has achieved very substantial institutional presence and support and generated significant media coverage and community awareness. The campaign has received significant sponsorship and support from private companies, businesses and state and national governments.

Two of the Australian campaign’s main activities focus on schools and workplaces. The Breaking the Silence Schools Program is a professional development program that works with school leadership (principals, teachers, and other staff) to embed models of respectful relationships in school culture and classroom activities. Participating schools are recognised as White Ribbon Schools, and since 2009, 350 schools have taken part (White Ribbon Australia, 2015). The Workplace Accreditation Program takes workplaces through a process of accrediting them as White Ribbon Workplaces, by certifying that they have active steps in place to prevent and respond to violence against women. The program began in 2011 with government funding, and by the end of 2014, 23 organisations had completed accreditation, with a further 67 in the 2015 intake. An evaluation of the program in 2014 found that the program was associated with an increase among employees in the belief that violence against women was common in Australia, increased awareness of what constitutes violence against women, an increase in the percentage of staff saying they would take preventative action if they witnessed sexist language and sexually explicit jokes, and an increase in awareness of the support available to victims and how to access it (Teicke & Sitek, 2014). In 2017, 145 workplaces became accredited in the White Ribbon

⁴While the language of ‘brands’ is more common in corporate marketing than in social movements, the White Ribbon Foundation in Australia uses this language, signalling its debt to the practices of corporate social marketing. The recognition of the White Ribbon ‘brand’ mentioned here does seem to show a significant increase in community awareness of the campaign. A 2009 survey in Australia found that less than one percent of men and women reported having seen media coverage about the White Ribbon Campaign recently (VicHealth 2009, p. 50)—in fact, only 22 of over 10,000 people (McGregor 2009, p. 160).

Workplace Accreditation Program, and a further 75 were undergoing accreditation.

While the Australian White Ribbon Campaign is one of the biggest instances, if not the biggest, of a men's anti-violence mobilisation in the world, there are also some caveats or at least complexities here. First, while the Australian campaign describes itself as 'male-led', in fact much of the work is done by women. Only one-third of the community events in 2014 were organised by men, many of the key staff of the national organisation (including the CEO) are female, and white ribbons sometimes were worn by women rather than men.⁵ Now, this is understandable given that so much of the work of preventing and reducing men's violence against women has been and is done by women, and women in general understand and support the issue much more readily than men. At the same time, this does mean that the Australian White Ribbon Campaign is unusual internationally in being less 'male-led' than many other White Ribbon efforts. Second, and overlapping with this, the Australian campaign is defined less than White Ribbon campaigns in other countries by a focus on *men's roles* in prevention. Some of the campaign's main activities are generic violence prevention activities rather than efforts focused on men's roles, such as its schools and workplaces programs. While these programs are likely to make valuable contributions to violence prevention, they also represent the dilution of international White Ribbon campaigns' focus on men. Third (and perhaps this is true of community mobilisations in general), the degree and nature of involvement among male participants varies. Among the 2000-plus White Ribbon Ambassadors for example, some have made the prevention of violence against women a significant part of their working week throughout the year, while others' involvement is confined largely to the days on and around November 25th, while still others' is largely tokenistic. Some men involved in violence prevention work have engaged in thorough efforts to build gender-equitable and respectful relations in their own lives, while others have practised less critical reflection and self-transformation.

A wide variety of other collective mobilisations either focusing on or involving men in ending violence against women are visible. In the USA, various men's anti-rape groups have sprung up particularly on university

⁵L. Davies, personal communication, May 2015.

campuses. In Egypt, men are involved in collective initiatives addressing women's right to public space and freedom from harassment. Imprint and HarassMap are youth-led initiatives which seek to change the social acceptance of sexual harassment and the public politics that allow for its continuation (Tadros, 2015). Men are involved in Imprint for example as founders, members, and volunteers, and volunteers receive training and education before participating in public advocacy to raise awareness of and challenge sexual harassment. HarassMap encourages and gathers reports of harassment and assault and documents where they occur (Tadros, 2015). In India, the Samajhdar Jodidar ('supportive partners') project in rural Maharashtra works with men to catalyse change in gender inequalities at personal and political levels. Addressing the problem that women in rural India face multiple barriers to political participation and control of resources, the project supports men to become agents of change both privately and publicly (Edström, Shahrokh, & Singh, 2015).

Another significant multi-country example is the Mobilising Men program, developed by the Institute for Development Studies since 2009. This moves beyond a focus on changing individual men's attitudes and behaviours and emphasises the need to change systemic and structural gender inequalities (Greig & Edström, 2012). In India, Kenya, and Uganda, activists in the program have for example lobbied local governments to enforce domestic violence laws, addressed the failure of authorities on college campuses to adopt adequate institutional processes for addressing the sexual harassment of female students and staff, worked to improve the coordination of services for victims and survivors of violence, and conducted human rights work with refugees, asylum seekers, and marginalised communities (Greig & Edström, 2012).

Regional and international networks focused on men's roles in building gender equality and non-violence have emerged in the last decade. In 2004, a global alliance of non-governmental agencies and United Nations agencies seeking to engage boys and men to achieve gender equality formed, called MenEngage. MenEngage members at the national level include more than 700 NGOs from Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, Asia, and Europe. Another significant regional network is Partners for Prevention (P4P), a UN regional joint program for gender-based violence prevention in the Asia-Pacific which began in 2008.

EVALUATIONS

While community mobilisation and other community-level strategies are seen as vital to make progress in preventing men's violence against women, only a few such interventions have been properly evaluated. Two recent reviews attest to the lack of empirical assessment of community-level violence prevention efforts. A systematic review of outcome evaluations of primary prevention strategies for sexual violence perpetration found that most programs evaluated have been directed at the individual level, some aim to change norms or behaviours at the peer group level, and only a few include community-level impacts (DeGue et al., 2012). A more recent review of interventions to prevent violence against women and girls found only four community-level interventions which have been subject to evaluation (with varying levels of methodological robustness), including the 'We Can' campaign in South Asia, 'Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales' ('We're different, we're equal' in Nicaragua), a program by Raising Voices in Uganda, and SASA!, discussed below (Fulu, Kerr-Wilson, & Lang, 2014, pp. 7–9). Even some of the largest and most well institutionalised community mobilisation efforts have not been thoroughly evaluated. For example, significant components of the Australian White Ribbon Campaign, including the Ambassadors' program and the communications strategy, have not been evaluated for impact. No community-level data is available on the impact of the campaign on violence-related attitudes or behaviours, although gathering this is particularly difficult.

There is evidence that interventions focused on community mobilisation can have positive impacts on violence perpetration or victimisation and on the risk factors for violence against women such as violence-condoning attitudes and beliefs. I highlight two examples here.

Oxfam's 'We Can' campaign ran across South Asia over 2004 to 2011, in such countries as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. It aimed to reduce the social acceptance of violence against women (VAW), by achieving four objectives: (1) a fundamental shift in social attitudes and beliefs that support VAW; (2) a collective and visible stand by different sections of the community against VAW; (3) a popular movement to end all VAW; and (4) a range of local, national and regional alliances to address VAW (Raab, 2011). The campaign was implemented by diverse alliances, with no one blueprint for alliance

processes and structures but coordination via a regional strategy and shared campaign materials. However, the campaign had three pillars. First, it worked to mobilise different sections of the community to take a collective stand against violence against women and, in particular, to inspire and train ‘Change makers’. These individuals then engage in both personal development (‘internal activism’) and involve others (‘external activism’) in efforts to build gender equality and end violence against women. Second, the campaign used communication materials to trigger reflection and to accompany the stages of personal change and public activism. Third, the campaign worked to build large, diverse alliances in each country to promote its work (Raab, 2011).

- The ‘We Can’ campaign has been subject to several evaluations, including in India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan (Fulu et al., 2014). A qualitative assessment across several countries suggested that the campaign is likely to have had a significant impact on attitudes towards violence against women and thus on perpetration and victimisation (Raab, 2011) although this evaluation was not designed to assess the campaign’s direct impact on violence-related attitudes or behaviours. In Bangladesh, a non-randomised control trial of the campaign suggested that where implemented with significant intensity, it can reduce intimate partner violence, although primarily among the Change Makers rather than the general community (Fulu et al., 2014, p. 9).

It is particularly challenging to evaluate violence-related outcomes of interventions at the community level: to gauge interventions’ impact not only on those who participate directly in the intervention but among the wider contexts and communities in which the intervention takes place (DeGue et al., 2012). However, one impressive instance of such evaluation recently was conducted in relation to the SASA! intervention.

SASA! is a community mobilisation intervention developed by Raising Voices in Uganda. It seeks to prevent both violence against women and HIV transmission by addressing a core driver of both, gender inequality. It seeks to change community attitudes, norms and behaviours that result in gender inequality, violence and increased HIV vulnerability for women. SASA! is designed to systematically work with a broad range of stakeholders within the community to promote a critical analysis and

discussion of power and power inequalities (Fulu et al., 2014). Michau and colleagues provide a useful account of the campaign's focus and character:

As a social-level adaptation of the Stages of Change theory, SASA! is organised into four phases, each exploring a different type of power (start [power within], awareness [power over], support [power with], and action [power to]). The approach focuses on analysis and transformation of the core driver of men's power over women and the community's silence about this power. SASA! avoids instructional messaging (e.g., stop violence against women) and so-called blame and shame language, and instead enables a process of consciousness-raising in men and women community members, leaders, and other stakeholders through encouragement of critical thought (e.g., questions such as "how are you using your power?"). In this way, SASA! continually challenges community members to think about their own experiences and come to their own analysis of the benefits or costs of how they use their power with their partners, families, clients, or community members. [...] SASA! activities focus on various aspects of power, and healthy relationships (e.g., communication skills, gender roles, intimacy, respect) instead of specific messages on violence against women and girls and HIV. In this way, community members engage in thought and dialogue about how they are using their power in their relationships, and recognise behaviours that are both helpful and harmful; and are encouraged to make positive change.

SASA! aims to build a critical mass of individuals and generate communal thought about power and how it manifests as personal and collective action. Through use of a local activism strategy, SASA! creates a cohort of women and men from within a community, who are trained by staff of an implementing organisation to lead community activities. These community activists engage their friends, neighbours, relatives, and peer groups in informal activities, including quick chats, door-to-door discussions, community conversations, posters, comics, and games as a part of their daily routine rather than through formal activities led by non-governmental organisations. In this way, non-government organisations are not the experts educating a community, but rather community members themselves are challenging each other about their own attitudes and behaviours, and deciding individually and collectively to change.

The SASA! approach also uses media and advocacy, training, and communication material strategies to engage at each layer of the ecological model, such as policy makers, journalists, health professionals, police, and religious and cultural community leaders. (Michau, Horn, Bank, Dutt, & Zimmerman, 2015, p. 7)

The SASA! campaign is one of the few violence prevention campaigns to be subjected to *community*-level evaluation. A recent evaluation, one which stands out for its methodological rigour, involved a pair-matched, cluster, randomised controlled trial (CRT) of SASA! in eight communities in Uganda. This is the first cluster-randomised controlled trial in sub-Saharan Africa to assess the community impact of an intimate partner violence and HIV prevention intervention (Abramsky et al., 2014).

The evaluation involved SASA!'s implementation in Kampala, Uganda, over 2007 to 2012. Its design included matched pairs of intervention communities, with the control communities wait-listed to receive the intervention. Over the course of the study, staff supported over 400 activists to implement SASA! in their communities and led more than 11,000 activities, meaning that SASA! activities were estimated to reach over 260,000 community members. Because of disruptions during the study period due, e.g. to election-related conflicts, intervention communities only received about 2.8 years of SASA! programming during the four-year study period.

- The SASA! campaign had a series of positive impacts. In the communities in which SASA! took place, there was lower social acceptance of intimate partner violence (IPV) among women and men, greater acceptance among women and men that a woman can refuse sex, lower past year experience of physical IPV among women, lower levels of past year experience of sexual IPV, more supportive community responses among women experiencing violence, and lower levels of past year sexual concurrency among men. The positive impact of this intervention included a significant decrease in men's violence against women, particularly in physical intimate partner violence. It is important to note that this was evident at the community level, and not limited to those with high levels of exposure to the intervention (Abramsky et al., 2014).

Two other men-focused campaigns which involve community mobilisation and have been evaluated, albeit with less sophisticated methodologies, are 'One Man Can' (South Africa) and MASVAW (India), described earlier in this chapter.

- A 2009 evaluation of the One Man Can (OMC) campaign in three provinces in South Africa was based on phone surveys with OMC Campaign participants and data from government and

NGO sources (Colvin 2009). Post-intervention, retrospective, self-reports from participants suggested a variety of positive impacts from participation in the campaign, such as increased reporting of gender-based violence. Earlier, pre- and post-test assessments of OMC workshops also suggest that the face-to-face educational components of the campaign had some positive impact, albeit given the methodological limits of these evaluations (Colvin, 2009).

- MASVAW's activities and significance are increasingly well documented (Edström et al., 2015; Shahrokh et al., 2015), but there has been only one direct evaluation of its impact (Save The Children Sweden and MASVAW, 2008). This involved analysis of MASVAW documentation, field visits to MASVAW campaign sites, and interviews with staff and others, and was limited to retrospective reports. Open-ended interviews with MASVAW activists and their partners, family members, and colleagues, conducted in 2005, found that these men reported improved understandings of violence, more consenting sex and more equitable divisions of household labour, greater ability to express emotion, and increased time involved in public activism regarding violence against women (Save The Children Sweden and MASVAW, 2008).

ORGANISING MEN

Community mobilisation is one form of a range of strategies for community-based prevention of violence against women. Various documents have identified principles for community-based prevention (Harvey, Garcia-Moreno, & Butchart, 2007), with Lori Michau's work (Michau, 2005) providing an influential account of the field. Michau emphasises that community-based approaches to prevention must be *holistic*, engaging the whole community:

Preventing domestic violence requires commitment from and engagement of the whole community. Ad hoc efforts that engage isolated groups or implement sporadic activities have limited impact. Efforts to prevent domestic violence need to be relevant and recognise the multifaceted and interconnected relationships of community members and institutions. This means it is important for organisations to acknowledge the complex history, culture, and relationships that shape the community and individuals' lives within it. (Michau, 2005, p. 3)

They must be based on community *ownership*, with projects engaging and being led by members of the community. Violence prevention should build local communities' ability to respond effectively to violence (Rosewater, 2003), by strengthening the capacity of individuals, groups, and organisations to be agents of change in their community (Michau, 2005). Michau (2005) notes also that community-based prevention requires a human rights framework as a vital foundation, repeated exposure to ideas via regular and mutually reinforcing messages from a variety of sources, and attention to processes of social change. I return to this last component further below. Further principles identified in the literature include:

the use of participatory methods for effectively engaging participants; fostering an enabling social environment to increase the likelihood that positive behaviour change will be sustained; employing and training facilitators with high quality skills; providing long term follow-up to support and sustain changes brought about by the program; and combining education with wider advocacy and community mobilisation activities. (Dyson, 2014, p. 21)

The US-based Futures Without Violence (formerly the Family Violence Prevention Fund) provides a useful overview of five key strategies for effective community engagement. These are;

1. Raise awareness of the problem of men's violence against women and establish social norms that make violence unacceptable.
2. Develop networks of leaders within the community.
3. Connect community members to services and informal supports when they need help.
4. Make services and institutions accountable to community needs.
5. Change the social and community conditions which lead to violence (Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2004).

In terms of community engagement and mobilisation, some of the first strategies for example are to find out about the community in question, develop community relationships (with groups, organisations, formal and informal leaders), and identify the community's needs (Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2004). The Family Violence Prevention Fund (2004) identifies a range of ways in which to change community norms

regarding violence. Promising community education strategies include community and media education campaigns, workshops and curricula in schools, 'community action teams' designed to involve communities in building strategies for community safety, awards programs for responsible media coverage and effective community leadership in violence prevention, and holding religious and political leaders accountable for providing clear messages that intimate partner violence is unacceptable (Davis, Parks, & Cohen, 2006). In terms of changing the social and community conditions which lead to violence, one key strategy is to link violence to other issues which influence community well-being, such as poverty, affordable housing, access to health care, and economic development. Further guidelines for implementing community-based violence prevention come from more general discussions of the effectiveness of community-based efforts (Stith et al., 2006).

Community mobilisation involves creating opportunities for individuals to mobilise their communities through events, networks, and campaigns. Perhaps the first task is to identify men who are already supportive of efforts to end violence against women and build gender equality. Identifying gender-equitable men and boys can be done in the course of formative research (Barker, 2000), through women involved in programming (CARE, 2014). A second key strategy is the use of community workshops and events. Key elements of effective practice here include working through pre-existing groups of men and community structures, using the preparation process as a tool for mobilising people, using the power of personal testimony, using the media for both recruitment and social marketing, documenting the event, and planning for follow-up among those who participated (Greig & Peacock, 2005). A third key strategy is to work with influential groups and 'gatekeepers', whether these comprise police and legal personnel, or faith healers and spiritual leaders, or others. A fourth strategy is to use cultural work such as art and drama. Murals, street theatre, and other cultural tools are valuable means of inspiring interest and involvement. A valuable element here is to use the process of creating the art or drama as a change experience in itself (Greig & Peacock, 2005).

However, community mobilisation among men involves 'not only educating men but also organising them for collective action' (Greig & Peacock, 2005, p. s.9). In other words, we must organise and foster grassroots men's groups and networks committed to advocacy for gender equality. Supporting men in 'getting organised' involves providing

technical assistance, addressing issues of resources and sustainability, and hosting regular community meetings. A well-established model for organising men (and women) to take action at the community level is the Community Action Team, in which groups of volunteers get together to do something in their community about an issue of concern to them (Greig & Peacock, 2005).

The formation of partnerships, networks, coalitions, and movements is integral to community mobilisation. Partnerships express the idea of communities as social networks and social ties. Partnerships may take several forms: strategic (involving the development of analyses or policies or issues and shaping the political will to tackle these) tactical (developing particular legislation, budgets, or other resources to deal with issues), and operational (based on ongoing action) (Kim-Ju et al., 2008).

A wide variety of coalitions and networks is possible in relation to engaging men in violence prevention. Efforts may engage boys and young men by partnering with student groups, student councils, or counselling services, or with local non-profit organisations already engaged with young men such as boys' and girls' clubs and boys' health organisations. They may align with local men's civic organisations or sports clubs. They may collaborate with organisations with shared agendas regarding policy change, such as those addressing fatherhood, sexual and reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, or forms of violence other than men's violence against women. The creation of new strategic or policy entities to engage men and boys in anti-violence work is useful, such as Coordinated Community Response teams, Advisory Councils, or Mobilising Men Taskforces (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010). On the one hand, coalition-building can start with obvious partners, such as service-based organisations which are likely to support anti-violence work—fatherhood campaigns, Boy Scouts chapters, support groups for men, university fraternities, groups working to end other forms of oppression (such as racism, poverty, or heterosexism), men's civic organisations, and associations of male faith leaders—as well as victim services organisations, law enforcement groups, and family organisations. On the other hand, partnerships also are possible with more novel and non-traditional networks and coalitions of men and boys, such as high-school sports teams, men's athletic organisations, Big Brothers and Big Sisters organisations, businesses, and corporations (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010).

Addressing pervasive problems of gender inequality requires institutional strength, networking, and collaboration. In order to scale up and increase the impact of community mobilisations, Greig and Peacock (2005) suggest that it is vital to build existing activist networks, strengthen civil society coalitions, and collaborate with government for example through innovative civil society-government partnerships. In order to enhance the quality, coverage, and sustainability of work with men, we must build its capacity, through training and competencies, program planning, organisational development, and management support (Greig & Peacock, 2005). Governments can play critical roles in supporting networking and alliance-building on the prevention of men's violence against women, for example by supporting networking among non-governmental organisations that work with men; supporting partnerships and alliance-building between women's and men's organisations, including nationally, regionally and globally; creating local, national, and cross-national resource centres which include materials on men and masculinity; and supporting learning and sharing of experiences among organisations engaging men, e.g. through internet and face-to-face dialogues (Expert Group, 2003).

A vital strategy for mobilising men is to build links between feminist and profeminist movements and other social movements, including building alliances with men in those other movements. In countries such as the USA and Australia, there has been relatively little visible effort to build such links. Efforts to build links between gender justice and other social justice movements may be more visible particularly in low- and middle-income countries. Projects such as the BRIDGE Gender and Social Movements program emphasise the value in linking struggles and movements, building collective solidarity, and expanding understandings of the intersections of gender justice and other forms of social justice (Horn, 2013). As an international NGO reports in its account of lessons learnt in engaging men, 'strong partnerships with civil society platforms and feminist movements' are 'critical to ensure accountability of our work, and leverage impact of advocacy efforts' (CARE, 2014, p. 7).

In some contexts, tensions among organisations and actors makes the establishment of alliances particularly hard. In Kenya for example, there is competition and disunity among relevant organisations and hostile perceptions of men's engagement (Edström et al., 2014). At the same time, increased emphases on men's engagement in preventing sexual and gender-based violence have taken place in the context of, and

contributed to, increased collaboration between various stakeholders involved in tackling this violence, increased involvement among men in gender justice work, and strengthened national policies and legislation (Edström et al., 2014).

Experience among activists and movements suggests that several other processes are important elements in movement-building: consciousness-raising and critical reflection, gender-equitable processes for decision-making and leadership, and fostering allies. Many of these are evident for example in the experience of Nijera Kori, a national social movement in Bangladesh which organises landless people to claim their rights through social mobilisation. The movement works with both women's groups and men's groups, highlighting the intersections between gender and class oppressions, and includes men acting as advocates for gender justice (Greig, Shahrokh, & Preetha, 2015). The movement uses strategies of group learning and reflection, both to address gender dynamics in interpersonal relationships and to catalyse collective action to challenge unfair norms and institutional practices. Activists are encouraged to 'Be the change we want to see in the world', and their participation in advocacy itself shifts their personal identities and relations (Greig et al., 2015). Participation in consciousness-raising also is used among the young men and women involved in grassroots, volunteer-based initiatives addressing sexual harassment in Egypt (Tadros, 2015) and the Samajhdar Jodidar ('supportive partners') project among men in rural Maharashtra, India (Edström et al., 2015).

Groups and organisations involved in movement-building for violence prevention should model gender justice in their internal processes. The social justice movement Nijera Kori in Bangladesh strives to do this through democratic decision-making structures and egalitarian divisions of labour. This has practical consequences, in building women's leadership in the movement and in strengthening women's and men's economic resilience (Greig et al., 2015). (Organisations also have a wider role in supporting particular programs or interventions, and I return to this in the following chapter.)

A further movement-building strategy is to foster allies: to recruit as supporters and advocates influential actors and elites who have broader social influence, such as religious and political leaders, although this requires careful selection, training, and support (CARE, 2014).

I argued in Chapter 5 that one of the crucial ways to engage men is to build communities of support. Supportive groups, networks, and

communities can help men engaged in personal and collective change by providing personal inspiration and nourishment, offering anti-sexist peer networks, mitigating the potential stigma associated with men's involvement in anti-violence and profeminist work, holding men accountable, and creating spaces for personal reflection and collective mobilisation. Another way of putting this is in terms of 'building the base'. One-on-one outreach and network building are valuable ways to provide support, build solidarity, and create sites of personal change. Given that men also may face backlash within their homes for challenging gender roles, it also is useful to use couples dialogues and household engagement (CARE, 2014).

MAKING POLICY

One of the key roles activist groups and networks can play is in influencing policy and legislation. There have been efforts to integrate gender work with men into laws, policies, and national plans regarding HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence, health, and parenting. For example, NGOs in South Africa worked to ensure that the country's national plan on HIV/AIDS included commitments to engaging men and boys to address gender inequalities, MenEngage has provided training and support to country teams to integrate violence against women and masculinities into their HIV/AIDS plans, and NGOs in Brazil have contributed to or advocated for policies on men's health and paternity leave (Peacock & Barker, 2012). In Brazil, the National Healthcare Policy for Men (PNAISH) was established in part through partnerships with civil society organisations, such as Instituto Papai, Instituto Promundo, Instituto Noos and the Rede de Homens pela Equidade de Gênero (Network of Men for Gender Equality) (Spindler, 2015). Brazil thus joined only two other countries, Australia and Ireland, with national men's health policies. The National Healthcare Policy for Men has been influential in promoting a gender-transformational approach to men's health within Brazilian public health, although there are challenges in ensuring that it is institutionalised and sustained at federal level and implemented effectively at local levels (Spindler, 2015).

Mobilising men to engage in grassroots advocacy for policy change is an important dimension of this work. In Bangladesh, Nijera Kori mobilises poor landless men, as well as women, as advocates for gender equality and social justice, for example by seeking to change the

shalish or informal justice mechanism which traditionally is male and elite-dominated (Greig et al., 2015). In the USA, the organisation Men Stopping Violence organises and educates groups of men and fosters their involvements in lobbying. Male volunteers monitor relevant state and federal legislation, meet with lawmakers, and testify at legislative hearings (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010). Another earlier example of an effort to build men's capacities to engage in political advocacy for violence prevention and reduction is the USA. Family Violence Prevention Fund's 'Founding Fathers' campaign, which included guides on men can become advocates for legislation, ways to engage lawmakers and community members, talking points, and sample letters for law makers and media (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010, pp. 170–172).

Two further strategies here are educating men to foster support for gender equality policies, and holding policy-makers to account.

Defensiveness and hostility are common reactions among men in response to new laws and policies promoting gender equality or addressing men's violence against women. International data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey or IMAGES (a quantitative household survey carried out with men and women in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico, and Rwanda in 2009–2010) found that men in all the countries, with the exception of India, are generally supportive of gender equality, with 87–90% saying that 'men do not lose out when women's rights are promoted'. Support for this drops when asked about specific policies, such as quotas for women in executive positions, university enrollment or government. Large proportions of men agree that the 'Law makes it too easy to charge men', with over 80% of men in Brazil, India, Mexico, and Rwanda agreeing with this sentiment (Barker et al., 2011, pp. 54–55).

In this context, some campaigns try to increase men's support for gender equality legislation, educating them about the positive value of such legislation and steering them away from perceptions of such measures as anti-male. For example, MASVAW in India worked with women's rights organisations to provide education on new domestic violence laws passed in 2005, including encouraging the understanding among men (and women) that these were advancing human rights rather than attacking men. The Men's Association for Gender Equality in Sierra Leone collaborated with civil society organisations to lobby for, and then popularise, new laws which addressed domestic violence, marriage and divorce, and the distribution of property. Finally, Sonke Gender Justice

in South Africa has worked with women's rights organisations to educate men on supporting survivors of sexual violence to make use of new legal provisions, as well as working to hold police and other institutions to account (Peacock & Barker, 2012). Organisations such as Sonke also have used high-profile political advocacy to directly confront men in public office who made sexist or violence-supportive statements or whose track record on these issues was poor (Peacock & Barker, 2012).

COMMUNITIES' STAGES OF CHANGE

A critical issue in community mobilisation is how communities change. An innovative and influential approach to this question has been pioneered by the Uganda-based NGO Raising Voices. Raising Voices has worked to develop more effective and systematic strategies for the prevention of violence against women, particularly through the development of an approach centred on comprehensive community mobilisation (Michau, 2007). Raising Voices drew on an influential account of stages of change among individuals, by Prochaska, DiClemente, and Norcross, (1992), and scaled it up to the community level, proposing that communities also go through a distinct process of change before any given value system is adopted (Michau, 2005). The following table shows this community-based model (Table 8.1).

Within each of the five phases, Raising Voices has used five strategies for organising and conducting activities: developing and using learning materials, strengthening the capacity of community members, engaging media and organising community events, advocacy, and fostering local activism (Michau, 2005).

CHALLENGES

Whether it involves community action teams, coalitions among community groups, or activist organisations and movements, community mobilisation involves significant challenges. At least four challenges are evident in community-level strategies of violence prevention, including community mobilisation. First, knowledge of community-level and societal-level risk factors for men's violence against women is limited relative to knowledge of individual- and relationship- or family level factors, making it harder to know what to target in one's program. Second, there is little theoretical or empirical guidance for the identification of promising

Table 8.1 Stages of individual change and phases of community mobilisation

<i>Stages of individual change</i>	<i>Phases of community mobilisation</i>
<i>Stage 1: Precontemplation:</i> an individual is unaware of the issue/problem and its consequences in her/his life	<i>Phase 1: Community assessment:</i> a time to gather information on attitudes and beliefs about violence against women (VAW) and to start building relationships with community members and professional sectors
<i>Stage 2: Contemplation:</i> an individual begins to wonder if the issue/problem relates to her/his life	<i>Phase 2: Raising awareness:</i> a time to increase awareness about VAW. Awareness can be raised on various aspects of VAW including why it happens, and its negative consequences for women, men, families, and the community
<i>Stage 3: Preparation for action:</i> an individual obtains more information and develops an intention to act	<i>Phase 3: Building networks:</i> a time for encouraging and supporting community members and various professional sectors to begin considering action and changes that uphold women's right to safety. Community members can come together to strengthen individual and group efforts to prevent VAW
<i>Stage 4: Action:</i> an individual begins to try new and different ways of thinking and behaving	<i>Phase 4: Integrating action:</i> a time to make actions against VAW part of everyday life in the community and within institutions' policies and practices
<i>Stage 5: Maintenance:</i> an individual recognises the benefits of the behaviour change and maintains this change	<i>Phase 5: Consolidating efforts:</i> a time to strengthen actions and activities for the prevention of VAW to ensure their sustainability, continued growth, and progress

Michau (2007, p. 103)

programs, strategies, or policies that impact on violent behaviour at the community level (DeGue et al., 2012). Third, there are significant challenges in evaluating violence-related outcomes at the community level. For example, the most obvious data sources at the community or city level involve police and crime data and health and hospital records. However, sexual violence and domestic violence are underreported and prosecuted at lower rates than other forms of violence and crime, so these forms of data may not capture changes in prevalence and incidence resulting from prevention efforts. Self-report data may be a necessary complement to administrative outcome data, although it is costly and challenging to collect at community levels (DeGue et al., 2012). In addition, prevention efforts may mean that apparent rates of domestic or sexual violence go *up* rather than down, as more women report their experiences to police and hospitals and as community awareness improves.

Community-level evaluations of violence prevention efforts are rare. For example, a recent systematic review of outcome evaluations of primary prevention strategies for sexual violence perpetration found that most programs evaluated have been directed at the individual level, some aim to change norms or behaviours at the peer group level, and only a few include community-level impacts (DeGue et al., 2012). Nevertheless, the recent community-level evaluation of the SASA! community mobilisation intervention, a cluster, randomised controlled trial (CRT) in Uganda, does show that such evaluations are feasible (Abramsky et al., 2014).

The fourth and final challenge is that community mobilisation simply is challenging in practical terms: it is ‘time-intensive, process-oriented, and complicated, in part, by the number of individuals and organisations involved’ (Kim-Ju et al., 2008, p. S11). Efforts to conduct research as part of community-level prevention have drawn on various ways of organising partnerships between communities, implementers, and researchers, including models of participatory action research, community empowerment, and community-based participatory research (Kim-Ju et al., 2008). For example, in some interventions community residents themselves have collected and analysed information, whether to inform action plans or evaluate impact. A common theme in such interventions is the importance of strong, effective partnerships between research and implementation partners (Abramsky et al., 2014; Kim-Ju et al., 2008).

Community mobilisation also faces the same difficulties as other community-based primary prevention work, including:

- a) Difficulty in sustaining longer-term funding. [...]
- b) Lack of knowledge and skill in operations research [...]
- c) Strong emphasis from donors on legal reform and advocacy [...]
- d) Lack of standard indicators that monitor strengths and weaknesses of approaches, as well as success and shortcomings of programs;
- e) Limited documentation of existing community-based violence prevention programs. (Michau, 2005, p. 9).

For example, donors often are interested in results which have quicker cycles and are more measurable than violence prevention efforts may produce, and donors often are less willing to fund community-based, bottom-up efforts than legal reforms or direct service provision. In turn, community organisations often do not have the skills or resources to assess shifts over time in the prevalence of violence (Michau, 2005).

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Changing Men's Organisations

Important streams of violence prevention address men in their roles *at work*. This includes efforts to educate providers and other professionals, including in the male-dominated professions of police, medicine, and the law, and less often, efforts to create organisational and institutional change, including in male-dominated professions. This chapter highlights interventions which focus on either male-dominated professions or masculine organisations and settings, from workplaces and sporting codes to faith-based organisations and the military. It highlights promising instances of this work, and the challenges of generating culture change in large-scale organisations.

Workplaces are key settings in which men's violence against women can be prevented and reduced. The workforce is the place where most men and women spend much of their daily lives. Most women who are victims of domestic and sexual violence are in paid work (McFerran, 2011), and so are most men who perpetrate this violence. In addition, women are subjected to violence in workplaces themselves, both in terms of sexual harassment by workmates and colleagues and physical or verbal harassment and stalking by intimate partners or ex-partners during work hours. Violence and abuse affects women's participation in paid work and imposes substantial costs on workplaces and businesses. On the one hand, workplace cultures may tolerate or contribute to men's violence against women. On the other, workplaces can play key roles in prevention.

Workplaces can contribute to men's violence against women both indirectly and directly. Indirectly, the gendered patterns of workplaces can feed into violence against women by increasing women's vulnerability to victimisation and men's likelihood of and opportunity for perpetration. Specifically, patterns of paid work may sustain women's economic dependence on men and men's economic privilege and power. Divisions of paid work often intersect with women's greater burden of parenting and domestic work. Also, to the extent that men's interpersonal power over women is exercised and reproduced at work, it increases men's sense of licence also to exercise power over women in the 'private' domains of relationships and families. That is, if men learn at work to expect entitlement over and deference from women, they may also expect this from women in other contexts.

More directly, workplaces and other organisations can contribute to men's violence against women by intensifying the sexist and violence-supportive social norms which inform men's use of violence. And to the extent that organisations fail to respond to victims or perpetrators of violence, they leave the problem to continue.

There is now substantial evidence that violence-supportive attitudes are encouraged and institutionalised in the peer relations and cultures of particular organisations and workplaces. Data on this comes largely from male-dominated university colleges, sporting clubs, workplaces, and military institutions (Flood & Pease, 2006). It is clear that some workplaces are more dangerous places for women than others, and that men in some workplaces or institutions are more likely than other men to perpetrate violence against women. For example, in professional sports, there is evidence that risks of sexual violence against women by male athletes are higher in contexts and cultures involving intense male bonding, high male status and strong differentiation of gender roles, high alcohol and drug consumption, ideologies and practices of aggression and toughness, and practices of group sex (Flood & Pease, 2006). In military institutions, violence against women is promoted by norms of gender inequality and other bonds that foster and justify abuse in particular peer cultures (Harrison, 2002; Rosen, Kaminski, Parmley, Knudson, & Fancher, 2003; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). A US study provides quantitative support for an association between patriarchal male bonding in peer cultures and violence against women. Using survey data among 713 married male soldiers at an Army post in Alaska, (Rosen et al., 2003) found an association between 'group disrespect' (the presence of

rude and aggressive behaviour, pornography consumption, sexualised discussion, and encouragement of group drinking) and the perpetration of intimate partner violence, at both individual and group levels.

A related factor in institutions which shapes men's violence against women is the character of men's informal social networks and peer relations. A series of studies document that a particular risk factor for men's perpetration of violence against women is their participation and investment in homosocial male peer groups. Men who are attached to and invested in male friends who support or perpetrate sexual violence against women are more likely to support or perpetrate violence against women themselves (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Reitzel-Jaffe & Wolfe, 2001; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Sellers, Cochran, & Branch, 2005).

Workplaces have been identified as key settings for the prevention of men's violence against women (VicHealth, 2007). They are increasingly prominent sites for domestic violence prevention and intervention. In the USA, UK, and elsewhere, some larger companies now have domestic violence programs in their workplaces. It is mandatory in some jurisdictions for large organisations to have policies providing special leave related to domestic violence, and violence prevention organisations and trade unions have developed training manuals and resources for workplace-based prevention (Murray & Powell, 2008; Victorian Community Council Against Violence, 2004). Corporate alliances and public sector networks in the US and elsewhere have developed workplace programs regarding intimate partner violence. While most strategies focus on responses to victimisation (such as security measures, victim resources, and education), many companies also engage in activities designed to raise awareness in general of intimate partner violence (Lindquist, Clinton-Sherrod, Hardison Walters, & Weimer, 2006). Similar initiatives have taken place among state governments, city councils, and local community services (Victorian Community Council Against Violence, 2004). In Australia, one significant workplace-based project has been implemented by White Ribbon Australia. This Workplace Accreditation project identifies a range of criteria for workplaces to meet in order to qualify as a White Ribbon Australia Accredited workplace. Across three steps, Recognition, Accreditation, and Awards, the program encourage workplaces to take measures to: raise awareness of the prevalence of violence against women; strengthen within the workplace culture the importance of gender equity and respectful relationships; and establish policies and

processes to support women affected by violence either in the workplace or in the home.

Chapter 3 outlined six levels of primary prevention, of which two are related in particular to workplaces and other organisations. The third level involves educating providers and other professionals, while the fifth level involves changing organisational practices. The latter involves more comprehensive change in organisations, whether in their formal policies and practices, formal and informal cultures, or intra- and inter-institutional relations. This chapter covers both, highlighting efforts which seek to change *men* in particular. Focusing on male-only or male-dominated professional settings, I first describe strategies centred on face-to-face education, before exploring efforts which come closer to whole-of-organisation change.

EDUCATING MEN AT WORK

Some professions are at the coalface of efforts to prevent and reduce men's violence against women, such as the police. Domestic violence is core business for police officers, and various interventions have sought to improve the ways in which police respond to domestic violence. Similarly, healthcare professionals are well placed to identify and respond to individuals suffering (or indeed perpetrating) violence.

Educating the members of such professions often involves educating *men*. In Australia for example, males comprise 65–70% of police officers. In other middle- and high-income countries, men's dominance of the ranks of police is higher, for example with males representing 94% of police in Italy, 93% in Japan, and 88% in the USA. Among doctors in Australia, males are 57% of GPs (General Practitioners) and 66% of specialists, although only 10% of nurses (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014).¹ While educational programs among police and other professions thus often involve largely male audiences, programs do not necessarily explicitly address the *gendered* character of their participants and their workplace cultures.

A small body of research offers evaluations of interventions with particular groups of providers or professionals. Training and capacity-building initiatives for police and security personnel have been widely

¹ See <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2014001/article/11914/tbl/tbl09-eng.htm>.

implemented, but only rarely evaluated. Still, there is some evidence that they can produce changes in the attitudes and behaviours of police and security personnel (Jewkes, 2014). For example, a US study assessed whether the implementation of written domestic violence policies and training for law enforcement officers increased domestic violence arrest rates. It found mixed results, but did note an increase in officers' arrest rates for felony (repeat offender) domestic violence (Scott, 2005).

One of the more intensive training programs for police regarding violence against women takes place in Pakistan. Rozan, an NGO based in Islamabad, began the Rabta Program in 1999 to develop the capacity of the police effectively to address violence against women. Rabta has gone through several phases, with progressively greater reach and institutionalisation into police training. The current training comprises a one-day orientation, a five-day training session, and a five-day refresher course some months later.

Rozan's Rabta Program was the subject of an independent evaluation in 2011 (Khalique et al., 2011). This did not draw on baseline data regarding impact, but involved a literature review, interviews with senior management in the police, and qualitative and quantitative data from among police trainees and regarding institutional systems and processes. Looking first at the instructors themselves, Rabta instructors at the police training schools and colleges appeared to have increased knowledge regarding violence against women. Comparing police trainers who had gone through Rabta's train-the-trainer program and those who had not (but without a pre- and post-intervention design), the former had stronger understandings of gender issues, a more critical analysis of existing systems, and reported positive changes in their own gender relations. Despite this increased knowledge and skill regarding women and gender issues, however, trainers 'find themselves helpless before the institutional arrangements and structural impediments in their department' (Khalique et al., 2011, p. 16). The training is under-valued and marginalised, overwhelmed by the patriarchal cultures of police stations, and Rozan's curricula and training program are not systematically or consistently incorporated into police. Looking second at the participants in the training, police recruits and in-service trainees who went through the training showed some progressive understandings of violence and gender, but also violence-supportive attitudes. Finally, examining the police's institutional responses to violence against women, while Rozan's work is recognised and appreciated among police, this engagement is driven

largely by Rozan and there is little long-term engagement with senior police officials.

Interventions which train health care professionals on intimate partner violence (IPV), so that they can screen women who have experienced IPV and respond appropriately, also are a common strategy. There is a substantial body of research assessing the impact of screening initiatives. Although few studies examine the impact of screening on IPV occurrence or health outcomes, screening clearly does increase the identification of women experiencing intimate partner violence. Whether this is then of value depends on whether an appropriate intervention then is adopted (Jewkes, 2014).

Another group that comes into contact with victims and perpetrators of violence is faith-based leaders: the leaders and staff of Christian, Muslim, Jewish, and other faith institutions and communities. A US initiative trained local clergy and lay leaders to respond appropriately to domestic violence within faith communities, to strengthen ties to local secular providers of domestic violence services, and to promote effective prevention, identification, intervention, and treatment of domestic violence in congregations. It found positive changes at six-month follow-up in clergy attitudes, beliefs about and knowledge of domestic violence, and knowledge about responses associated with victim safety (Jones, Fowler, Farmer, Anderson, & Richmond, 2006). An Australian project sought to involve leaders from a variety of religious faiths in an interfaith respectful relationships project (Holmes, 2012). Based in Melbourne, Victoria, the first phase of the project over 2008–2011 involved forums and workshops for faith leaders about domestic violence, the development of an interfaith declaration against violence, the production of a resource kit, and the promotion of White Ribbon Day activities among the faith communities. The second phase of the project, over 2011–2012, included a peer mentoring program, an expanded version of the resource kit, capacity-building for primary prevention with the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, and continued promotion of White Ribbon Day and other violence prevention activities. The evaluation report documented the significant challenges in conducting gender-based primary prevention work in faith settings given that most are strongly patriarchal (Holmes, 2012).

Sports coaching too has been mobilised as a means of violence prevention. In an early instance of this work, the Pan American Health

Organisation (PAHO) trained soccer coaches in south and central America to promote more gender-equitable masculinities among boys, in the program Soccer Schools: Playing for Health. In an evaluation of the program among boys and young men aged 11–17 in Brazil, pre- and post-intervention assessment (without a control group) found some change in measures of gender attitudes: positive change in 12 of 14 questions, but only two were statistically significant. In an evaluation among boys aged 8–12 in Argentina, pre- and post-testing (without a control group) found a similar pattern, of apparent positive change but statistically significant change for only four of 16 questions regarding gender attitudes among boys 8–10 and two of 16 questions among boys 11–12 (WHO, 2007).

In the USA, Coaching Boys Into Men is a dating violence prevention program targeting high-school male athletes. It trains coaches to talk to male athletes about stopping violence against girls and women. Athletic coaches are taught to integrate violence prevention messages into coaching activities through brief (15-minute), weekly, scripted discussions with athletes throughout the sports season (Miller et al., 2013). The program is the subject of four published evaluations:

- A 2012 evaluation, a cluster-randomised controlled trial (RCT) conducted three months after the initiation of Coaching Boys Into Men (CBIM), found that high-school athletes in the intervention showed positive gains relative to control athletes in their intentions to intervene in cases of peer perpetration of dating or sexual violence and their actual enactment of positive bystander behaviours, but no changes in dating violence perpetration (Miller et al., 2012).
- This cluster RCT continued over 2009–2011, among male athletes in grades 9–11 participating in athletics in 16 high schools. Positive impacts of CBIM included lower levels of the perpetration of dating violence than among control athletes, and lower levels of negative bystander behaviours (such as laughing or going along with peers' abusive behaviours). However, the program had no impact on intentions to intervene, gender-equitable attitudes, recognition of abusive behaviours, or positive bystander behaviours (Miller et al., 2013). In addition, the modest reduction reported in abuse perpetration largely reflected an increase in control athletes' reporting

of any past-three-month perpetration, not a decline in that among intervention athletes.²

- In Mumbai, India, CBIM was renamed and redesigned as ‘Parivartan’ (‘transformation’) for implementation among middle-school-aged cricket athletes in schools (Miller et al., 2014). Formative research in this context had suggested the need for much more intensive training of coaches because of attitudes accepting of gender discrimination and sexual harassment as socially legitimate. Coaches underwent a three-day introductory workshop, and then biweekly workshops on how to deliver the program, comprising 12 days of training in total, rather than the one-off, 60-minute training offered to coaches using CBIM in the USA. Evaluation involved intervention schools and wait list comparison schools, with follow-up at 12 months (only among half of participants, because of year-round sports seasons and fluid team composition). While the evaluation refers to ‘some promising changes’, the intervention’s impact was mixed. Young men who received the intervention showed increases in gender-equitable attitudes compared to athletes from comparison schools, but no differences in changes in attitudes disapproving of violence against females. They reported fewer negative intervention behaviours (i.e. laughing and going along with peers’ abusive behaviours, or doing nothing), but this was only marginally significant. The evaluation found no impacts on positive bystander intervention behaviours or on self-reported abuse or sexual abuse perpetration (Miller et al., 2014).

The applicability and feasibility of the Coaching Boys Into Men (CBIM) program has been assessed among coaches themselves:

- In Northern California, 176 coaches from various sports at 16 high schools received a 60-minute training and a coaches kit, and were surveyed at the beginning of the athletic season and then at its end about three months later (Jaime et al., 2015). Compared to coaches who did not receive the training, the participants showed significant increases in positive bystander intervention attitudes, greater confidence intervening with athletes, and a higher frequency of violence prevention discussions with athletes and other coaches.

²The proportions reporting any past-three-month perpetration among intervention athletes were 16.5% at baseline and 14.7% at 12-month follow-up, compared to 14.3% at baseline and 19.5% at 12-month follow-up among control athletes (Miller et al., 2013, p. 110).

Still in the sporting context, some efforts involve education directly for players. For example;

- A Sex and Ethics program, first developed for young men and women aged 16–25, was used among male trainee football players aged 16–18 from two rugby league teams in Australia (Carmody, Salter, & Presterudstuen, 2014).³ Current and former male footballers received four days of intensive training in order to deliver the program. The program comprised six sessions of two to three hours each, focused on giving participants the opportunity to practise and develop knowledge and skills in ethical and respectful relationships. An evaluation among 29 young men who participated in the program across four sites found improvements from pre-test to immediate post-test in their understandings, and qualitative interviews six months after the program documented that the men reported using skills (e.g. in communication, negotiating consent, and bystander intervention).

Military institutions have become important targets for efforts to prevent men's violence against women. Initial responses to violence against women within the ranks of the militaries for example of the USA and Australia focused on improving responses to victims and the reporting processes associated with these, but increasingly have been extended into more prevention-oriented strategies of education and training and system-oriented efforts to improve institutional accountability. Focusing here on face-to-face education, there are various examples within the US military, for example, of this work. The US Marine Corps have used the bystander intervention program Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) since 1996, and MVP also has been taken up in the US Air Force (USAF) and Navy (Ballard, 2009). The US Army and Air Force utilise Sex Signals, an interactive theatre performance which addresses dating, sex, and consent, and this has been part of US Army basic training since 2011. Another interactive program focused on sexual assault and domestic violence prevention, SCREAM (Sailors Challenging Reality and Myths), is used by the US Navy (Ballard, 2009). These face-to-face efforts are complemented by communications and social marketing

³The term 'football' in the Australian context often means either rugby league or Australian Rules football, and is less commonly used for soccer.

efforts in military contexts. A later section of this chapter returns to the military, in identifying what is required for whole-of-institution change.

Despite this breadth of activity, there are only a handful of published evaluations of face-to-face and social marketing interventions among male or largely male participants in military settings, and all are from the USA. The first two evaluations involve pre- and post-intervention assessments of face-to-face education programs, and the third and fourth evaluations involve post-intervention assessments of a social marketing campaign and an education and advocacy program.

- The US Navy Sexual Assault Intervention Training (SAIT) program for men was the subject of a randomised clinical trial among 1505 male Navy personnel (Rau et al., 2010). SAIT involves a lecture, two three-minute discussion opportunities, three audio dramatisations, and 25 minute of the film 'When a Kiss is Not Just a Kiss: Sex Without Consent'. Participants in the comparison condition viewed a film regarding HIV/AIDS, which did not address sexual assault. The evaluation compared the post-test scores of men who participated in the program with those in the comparison condition, and compared the post-test and pre-test scores of those men who completed a pre-test. Men who participated in the SAIT program had greater rape knowledge, were less accepting of rape myths, and had greater empathy with rape victims than men in the comparison condition. Among men who had completed a pre-test, men in both the treatment and comparison conditions showed improvements in the outcome measures over time. These were greater for the men in the SAIT program than for the men in the comparison condition, although this effect was moderate for rape knowledge and only small for the other outcomes. (Rau and colleagues also have published an evaluation of the program with female US Navy personnel [Rau et al., 2011].)
- The impact of a short rape prevention workshop was examined among noncommissioned male officers in the US Army stationed in Germany (Foubert & Masin, 2012). Participants received one hour of education, either The Men's Program or a typical US Army brief about sexual assault. The Men's Program uses a video of male-male rape to generate men's understanding of and empathy towards survivors' experiences, and goes on to address supporting rape survivors, sexual consent, and bystander intervention. Comparing

the pre- and post-intervention scores of participants in The Men's Program, they showed significant declines in their rape myth acceptance, their likelihood of raping, and their likelihood of committing sexual assault, and increased their perceived sense of efficacy and willingness to intervene to prevent rape. Comparing participants in The Men's Program and the other intervention, the latter did not change on any variables other than showing a small decline in rape myth acceptance.

- A bystander-oriented social marketing campaign, Know Your Power, was implemented on a US army installation in Europe, having been implemented and evaluated earlier on a US university campus. Soldiers in military barracks were exposed to the campaign images, through posters and table tents, for a six-week period (Potter & Stapleton, 2012). The evaluation involved only a post-test design. Compared to soldiers who had not seen the images, those soldiers who had seen the images had greater levels of precontemplation (seeing themselves as having a role to play in preventing sexual assault), but not in contemplation (a willingness to get involved in reducing violence), action (actually taking action to prevent violence), bystander action, or bystander efficacy (Potter & Stapleton, 2012).
- The US Navy's Sexual Assault Victim Intervention (SAVI) program provides training to increase sexual assault awareness and provides victims of sexual assault with professionally trained advocates who can provide information and emotional support and help guide victims through the various medical, legal, and investigative processes. In an assessment of SAVI, based on retrospective reports (rather than pre- and post-test data), most participants were satisfied with the training. Clients reported that the program did help them cope with sexual trauma, enhanced their health and safety, and improved their military readiness (Kelley, Schwerin, Farrar, & ME, 2005). The evaluation did not record participants' sex, or other variables such as rank, and could not assess SAVI's impact on future victimisation and perpetration.

There are two further assessments of sexual violence prevention training in US military contexts other than these evaluations of particular interventions. The first is a survey of the extent and character of sexual assault training across the US military (Holland, Rabelo, & Cortina, 2014),

and the second is a desk review of sexual assault prevention programs (SAPPs) within the USAF (Gedney, Wood, Lundahl, & Butters, 2015).

- Drawing on survey data from over 24,000 active duty personnel, Holland et al. (2014) examined the extent, character, and perceived effectiveness of sexual assault training in the US military. Most members of the Armed Services (93%) have received military training on topics related to sexual assault within the last year (298). For most (54%), this training was comprehensive, covering a broad range of topics, although for 30% it covered some important topics and missed others, and for 7% it had missed important content domains. Personnel who had received comprehensive training had significantly greater knowledge of sexual assault resources and protocols than personnel who reported that they had been exposed to only partial or minimal content. Exposure to comprehensive training was uneven, varying as a function of military branch, rank, gender, and sexual assault history. Air Force personnel had the greatest access to sexual assault training, Officers were less likely to receive sexual assault training (in the past year) than Enlisted personnel, and they were more likely to describe training content coverage as partial. Women, and survivors of sexual assault, were more likely to describe the coverage of content in sexual assault training as lacking, and less likely to judge training as effective in reducing or preventing sexual assault and explaining options for reporting (Holland et al., 2014). The authors conclude that ‘military sexual assault training is often lacking in content and efficacy – especially in the eyes of personnel for whom it is most relevant (e.g. those who are at greatest risk of sexual assault)’ (Holland et al., 2014, p. 290).
- Gedney et al. (2015) examined the four official sexual assault prevention programs (SAPPs) used within the USAF over the past decade, comparing their content and processes with best practice recommendations. They conducted a systematic review and content analysis of the four SAPPs, implemented in 2004, 2009, 2013, and 2014, assessing them against a framework for best practice regarding programs’ content, processes, and outcomes. Gedney et al.’s (2015) report that sexual assault programming within the USAF has improved with each subsequent iteration, although the USAF has not made systematic efforts to increase compliance with components found in best practices literature. The prevention programs

are strongest in terms of comprehensive content and sociocultural relevance, weakest on the use of professionally trained educators, developmentally appropriate delivery, and evaluation of program outcomes, and uneven on other components of effective practice such as adequate duration or the use of participatory training methods.

Another stream of primary prevention education which takes place in workplaces relates to sexual harassment. Sexual harassment training may not necessarily be framed by its practitioners or host organisations as 'violence prevention', but it does address a significant form of abusive behaviour within the continuum of violence experienced by women (and men).

While sexual harassment training programs are widespread in workplaces, there has been little assessment of the actual impact of training. The number of impact evaluations of sexual harassment education is small, but they do suggest that programs within organisations can increase men's (and women's) knowledge of sexual harassment, change men's perceptions of what constitutes sexually inappropriate behaviour in the workplace, and lessen men's tolerance for harassment (Beauvais, 1986; Blakely, Blakely, & Moorman, 1998; Bonate & Jessell, 1996; Moyer & Nath, 1998; Sabitha, 2008). To highlight a few examples from this literature;

- Undergraduate students at a US university participated in sexual harassment education via either educational literature or a video, while a control group undertook a neutral task (Bonate & Jessell, 1996). The group who read educational literature, but not the group who watched the video, showed improvements in their perceptions of sexual harassment. Prior to the intervention females showed greater sensitivity than males to the negative effects of sexual harassment, but after both the video and literature interventions there were no gender differences.
- Undergraduate students at a US university participated in an experimental study utilising a 20-minute training video widely used in workplace sexual harassment training (Perry, Kulik, & Schmidtke, 1998). The training affected individuals differently depending on their pre-existing propensity to harass (as assessed by self-reported willingness to engage in sexually harassing behaviours). Among

individuals with high propensities to harass, those who received the training improved in their knowledge of sexual harassment and reduced their levels of inappropriate sexual touching. However, the intervention was not effective in changing long-term attitudes and belief systems associated with the propensity to harass.

- Undergraduate men at a US university were randomly assigned to a training or no-training condition, involving a sexual harassment workshop comprising a presentation, interactive discussion, hand-outs, and a video vignette showing a male professor harassing a female student (Kearney, Rochlen, & King, 2004). Men who participated in the workshop were more likely to correctly identify behaviours as harassment than men who had not, but no more likely to be intolerant of harassment. The impact of the intervention was moderated by men's levels of 'gender role conflict', with the training less effective for men with greater adherence to traditional gender roles.

As the evaluations I have summarised also suggest, sexual harassment training and education can be ineffective or mixed in its impact. Indeed, some evaluations report that sexual harassment education had a negative impact. In one study, an analysis of a university-based workplace sexual harassment program among staff and faculty employees at a US university, after the program male participants were less likely to perceive coercive sexual harassment, less willing to report sexual harassment, and more likely to blame the victim (Bingham & Scherer, 2001). In another study, among white-collar professionals enrolled in a graduate management course at a US university, individuals who received training expressed lower intentions than control group members to confront perpetrators of sexual harassment (Goldberg, 2007).

While some efforts to educate men in workplace settings are oriented towards their professional roles, others simply try to reach men by going through their workplaces, although they may also seek to change workplace cultures and relations themselves. A primary prevention project which at least aspired to generate organisational change took place in Melbourne, Australia. This was called 'Stand Up: Domestic Violence is Everyone's Business', and run by the NGO Women's Health Victoria. This workplace program aimed to strengthen the organisational capacity of a male-dominated workplace to promote gender equality and non-violent norms (Durey, 2011). The program took place over 2007–2011

with the trucking company Linfox. It focused in particular on building the capacity of employees, particularly men, to challenge violence-supportive attitudes and behaviours. The project began with training for employees, focused on bystander intervention, and was extended with engagement with the company at other levels including the development of domestic violence policies. However, the project faced significant institutional barriers and its impact was uneven. The training itself was limited in duration, it largely involved shopfloor workers, and there were limits to the whole-of-company engagement in and support for the project.

Finally, violence prevention efforts related to workplaces may involve workers or staff in building gender-equitable relations *outside* their workplaces. One instance is given by the Workers Defence Project or Proyecto Defensa Laboral (WDP), a membership-based worker's rights organisation for Latinos/as based in Austin, Texas. The WDP provides 'Gender Equality Principles' for their primarily male membership to follow, which start with gender equality in the home and then the workplace. Another example, again from Texas in the USA, is the Center Against Family Violence's work with the Border Patrol, which seeks to address violence in members' intimate and family relations (Texas Council on Family Violence, 2010).

These efforts to educate men at work, whether through face-to-face training or communications campaigns, are likely to be more effective if they are one element of a comprehensive, whole-of-institution approach. Before addressing the issue of institution-wide change, however, I examine first, some of the challenges of changing men in organisations, and second, ways in which to get organisations on board with prevention.

CHALLENGES

There are significant obstacles to efforts to engage men in organisations in preventing and reducing violence against women and building gender equality. Perhaps the most general one is institutional complexity and inertia. By their nature, workplaces and organisations are large, complicated entities with established patterns of policy, practice, and culture. As a recent report notes, 'Organisations are complex social systems comprising group norms, organisational values, skills, informal structures of power, and shared meanings' (Women's Health Victoria, 2012, p. 21). Experience in workplace-based violence prevention suggests that

deliberate culture change in workplaces is complex, takes time, requires leadership, and ultimately, can be difficult to achieve (Durey, 2011).

Most organisations are characterised by systemic gender inequalities. Unjust gender relations are maintained by various processes, including 'individual men's sexist and gendered practices, masculine workplace cultures, men's monopolies over decision-making and leadership, and powerful constructions of masculinity and male identity' (Flood & Pease, 2005, p. 121). Changing such systems requires understanding their formal and informal structures and processes, on the one hand, and energising change at multiple levels, on the other, as I note in more detail below.

A further, general obstacle is institutional disinterest. Establishing that men's violence against women is a workplace issue can be very hard. Australian experience suggests that the most consistent barrier in getting workplaces involved in violence prevention is the difficulty in convincing many employers that this violence is a workplace issue and that business could benefit themselves and the wider community by establishing preventative programs or policies (Victorian Community Council Against Violence, 2004). I return to this in the section immediately below.

A fourth general obstacle, in this case in engaging men in particular, concerns men's responses to gender equality initiatives. As I noted in Chapter 5, men in general have poorer attitudes towards gender equality than women. Such attitudes play themselves out in organisations just as in other settings. There is evidence that men are not as receptive as women to organisational efforts to eliminate gender bias (Prime, Moss-Racusin, & Heather Foust-Cummings, 2009). Men are less supportive of diversity programs for minorities and more likely than women to respond with backlash (Kidder, Lankau, Chrobot-Mason, Mollica, & Friedman, 2004).

Violence prevention efforts may be particularly difficult, and particularly necessary, in organisations and professions characterised by highly sexist and masculine cultures. Studies in some police forces, for example, document the powerful sexist cultures which can inhibit progress towards gender equity (Eveline & Harwood, 2002; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Gender inequalities are sustained in such workplaces through a variety of processes, including interpersonal and collective practices with which men 'do' or 'accomplish' gender and dominance. For example, men may resist women's entry into historically male-dominated spaces using harsh treatment, sexist and demeaning talk, sexual harassment,

and informal processes of male-focused networking and exclusion. The 'hidden curricula' of occupational training may teach men and women alike that women are different from and inferior to men. When women are present, men may use this presence to construct masculinities and men's privilege by using this to define men as different from and superior to women or to confirm the job's masculine character (Prokos & Padavic, 2002).

The gender regimes of other institutional settings such as faith-based institutions also pose considerable challenges to violence prevention work, as an Australian project illustrates (Holmes, 2012). Most religious institutions are patriarchal, generating multiple obstacles to the construction of gender-equitable cultures and relations. For example, male leaders vastly outnumber female leaders, and leadership structures often lack the kinds of checks and balances common in other organisations. It is difficult to challenge patriarchal traditions in faith communities, because of theological and epistemological paradigms based on rigid rules and the privileging of scripture over other forms of knowledge (Holmes, 2012).

MAKING THE CASE TO ORGANISATIONS

If organisations are to adopt violence prevention measures, they must first be persuaded of the value of doing so. Whether this persuasion comes from inside the organisation, or outside from advocates and groups, organisations must see their stake in change.

Perhaps the most common way to invite commercial organisations and workplaces into violence prevention is via the 'business case', the argument that reducing and preventing men's violence against women is 'good for business'. There are a range of benefits for workplaces in preventing and reducing men's violence against women, including direct and indirect economic and other benefits:

Direct benefits include increased productivity and decreased costs in relation to leave and staff replacement [...] Indirect benefits include supporting staff and being identified as an employer of choice who shows social responsibility and provides community leadership. [...] By being aware of domestic violence issues and having prevention strategies in place, employers can also better ensure that they are meeting equal opportunity and anti-discrimination requirements, as well as their duty of care in ensuring a safe work environment. (Murray & Powell, 2008, p. 3)

The business case typically relies on four claims, where the first is the primary one. First, it emphasises the economic (and other) costs of doing nothing and the quantifiable benefits or savings of taking action. Reducing and preventing violence against women will help to achieve direct organisational goals such as making profits and retaining talent. This echoes wider emphasises by violence prevention advocates and organisations on the economic and community costs of violence against women, as I noted in Chapter 5. Second, the business case highlights the legal and other formal obligations of workplaces and organisations. Third, violence prevention strategies or programs may be described as aligned with the vision and values of the organisation. Fourth, taking prevention action generates less quantifiable benefits, such as an enhanced business reputation as a good community citizen (Women's Health Victoria, 2012). This can be done even with organisations whose purpose is not primarily commercial. To give the example of the military,

the American public has a great deal of confidence in the military as an institution. Yet, no issue threatens to erode this trust and confidence more than our failure to truly address the epidemic of sexual harassment and assault within our ranks. Warfighting is fundamentally a human endeavor, and our most precious resource is not a piece of equipment or a technological platform but individual soldiers – America's sons and daughters entrusted to our care. If we lose the trust and confidence of the public, we threaten to tear the social fabric of our institution and profession. (Urban, 2014, p. 32)

A business case, particularly a narrow one, may be limiting for violence prevention. If appeals to organisations to make change are couched only in economic terms, this may limit the breadth and depth of strategies adopted. Comprehensive institutional approaches are likely to demand greater resources and more significant shifts in workplace gender relations than a strict focus on profitability allows.

In addition, some versions of the 'business case' for workplace gender equality, for example, rest on problematic assumptions about gender. In a study among senior men who were workplace advocates of gender equality in Australia, some emphasised that women bring distinctive skills and ideas to the workplace. Highlighting women's difference can reproduce gender stereotypes which inform the double standards applied to women at work (Bongiorno, Favero, & Parker, 2017). Some emphasised

women's outstanding capabilities, and while this is a useful counter to stereotypes of women's incompetence and unsuitability, it can also mean that women are held to higher standards than men.

Nevertheless, effective invitations to organisations to participate in substantive violence prevention efforts will depend in part on appeals to their interests and concerns. In the Australian research mentioned above, the male advocates also drew on the 'business case' for gender equality (Bongiorno et al., 2017).

Persuasive appeals for an institution's involvement in violence prevention will rest on familiarity with the institution itself: its interests, formal and informal culture, and values and vision. Internal and external advocates must identify relevant appeals or 'hooks' related to these. These may include occupational health and safety, diversity, productivity, absenteeism, staff retention, fairness and ethical work practices, responsible corporate citizenship, ethical leadership, or a range of other appeals (Women's Health Victoria, 2012). In a curriculum I wrote for the Australian Defence Force (ADF) (Flood, 2014), I appealed to senior leaders by arguing first that violence and harassment within the military reduce its operational effectiveness. They take away from military personnel's capacity to do their job, by undermining trust, teamwork, loyalty, morale, and ability. They produce a weak and inefficient military. Second, incidents of violence and abuse give the military a bad name: they 'stain the honour' of the ADF. Third, violence and harassment are contrary to Defence values.⁴

Making the case to organisations also rests on minimising their concerns regarding harms to their public reputations. Experience in violence prevention work with companies and sporting codes shows that many worry about damage to their 'brand'. For example, directors of a trucking company in an Australian project were apprehensive about how involvement might impact on external perceptions of the company—whether outsiders would come to the incorrect conclusion that violence against women was a problem for them in particular (Women's Health Victoria, 2012). Similarly, senior leaders in both the National Rugby

⁴The Healthy Relationships and Sexual Ethics Curriculum then runs through the core values of each of the three branches of the Australian Defence Force—army, navy, and air force—highlighting how those values make violence or harassment unacceptable (Flood 2014).

League (NRL) and Australian Rules Football (AFL) in Australia have been concerned either about the identification of particular clubs or the code in general as having a ‘problem’ with violence against women. Easing such anxieties involves the careful use of language with which to frame violence prevention efforts.

In any case, persuading organisations and workplaces of the need to take action to address violence against women also will involve persuading *individuals*. And in many cases, this will involve convincing *men*, given men’s dominance of the upper echelons of companies, the military, universities, sporting codes, faith-based organisations, and other institutions. Among Australian companies for example, men are 96.5% of the Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) in the top 200 (ASX) publicly listed companies (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). As Chapter 5 explored in depth, there are various, powerful ways to invite men into personal and collective commitments to action.

PROMISING STRATEGIES FOR WHOLE-OF-INSTITUTION CHANGE

How can we move organisations and institutions towards gender equality? How can we ensure that institutional settings—whether they comprise workplaces, military units, sporting clubs, faith-based organisations, or universities—embody respectful and egalitarian cultures which discourage violence against women? Across these settings, there are consistent lessons about the prevention approaches which are most likely to generate substantial and systemic change.

Perhaps the first point to make is a discouraging one: most institutions which seek to address men’s violence against women do not adopt comprehensive approaches to prevention. Nor do most include substantial attention to primary prevention. Instead, many organisations’ efforts are piecemeal, partial, and reactive. Strategies such as a single session of education for a workplace’s employees or a university’s students may be attractive given their low cost and effort, but they are unlikely to have any significant impact. As a recent report notes in the university context, brief, one-session educational programs with college students are very common, but ‘none have demonstrated lasting effects on risk factors or behaviour’ (DeGue et al., 2014, p. 8). In addition, organisations often focus only on tertiary prevention, on improving their responses to the victims and survivors of violence, and less often, to the perpetrators.

Rarely are organisations also preventative, seeking to build safe and healthy communities and cultures.

Organisations' absent or deficient intervention with regard to violence against women has serious consequences. It is likely to exacerbate survivors' vulnerability and distress, lessen the likelihood that they will report or heal from their victimisation or that potential responders will manage situations appropriately, leave leaders without the knowledge to help professionally or legally, fail to challenge past and future offenders, and perpetuate an institutional culture that is tolerant of sexual assault (Holland et al., 2014).

Setting-based efforts to prevent and reduce men's violence against women must be *comprehensive*. This is one of the key criteria for effective prevention outlined in Chapter 3, and indeed, setting-based efforts are particularly well placed to live up to this standard. Further elements of an effective whole-of-institution approach flow on from this. These include leadership and ownership at the highest level of the organisation, dedicated resources, education and training throughout the organisation, strategies to change organisational culture, appropriate processes for both victims and perpetrators, and systems of assessment and accountability. I now explore these in greater detail, giving examples across such diverse institutional contexts as the military, universities, workplaces, and faith-based organisations.

Key elements of whole-of-institution prevention

- A comprehensive approach
- Senior leadership, ownership, and participation
- Dedicated resources
- Education and training
- Communication for culture change
- Victim assistance and support
- Reporting processes
- Assessment and accountability.

A Comprehensive Approach

Applied to organisations and institutional settings, a comprehensive approach to prevention requires systemic interventions at every level. In institutions such as the military and the tertiary education system in

Western countries, recent responses to domestic and sexual violence have focused on education and training. However, now this is starting to shift. In the USA for example, in 2005 the Department of Defence began organisation-wide reform regarding military sexual assault, with the creation of the Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office (SAPRO) (Holland et al., 2014, p. 291). The US Department of Defence (DoD) now acknowledges that its prevention efforts had been focused for several years on training and education, at the ‘individual’ and ‘relationships’ ends of the spectrum of levels of intervention, and that now it is shifting to a greater emphasis on the capabilities of the DoD, services, and leaders (Department of Defense, 2014b). Among universities, again in the USA, there are slight signs of a shift towards more comprehensive approaches, at least in the advice now being provided to campuses about how to prevent sexual violence (DeGue et al., 2014). On the other hand, among other institutions such as faith-based organisations and sporting codes, many still focus largely on responding to victims and survivors rather than enacting comprehensive change.

The strategies for sexual assault reduction and prevention adopted by the US Department of Defence show an increasingly comprehensive approach. The 2014–2016 DoD Sexual Assault Prevention Strategy identifies five lines of effort: prevention, investigation, accountability, advocacy/victim assistance, and assessment. Drawing explicitly on the Center for Disease Control’s social ecological model, it includes strategies across multiple levels of the military:

The key objectives of the strategy are to inform public policy and legislation (Society); institutionalize prevention practices and programs across the force (DoD/Service/Unit); set and enforce standards for appropriate conduct and integrating prevention into command practices (Leaders at all levels); mentor, develop skills, and educate Service members to promote healthy relationships and intervene against inappropriate or unacceptable behaviors (Relationships/Individuals). (Department of Defense, 2014b, p. 9)

In many other institutional contexts such as in the police, training interventions are limited because they are not taken to scale nor delivered in the context of systemic intervention within the police services (Jewkes, 2014). Existing evidence suggests that isolated, small-scale education and training is unlikely to prompt substantial progress towards prevention.

Senior Leadership, Ownership, and Participation

Senior leadership and ownership are essential for whole-of-institution prevention. Leadership involvement at all levels has been described by the US Department of Defence as the 'centre of gravity' for the prevention of sexual assault. Leaders are vital in setting a standard, assembling resources, providing mentorship, providing vision and guidance, and setting expectations regarding accountability (Department of Defense, 2014b). Endorsement from the top is vital in conveying the message to employees that violence against women will not be tolerated. It can inspire and guide a shared commitment to prevention interventions and set the tone for workplace culture (Women's Health Victoria, 2012).

Whether the institution is a corporation, a military unit, or a university, top-down commitment from senior leaders is a vital ingredient for change. Its absence stymies institutional engagement and leaves prevention efforts marginal, small in scale, and vulnerable. In the case of Pakistan police given above, for example, senior police have little engagement in the training and education work conducted by the external NGO. As a corollary, they have only erratic exposure to the training, the education and reform work within the police continues to rely on the efforts of the external organisation, and this work does not make a significant contribution to policy and structural reform among police (Khalique et al., 2011).

Senior leadership is necessary for the effective implementation of other components of a comprehensive institutional approach such as education and training. Jewkes' review (2014, p. 7) emphasises that training initiatives

must have strong ownership from senior police officials. [...] Training must be linked to institutional change to be sustainable, for example through embedding the issues in policies, procedures, and manuals, as well as a standard curriculum which is provided to new recruits and as part of in-service training.

Commitment from senior management can take other forms as well, such as company statements by CEOs or Directors; policies (whether standalone or included in existing human resources policies regarding workplace behaviour, harassment, or bullying); and involvement in activities, meetings and events (Women's Health Victoria, 2012).

In universities it may include high-level support and funding for campus-based advocacy groups and women's officers in student unions or associations.

While the value of leadership engagement is endorsed strongly by the US Department of Defence, its application in practice may be uneven or weaker. On the one hand, an assessment of sexual assault programs within the USAF over the past decade finds that there has been in more recent curricula a clear emphasis on commander support for the programs (Gedney et al., 2015). On the other, in the US Army for example, while addressing sexual assault and harassment has been identified by the Army's top-level leaders as a high priority, there are other signs that this is not a priority for the Army profession, given its near total absence from the Army's two flagship professional journals (Urban, 2014). There is criticism of commanders' lack of ownership of and involvement in violence prevention. For example, Urban (2014) suggests that Sexual Harassment/Assault Response and Prevention (SHARP) is too important to be left to sexual assault response coordinators and unit victim advocates, and instead must be a program owned and directed by commanders. High-level leadership is important in other contexts too, such as universities. Guides to campus-based violence prevention recommend structures such as safety taskforces involving key players and stakeholders (Berkowitz, 2007) or multidisciplinary taskforces which include high-level campus administration, academic leaders, student leaders, and community partnerships (American College Health Association, 2008).

Dedicated Resources

Making change in institutions requires resources, in the form of dedicated organisational support. In the military for example, the institutionalisation of sexual assault prevention depends on the allocation of labour power, budgets, tools and systems, policies, education and training, standard operating procedures, and continuous evaluation and improvement (Department of Defense, 2014b).

Education and Training

Efforts to improve the attitudes and behaviours of staff are a vital component of organisational change. Effective education and training in institutions or organisations must be: (a) from top to bottom,

career-long, and involving multiple points of exposure; (b) participatory and of sufficient duration; (c) tailored to the setting and participants; and (d) delivered by trainers familiar with the context. I discuss each of these in turn.

While it may be tempting for organisations to focus education efforts only among employees at the lowest levels, education from top to bottom is necessary for at least four reasons. It fosters senior support, it recognises all employees' or staff members' potential roles in preventing and reducing violence, it recognises that all staff may have experiences of victimisation or perpetration or be bystanders to others' violence, and it promotes setting-wide culture change. In a company, for instance, education and training should include professional development for management and HR personnel (Women's Health Victoria, 2012). In a university, it should include training for pastoral care teams, security personnel, student advisors and tutors in residential colleges, and students. Education for students should be built into 'student orientation, curriculum infusion, resource centre trainings, campus events, and public information materials' (Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 2005, p. 12).

A similar endorsement of career-long education and training is given in two assessments of violence prevention efforts in the US military. While is a definite strength of the military's prevention efforts that most newly enlisted Service members are educated on sexual assault, this training should continue throughout members' military careers (Holland et al., 2014). Sexual assault prevention programs should target both service members early in their careers *and* all levels and ranks of military personnel (Gedney et al., 2015). The military should ensure that members receive education at multiple instances throughout their time in the armed forces (National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence, 2013).

Organisations also may be tempted to 'tick the box' of violence prevention through lecture-based sessions to mass audiences. In the US military for example, it has been common to rely on lecture-based classes, comprising mandated videos and PowerPoint presentations in packed classrooms, typically comprising a single session (Gedney et al., 2015; Urban, 2014). In some instances up to 800 military personnel are instructed in a single sitting (Holland et al., 2014). Yet the evidence is that such an approach is unlikely to have any significant or sustained impact on attitudes or behaviours. As Farrell (2011) notes for military training in conflict, post-conflict and humanitarian settings, participatory

learning methods—open discussions, case study review, group activities, and other training tools—are far more effective means to communicate issues related to sexual and gender-based violence. Indeed, the US Department of Defence itself recommends the use of interactive formats and real-life scenarios, as well as multiple lessons or sessions (Department of Defense, 2014a).

It is encouraging to report, then, that sexual assault prevention programs (SAPPs) within the USAF began in 2009 to depart from the sole use of didactic training methods and to incorporate experiential methods (Gedney et al., 2015). Smaller class sizes and discussion-based seminars foster far greater and more active participation and candid discussion, allow the use of realistic and scenario-based training, and create space for military personnel's own suggestions regarding violence prevention practice (Urban, 2014). They also allow a variety of teaching methods and activities, including simulations, multimedia, and role play.

Education interventions must also have sufficient duration and intensity, what Chapter 6 described as 'dosage'. Again, existing educational efforts related to violence prevention in institutions often fall short of this ideal. Many interventions comprise only 'one-off' training delivered in a single session, whether sexual assault prevention programs in the USAF (Gedney et al., 2015), programs in police forces (Jewkes, 2014), or programs in colleges or universities (DeGue et al., 2014).

Education and training will be most effective if it is tailored to participants' characteristics and settings, as Chapter 3 noted. If military education on sexual assault and harassment, for example, is to avoid the risk of becoming white noise, it must move beyond a dependence upon prescribed, one-size-fits-all training (Urban, 2014). Programs should be tailored to characteristics of the participants, including their personality, cultural background, and gender, but also work-related characteristics including their rank and areas of work or job codes (Gedney et al., 2015). The US Department of Defense (2014a, p. 12) endorses this, calling for curricula which are 'responsive to the gender, culture, beliefs, and diverse needs of the targeted audiences'. It may be valuable therefore to have specific training for each gender, for officers and enlisted personnel, and for various ethnic and racial groups (Gedney et al., 2015). Curricula also should be adapted to the setting or environment—the formal and informal characteristics of the workplace, sporting code, or university—to enhance its credibility and relevance. This may mean that the content of educational programs is customised to the specific culture of each setting. This is one area where the USAF education programs are stronger, as

examples for small-group discussions and scenarios used throughout the programs include elements familiar to military personnel to include mention of military formations, recreation facilities, chow halls, chain of command references, officer and enlisted club settings, and other commonly used military jargon specific to the military population. (Gedney et al., 2015, p. 13)

If education in organisations is to be relevant, then this has implications for who does the educating. Trainers or educators should be insiders to the organisation or institution, or at least have knowledge or experience of it. Understanding of the organisational culture enhances their ability to engage critically with it and gives them greater credibility with the audience. Writing on military training to combat sexual and gender-based violence, Farrell (2011) recommends that trainers should be fellow service members and/or have things in common with the training audience. Likewise, Jewkes (2014) writes that violence prevention education in police forces should be conducted in part by police personnel. However, ideally such training is delivered in tandem with community-based educators from feminist, social welfare, and other relevant organisations (Jewkes, 2014).

Communication for Culture Change

Strategies to change the internal cultures of institutions are a necessary element in a comprehensive prevention strategy. Communications and media campaigns within organisations and workplaces can help to build internal cultures intolerant of violence, abuse, and sexism. We should appeal to institutions' existing interests, values, and culture in making the case for involvement in violence prevention, as I noted above. However, where necessary, we must also reconstruct them. Building equitable and respectful norms and values in institutions and workplaces can involve reframing existing frameworks of values or introducing new ones.

In a workplace context, as a complement to workplace training programs or new policies, organisations may publicise issues of violence against women through internal news media, host events and activities associated with wider violence prevention days and campaigns, circulate memos from the CEO or senior leaders, produce company-branded posters and pamphlets, and so on (Women's Health Victoria, 2012). In a military context, the US Department of Defense (2014a) endorses the dissemination of messages promoting appropriate values, attitudes,

and behaviours, visibly supported by commanders and command teams (Department of Defense, 2014a). In universities, additional in-house communications strategies include information in student orientation packs, public service announcements (PSAs) on campus radio and television, communications with parents including toolkits and other materials, support for campus-based advocacy groups and networks, and events such as violence prevention weeks and ‘road shows’ (American College Health Association, 2008; Karjane et al., 2005). Note, however, that these more passive forms of education are a complement to, and not a substitute for, participatory forms of education such as face-to-face programs. Both are complemented too by other efforts which mobilise staff, students, or other personnel in strategies of collective mobilisation and advocacy.

Public statements by senior leaders, anecdotally at least, can be powerful and influential endorsements of violence prevention messages. A striking example of this comes from Australia. The then Chief of Army, Lieutenant General David Morrison, made a formidable speech in June 2013 intended for all members of the Army, firmly stating that violence against women had no place in the service and those who think otherwise should get out.⁵ His speech was widely circulated on social media and received widespread attention in Australia. Still, it is not clear what traction it generated among military personnel, and particularly among those in the branches of the Australian Defence Force other than the Army.

Processes of Support, Accountability, and Assessment

There are two other components which must be in place for a comprehensive approach to violence prevention in institutions: appropriate processes for both victims and perpetrators, and systems of assessment and accountability. The first of these is often where organisations focus or begin their efforts, but it is only one aspect of prevention and reduction. Any institution addressing men’s violence against women (or other forms of interpersonal violence) must have processes for supporting and protecting victims and for holding perpetrators accountable for

⁵A video of the speech is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QaqpoeVgr8U>.

their violence. They must have processes for victims, perpetrators, and bystanders to report violence, including processes which allow anonymous reporting, connect complainants and others to relevant information and services, prevent punishment for whistle-blowing, and allow the collection of data. Intra-institutional accountability means that all members of the institution are held accountable for their behaviour, and senior staff hold subordinate staff accountable for supporting and maintaining a climate that promotes respect, tolerance, and diversity (Department of Defense, 2014a).

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PART III

Challenges



Dealing with Resistance

When there are efforts to engage men in preventing violence against women, one of the most frequent responses among men is hostility and defensiveness. As various studies show, men may be disinterested or even angry when invited to be involved in sexual assault prevention programs on campus (Rich, Utley, Janke, & Moldoveanu, 2010), they may resent portrayals in communications campaigns of men as perpetrators and women as victims (Keller & Honea, 2016), and they may perceive rape prevention workshops as ‘male bashing’ (Scheel, Johnson, Schneider, & Smith, 2001). This echoes wider resistance among men, and women, to feminist educational messages that sexism and gender inequalities are persistent and pervasive (Kleinman, Copp, & Sandstrom, 2006).

While some men act in support of gender equality in their personal or public lives, other men actively resist gender equality. Men may maintain masculinised workplace cultures and undermine measures for gender equality, boys may be hostile to girls or boys who question gender norms, and some men’s groups take up explicitly anti-feminist agendas (Connell, 2003). Resistance represents the defence of privilege, but also can express men’s fears and discomfort regarding change and uncertainty (Greig & Peacock, 2005). We must be prepared to respond to men’s reactions of defensiveness and hostility when they do occur, and more generally to forms of resistance—delaying tactics, lip-service, tokenism, and so on (Ruxton, 2004).

Men's relationships to violence prevention work can be conceived as on a continuum, from overt hostility or resistance at one end to active support at the other. The diagram below by Funk (2006) provides a useful illustration of this continuum (Fig. 10.1). In terms of hostility, men may offer hostile challenges to facilitators in education programs, sit in silent withdrawal in educational workshops, or voice or write public criticisms of violence prevention campaigns.

Of course, men's relationships to the *practice* of violence against women also differ. Men's risks of perpetrating violence differ. Some men have higher potentials for, and greater involvement in, violence against women than other men, and this impacts on the effectiveness of violence prevention strategies.

One of the most powerful predictors of men's likelihood of perpetrating violence against women is a history of having done so. In other words, past perpetration predicts future perpetration. Men who have histories of sexual violence also have attitudes and behavioural tendencies which are congruent with this (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2015). Such men, as well as other men who condone but do not perpetrate violence, are *harder* to educate. They are likely to be less receptive to, and more resistant to, anti-rape content. It is harder to change their attitudinal acceptance of violence against women and their sexually coercive behavioural intentions. Men who are already perpetrating sexual violence against women are likely to have 'a vested interest in affirming and potentially defending attitudes that legitimise and condone sexually aggressive inclinations' (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2015, p. 4).

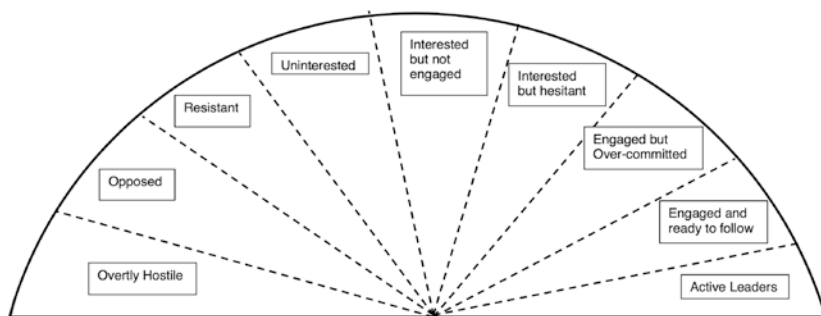


Fig. 10.1 A continuum of men's engagement

Men's risk status moderates the effectiveness of prevention programs. There is evidence that rape prevention efforts among men are less effective among those men at higher risk of perpetrating sexual coercion. Two studies, both from the USA and among university men, compare the impact of an intervention among men with differing levels of risk for violence perpetration. Men were judged as 'high risk' if they reported previous use of sexually coercive behaviour. In one study, while the men as a whole showed a modest decline in rape myth acceptance, the high-risk men among them in fact had no such decline (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2015). Even worse, in another study, while the intervention's impact overall was positive this was driven by shifts among low-risk men, and in fact there was an increase in sexually coercive behaviour among high-risk men (Stephens & George, 2009). As the authors of the first study hypothesise,

it may be that high-risk men are likely to have developed stubborn attitudes and habits commensurate with experiencing women as legitimate targets of sexual violence and may be less swayed by anti-rape content than their noncoercive counterparts. (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2015, p. 19)

Why might high-risk men have *higher* rates of sexually coercive behaviour after participating in a violence prevention intervention? Participants may have been 'cued' to the possibility that they behave in sexually coercive ways and thus report higher rates, they may offer more accurate reporting because of education, or they may show a greater willingness to report. These are positive effects. On the other hand, interventions may have iatrogenic effects, producing resistance and backlash among the men who participate (Stephens & George, 2009).

Not all violence prevention evaluations find that higher-risk men improve less than lower-risk men. In a third study, the intervention had a greater absolute impact among high-risk than low-risk men. A sexual harassment training video among university males had a greater impact on the acquisition of knowledge, and on levels of inappropriate touching behaviour, among men who had a high propensity to harass. For example, high-risk individuals who did not receive awareness training knew less about sexual harassment than low-risk individuals, but after training they had similar levels of knowledge (Perry, Kulik, & Schmidtke, 1998).

Men's risks of perpetrating violence against women influence the effectiveness of efforts to engage them in prevention. But in discussing 'high-risk' and 'low-risk' men, we should remember that men's risks exist on a continuum, rather than assuming a simplistic binary of the men who do and the men who don't.

Chapter 5 outlined a series of barriers to men's support for and involvement in efforts to end men's violence against women, including a vested interest in the status quo, support for sexist and violence-supportive norms, loyalties to other men, and negative understandings of feminist and violence prevention efforts. Given these various forms of resistance, when men *do* encounter programs or initiatives aimed at reducing men's violence or building gender equality they may in fact *intensify* their resistance. Men's resistance may be more likely when two conditions are met: when the women in their lives undergo significant economic or political empowerment *and* when their own economic or political positions or resources are insecure. For example, there is a small body of evidence to suggest that men may react to interventions which empower women by increasing their efforts to control individual women and their political opposition to women's rights, but that employed or more securely employed men are less likely to react in this way, as two studies from Bangladesh demonstrate (Paluck, Ball, Poynton, & Sieloff, 2010).

How, then, can we minimise men's resistance to violence prevention programs and interventions?

MINIMISING RESISTANCE

Chapter 5 outlined the general approach and strategies that are effective in reaching, engaging, and changing men. In Chapters 6 and 7, I described the strategies that are effective in face-to-face education, on the one hand, and media and communications campaigns on the other. I noted for example that it is vital to engage men in processes of critical reflection and to provide men with safe and supportive spaces for this. Consciousness-raising or conscientisation is an important means of both personal change and collective mobilisation.

Here, I extend this account by identifying strategies that are useful for responding to and minimising resistance in particular. Many of the strategies described earlier will go far in mitigating and minimising

resistance, but here I explore additional, necessary efforts. I begin with strategies aimed at inspiring individual men's support for gender equality and non-violence and undermining their resistance to violence prevention efforts, and I then address collective and organised forms of resistance.

Understand What Kind of Resistance Is Involved

The first step is to assess what kind of resistance is under way. Resistance among men to violence prevention efforts takes a variety of forms and has a variety of causes. Men's resistance has roots which are:

- *Attitudinal*, reflecting men's attitudes and beliefs. For example, they believe violence against women to be the problem of only a tiny minority of pathological men;
- *Emotional*, reflecting men's identities or subjectivities and emotional investments in gender. For example, they feel angry or uncomfortable with the notion that they are somehow implicated in women's subordination;
- *Practical*, reflecting men's habituated practices and relations in the world. For example, they participate in taken-for-granted practices of power and domination in their relationships and families.

Men's resistance may stem from ignorance and discomfort as men face unfamiliar accounts of social life which implicate them in violence and injustice or direct challenges to their practices of violence and sexism. Resistance also may stem from conscious ideological commitments to anti-feminism and more direct involvements in perpetrating sexism and violence.

Men's resistance may differ in the degree to which it is overtly political: while some men may cross their arms or cease to listen in a workshop, others may voice explicit and anti-feminist critiques of the claims being made. Men's resistance also differs in whether it is enacted individually or collectively. While much resistance is individual, a different, although overlapping, kind of resistance takes the form of collective resistance to feminist efforts, by men and men's groups with consciously political anti-feminist agendas.

A series of defensive reactions are typical when individuals with social privilege (e.g. as male, white, or heterosexual) are asked to reflect on their privileged positions and identities. Based on qualitative data on resistance among participants in training, Watt (2007) identifies a series of defence modes. In coming to recognise privileged identity, individuals may show *denial* (that an injustice does not exist), *deflection* (deflecting the focus towards a less threatening target such as a parent or the school system), and *rationalisation* (explaining away the injustice). In contemplating privileged identity, individuals may display *intellectualisation*, *principium* (avoiding exploration of privilege on the basis of a religious or personal principle), and *false envy* (expressing apparent affection for a person or a feature of a person in a way that denies the social and political context, such as surface-level admiration for black people or women). Finally, in addressing privileged identity, individuals may show *benevolence* (focusing on one's acts of goodwill, ignoring how these may in fact contribute to the maintenance of inequalities), and *minimisation* (seeking to reduce the magnitude of a social or political problem) (Watt, 2007).

Use Innovative Ways to Foster Men's Support for Gender Equality and Non-violence

A variety of innovative and engaging teaching strategies can be used to undermine men's attitudinal or ideological resistance and to foster their support for and commitment to gender equality and non-violence. I focus here on strategies which work primarily at the attitudinal or ideological level, whether to lessen men's ideological hostility to gender justice and violence prevention advocacy or to inspire their support, while I examine how to address the emotional bases of men's resistance further below. These strategies are relevant particularly in face-to-face education with men, but also relevant in more indirect appeals to men in communication campaigns, policy advocacy, and other efforts. While there is not a body of evidence from experimental studies with which to demonstrate the effectiveness of these teaching strategies, they may be useful elements in work with men.

I begin with rhetorical or discursive strategies which are focused on *content*, on aspects of knowledge or understanding of gender and violence. I then move to strategies more focused on *process*, that is, that engage men and boys in particular processes of learning.

How to inspire men's support for gender equality

Content:

- Make it real
- Draw on culturally appropriate materials
- Personalise women's disadvantage
- Make analogies to other forms of inequality
- Substitute race for gender
- Appeal to universal values
- Expose false parallels
- Address men's own experiences of gender.

Processes:

- Acknowledge one's privilege
- Document inequalities
- Imagine walking in women's shoes
- Listen to women
- Make the familiar strange
- Bring men into intimate dialogues.

Make it real: Personal stories, anecdotes, and local examples can be effective in making gender inequalities both real and relevant. While statistics and descriptions of patterns of gender inequality and violence are important, stories are memorable and powerful ways to make them come to life.

Draw on culturally appropriate materials: Another way to make critiques of gender inequality real and relevant is to draw on culturally appropriate texts and stories, such as religious texts (Keating, 2004), local myths and fables, and so on.

Personalise women's disadvantage: There are various strategies to personalise women's suffering and disadvantage and thus to encourage men's understanding and empathy. A common element of violence prevention programs is for men to listen to women's own stories of violence and abuse and their impact, whether through speakers' panels of survivors,

textual accounts, or films. Another is to draw on men's relationships with the women in their lives (mothers, sisters, aunts, daughters, and so on). For example, 'How would you feel if that [violence] happened to your wife or sister?' (Greig & Peacock, 2005). In doing so, we should be mindful of the danger that this will encourage simply a feeling of paternalistic protection, or that men's engagement with gender issues will be confined to specific relationships rather than generalised to gender relations (Greig & Peacock, 2005).

Make analogies to other forms of inequality: In seeking to alert men to systematic gender inequalities, it can be effective to note the similarities or parallels between these and other forms of inequality or unjust power, such as those to do with race, class, or caste. One can point out, for example, that the language, practices, and relations of colonialism (e.g. of forced dependence and exclusion from control of resources) also are evident in gender relations, or use analogies of conflict and war, and the unnecessary energy expended on these, in criticising men's efforts to exert their dominance (Keating, 2004).

Substitute race for gender: A related teaching strategy is to substitute race for gender, to highlight how practices or arrangements which are clearly inequitable in relation to race may be taken for granted when related to gender. Kleinman et al. (2006) give the example of a satirical article which proposes to use 'white' as a suitable generic term for people of diverse ethnic backgrounds, thus exposing the analogous sexism embedded in the use of masculine generic terms. Substituting race for gender also may work in highlighting unfair double standards for women's and men's behaviour.

Appeal to universal values: While appeals to local and culturally specific stories and discourses can be effective, it can be equally powerful to appeal to universal values. The universalising languages of human rights, fairness, and justice can underpin and mobilise men's commitments to non-violence and gender justice, as I argued in Chapter 5.

There are several other pedagogical strategies which may help to break down men's resistance to gender-equitable messages. (These are relevant also in work with women, given that women too are invested in gender inequalities. Indeed, sexist practices may feel neutral or even positive to women, posing a further challenge to their deconstruction [Kleinman et al., 2006].)

Expose false parallels: In response to arguments for the reality of patriarchal gender inequalities, men may counter that women and men are ‘equally oppressed’ by gender roles. Faced with examples of discrimination against women, they may offer examples of apparent discrimination against men: that while women are discouraged from becoming doctors men are discouraged from becoming nurses, that both men and women are expected to look a certain way, and so on. One can expose the false parallels here by showing that restrictions on women and men have different logics or rationales, work in different ways, and have different consequences. For example, while men often are discouraged from becoming nurses and women often are discouraged from becoming doctors, for women this is because being a doctor is *above* them while for men being a nurse is *beneath* them. Typical gendered expectations for men and women in fact ‘reinforce female subordination and male dominance’, and disadvantages faced by members of oppressed groups often are linked directly to advantages by the privileged (Kleinman et al., 2006, p. 135).

Address men’s own experiences of gender, including perceived and actual disempowerment: Work with men must address men’s own lived experiences of gender, as this book articulated in Chapter 5 in emphasising that we ‘start where men are’. However, a further dimension of this, and one which is particularly important in minimising men’s resistance, is addressing men’s disempowerment, whether real or imagined.

Men may *feel* disempowered when in fact they are not—when what has happened is that they have lost unfair advantages they had previously taken for granted. Similarly, as members of a privileged group, men may (mistakenly) feel ‘oppressed’ when another group gains rights that they have long had. The discomfort they feel is not the symptom of systemic advantage, but the discomfort of losing privilege. As the activist slogan goes, ‘When you’re accustomed to privilege, equality feels like oppression’. Men’s feelings of disempowerment in this case are not a ‘real’ indicator of material disadvantage, but they must be responded to nevertheless as they inform resistance and hostility to change.

On the other hand, some men genuinely *are* disempowered. Given the intersections of multiple forms of oppression and disadvantage which structure men’s and women’s lives, particular groups of men do face systemic and structural disadvantage. Patterns of inequality are dynamic, shaped by shifting social forces. In the wake of economic,

political, or cultural changes or of crises occasioned by war and civil conflict, men (and women) in particular communities or countries may find themselves in situations of profound disadvantage. There increasingly visible gender conflicts in some contexts, where material conditions have increased women's positions as heads of households and money earners, thus undermining the normative order of male dominance (Silberschmidt, 2011).

This material disempowerment can shape men's resistance to efforts to promote gender equality and non-violence, including programs among women, in several ways. First, in contexts where rapid economic and social changes have strained gender relations or where men are experiencing disempowerment, e.g. through unemployment, men may feel deeply resistant to programs to promote women's economic or political empowerment. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for example, men have complained that gender programs on issues such as sexual and gender-based violence and employment have focused on women and almost entirely excluded men and take an accusatory stance towards them (Lwambo, 2013). In South Africa, men in a group offering support for HIV-positive men reported feelings of disempowerment, in the context of traditional discourses of male control over household and social life, expressing frustration about shifts in gendered power in which, 'Now, women have all the rights' (Viitanen & Colvin, 2015, pp. 7–8). In Uganda, in the wake of Care International's work empowerment, some 'men expressed fears that their wives would overtake the role of household provider, no longer listen to men, become proud and disrespectful, or might find other men and abandon their husbands' (Care International, 2009, p. 3). Second, among marginalised men, and particularly where traditional ways of demonstrating masculine status (for example through paid work) are not available, some men invest in dominant or violent masculinities in response (van den Berg et al., 2013). In contexts of economic disempowerment, so men then prioritise sexual 'empowerment', including sexual risk-taking and sexual aggression (Silberschmidt, 2011).

Some violence prevention programs working with women and men in fact focus on a range of forms of power and inequality rather than primarily addressing gender. SASA!, a community mobilisation intervention in Uganda, begins with a focus more on power than gender—to minimise defensiveness and hostility, to make it more relevant and interesting for community members as all are likely to have experienced

disempowerment at some point in their lives, and to prompt broader discussions of different kinds of power in the community. Discussions of power are used as entry points to an examination of gender inequality and violence (Abramsky et al., 2014).

I move now to teaching strategies defined more by their process, that is, by the *ways* or *means* through which they engage men and boys in learning.

Step forward/stand up: The ‘Privilege Walk’ is a widely used process for increasing people’s understandings of privilege, particularly their own privilege. In one version of the exercise, participants stand shoulder to shoulder on a line marked on the floor, as the facilitator reads out a series of aspects of privilege or disadvantage associated with a particular form of social hierarchy (of gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on). Participants step forward if they occupy the social location which receives the privilege in question, or backwards if they occupy the social location which receives the disadvantage in question. The ‘Male Privilege Checklist’ is an example of the material used, identifying a range of unearned advantages received by men, for example:

1. My odds of being hired for a job, when competing against female applicants, are probably skewed in my favour. [...]
4. If I fail in my job or career, I can feel sure this won’t be seen as a black mark against my entire sex’s capabilities.
5. I am far less likely to face sexual harassment at work than my female co-workers are. [...]
10. If I have children but do not provide primary care for them, my masculinity will not be called into question. [...]
14. My elected representatives are mostly people of my own sex. [...]
16. As a child, chances are I was encouraged to be more active and outgoing than my sisters [Etc.]. (Deutsch, 2006)

In other variations, participants stand up or raise their hands if they have the social identity associated with that privilege. The exercise is intended

to raise awareness of how everyone's lives are shaped by privilege and injustice, and when done with privileged groups in particular such as men, to raise awareness of the routine and invisible privileges they perceive as men.

Document inequalities: Men are less likely than women to notice sexist incidents and behaviours, as I discussed in Chapter 5. One way to increase men's awareness of women's subordination and their subjection to violence is to involve men in documenting these themselves. Men participating in education may be set exercises in which they document or gather data on patterns of gender in their local communities, analyse popular culture, and so on. In a variation on this, in 'Patriarchy Awareness Workshops' men generate a timeline from 5000 BC to the present, naming ways in which men have used their power over women, including both public and personal events, historical and contemporary (Pease, 2012). Typically these include vignettes of self-disclosure by the men of their own complicity in the abusive treatment of women.

To lessen men's endorsement of sexist beliefs, we have to increase men's awareness of sexism. Experimental studies find that it is possible to do so. In three studies, women and men kept daily diaries in which they in which they kept track of whether or not they experienced or observed specified forms of everyday sexism (Becker & Swim, 2011). Women and men who completed sexism diaries reported more sexist incidents than participants in the control condition. Women and men reported similar numbers of incidents (although men defined the incidents as less sexist). In addition, they continued to observe more sexism a week after completing the diaries. Thus, if we ask men or women to attend to sexist events, they become more aware of sexism in their lives (Becker & Swim, 2011).

However, increasing men's knowledge that sexism takes place will only make a difference to their own endorsement of sexism if this awareness is paired with recognition that sexism is unjust and, in particular, *empathy* for the targets of sexism. In the experimental studies just described, women who kept the diaries were less likely than women in the control condition to endorse various forms of sexist belief, but this was not true for the men. In the first, study, attending to sexist incidents by itself had no impact on men's own sexist beliefs (Becker & Swim, 2011). The second and third studies included efforts to induce empathy, by asking participants to imagine the ways the target may

be affected by her or his plight. In these, men's endorsement of two of the three types of sexist belief (modern, neosexist, and benevolent) did decrease, and they were more likely than men in the control condition to sign an online petition about sexism. Thus empathy, including the recognition of sexist incidents as discriminatory and harmful for women and moral emotions such as collective guilt, can reduce men's sexist beliefs and increase their supportive responses to anti-sexist efforts (Becker & Swim, 2011).

Analyse gender representations: A related strategy is to involve boys and men in critical analysis of representations of gender. Through exercises and courses, they may identify and evaluate gendered scripts in popular culture (Davis & Wagner, 2005).

Imagine walking in women's shoes: Some education programs use scenarios of gender reversal or 'walking in women's shoes' to encourage men's awareness and empathy. For example, participants may be encouraged to imagine and explore the implications of waking up the following morning as a woman, to heighten their consciousness of gender asymmetries. They may be asked to imagine how things would work 'if men could menstruate' (Steinem, 1983), creating advertisements for menstrual products for men or musing on what if it was men who became pregnant. Such exercises are intended to highlight that the characteristics of the powerful are valued more than the characteristics of the less powerful, and to move away from biologically essentialist and determinist understandings of gender (Kleinman et al., 2006).

Listen to women: Men may also literally listen to women. In a 'Gender Fishbowl' exercise, for example, women sit in a circle in the middle of the room, with men sitting around the outside of the circle and facing in. The women answer and discuss a series of questions regarding women's experience, while the men listen and do not speak. These may then be reversed, with women listening to men (Klindera, Levack, Mehta, Ricardo, & Verani, 2008). (In cultural contexts where it is difficult for women to express themselves with men present, an alternative is for women to discuss their experiences separately and for these then to be presented back to the men.)

Make the familiar strange: One way to unsettle men's taken-for-granted perceptions of gender is to invite an alien, outsider, or anthropological view of gendered patterns. One may make the familiar strange, for

instance, through an exercise in which participants pretend to be a visitor from Mars and ask questions about particular gendered practices on Earth, such as the ritual of men opening doors for women (Kleinman et al., 2006).

Bring men into intimate dialogues. ‘Intimate dialogues’ involve the promotion of egalitarian dialogue and communication in men’s and boys’ intimate and household relationships: between intimate partners, between wives and in-laws, and between adolescents and parents (CARE, 2014). The international NGO CARE (2014) emphasises that educators and advocates should establish spaces for open dialogues, beginning with safer topics such as women’s economic empowerment and fatherhood and moving to more sensitive topics such as decision-making dynamics, gendered divisions of labour, and violence. Facilitating space for men and women to discuss gender roles can be a way to deal, for example, with men’s sense of disempowerment and threat as women gain economic freedoms (Care International, 2009). Another novel process for teaching men is ‘memory work’, and I discuss this below.

Address the Emotional Bases of Men’s Resistance

Men’s resistance to efforts to build gender equality has roots which in part are *emotional*. Men’s (and women’s) feelings in response to feminism and violence prevention—of fear, anger, or indeed joy—reflect both individual psychology and macro-societal processes. Emotions are connected to and shaped by social divisions and inequalities, and men become not only materially but emotionally invested in patriarchal power relations (Pease, 2012). Men typically need much more convincing than women of the reality of women’s oppression because they have not experienced it directly, and they take longer to move from cognitive awareness of gender inequalities to emotional identification (Cruz, 2002). In the wake of rapid or substantial changes in gender relations, some men feel afraid of what the future holds. They may imagine a future in which women dominate or in which there is little place for them.

Efforts to engage men therefore must address the emotional bases of men’s resistance. They must acknowledge and work with men’s fear and anger, the emotional undercurrents of men’s defensiveness and hostility, and men’s feelings of shame or sadness as they begin to realise their

roles in privileges and injustices. Beyond this, they must indeed *mobilise* men's emotions. Emotions play a role in reproducing structural inequalities, but they also can play a role in transforming them (Pease, 2012). Emotions such as anger have played important roles in oppressed people's resistance to injustice, and emotions also can be used in work with members of dominant groups.

The most well-developed way to mobilise men's emotions in the service of violence prevention centres on empathy. A common strategy, as noted above, is for men to listen to women's stories and experiences. The hope is that,

When men are emotionally engaged in the injustices experienced by women, they are more likely to interrogate their own complicity in women's oppression and to recognise their responsibility to challenge their own unearned advantages. (Pease, 2012, p. 138)

Another emotion-focused strategy here is for men to reconceptualise their emotional pain. Various authors argue that for men to acknowledge the pain of others, and to challenge dominant definitions of masculinity, they must acknowledge and validate their own feelings including pain, hurt, and fear (although therapeutically focused strategies are insufficient by themselves) (Pease, 2012). Pease describes the use of collective memory work (the collection and critical analysis of personal memories) to prompt men's reflections on their own socialisation and emotions and the construction of new subjectivities. Such strategies do not have evidence of impact, but they may have promise given their attention to the emotional and psychological bases of men's identities and relations.

Men's fears about the future of gender relations also can be addressed by exploring models of 'power with' rather than 'power over', such that they realise that progress towards gender equality will not involve women now dominating men, and by exploring the benefits of gender equality for men (Greig & Peacock, 2005).

Use More Intensive Interventions with High-Risk Men

Violence prevention programs often are less effective among men who are already at higher risk of perpetrating violence against women, as the evidence reviewed above shows. Such men are less receptive to anti-violence curricula and it is harder to change their violence-related attitudes

and behaviours. Therefore, we must use more intensive interventions with high-risk men. High-risk men are likely to require longer, more intensive interventions to produce sufficient change (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2015).

Men who are already perpetrating violence against women, or at risk of doing so, also are likely to require *different* kinds of intervention. Specialised knowledge of how to work effectively with perpetrators is developing rapidly, with a range of psycho-educational and psychotherapeutic approaches now deployed in work with individuals who are using violence (Grealy & Wallace, 2011).

*Match the Intervention to Men's Stage of Change,
and Move Men Along Them*

Men are at different stages of change. From this, two points follow. First, we must match our strategies to men's stages of change. Second, we must work to move men along these stages.

Individuals occupy different statuses in terms of their readiness to engage in behaviour change over time. Where this notion has been articulated most is in the Transtheoretical (TTM) model of change, developed by Janice Prochaska and colleagues. This proposes that individuals and communities 'progress through a number of stages before changing adverse behaviours' (Banyard, Eckstein, & Moynihan, 2010, p. 113). Key stages of change include precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, and maintenance:

1. *Precontemplation*: Individuals are not aware of a problem, do not define an issue or their behaviour related to it as a problem, or have no plans to do anything about a problem if they are aware of it.
2. *Contemplation*: Individuals intend to change in the near future and are more aware of the problem as well as the costs and benefits of changing their behaviour.
3. *Preparation*: Individuals intend to take immediate action, have plans of action, or have taken some recent significant actions to change their behaviour.
4. *Action*: Individuals have modified their behaviour.
5. *Maintenance*: Individuals work to prevent relapse and are more confident that they can continue to change.

The Transtheoretical (TTM) model also addresses two further factors shaping individuals' change, their decisional balance (the perceived pros and cons of making various changes) and self-efficacy (their perceived capacity to reach an intended goal).

The 'stages of change' framework has been applied to analyses of perpetrators' readiness to end their violence in intimate relationships, individuals' willingness to act as pro-social bystanders, and elsewhere. While the 'stages of change' framework is widely used in health promotion, it also is vulnerable to various criticisms. The stages may exist on a continuum rather than as discrete stages, the model has been seen to lack predictive or explanatory value, the model may assume a linear, invariant progression through the stages, and it focuses on individual, cognitive processes while neglecting the influence of social interaction and social context on change (Bunton, Baldwin, Flynn, & Whitelaw, 2000). Nevertheless, with regard to engaging men in violence prevention, the notion of stages of change focuses valuable attention on the point that men are at different places along the continuum from passive indifference to active intervention. While men show different levels of readiness or capacity to make change in the name of violence prevention, we should not assume that these can be easily separated into discrete 'stages', or that men will necessarily progress through them in a linear and unidirectional fashion.

Among the men who turn up to or are addressed by violence prevention events or activities, some have limited and paternalistic motivations for involvement, a focus on 'other' and 'bad' men, and little sense of the injustices and inequalities which structure violence against women. Other men have stronger, justice-oriented motivations, acknowledge their own privilege and complicity, and see the problem as grounded in systems and structures.

One way of understanding this is in terms of different types of allies. Edwards (2006) identifies three, reminding us that these identify perspectives rather than necessary stages and individuals may move fluidly between them. *Allies for self-interest* primarily are motivated to protect those they care about from being hurt. They may see themselves as protectors, heroes, or rescuers. They focus on stopping the 'bad people', but otherwise maintain the status quo. They can see specific overt acts of discrimination, but not underlying pervasive systems of oppression. And they do not acknowledge or address their own oppressive behaviour and roles in perpetuating the system of oppression. *Allies for altruism*

are more aware of privilege, although they may distance themselves from or vilify other members of the privileged group, and they still struggle to admit or are defensive about their own oppressive behaviours. They may adopt paternalistic roles as rescuers and heroes, trying to maintain their status as an exceptional member of the dominant group. They may burden members of the oppressed group with the expectation that they affirm and support them, and speak *for* women rather than *with* them. Finally, *allies for social justice* work *with* those from the oppressed group in collaboration to end systems of oppression. They recognise their own stake in change, seeing dismantling systems of oppression as a way to liberate us all. They work with and challenge other men, rather than focusing on how they are ‘different from’ and ‘better than’ other men, while

Table 10.1 Aware Joe, Internalised Joe, and Activist Joe

	<i>Aware Joe</i>	<i>Internalised Joe</i>	<i>Activist Joe</i>
Aspiring ally for Motivation	Self-interest Selfish—for people i know and love	Altruism Other—I do this for them	Social justice Combined—selfishness and Altruism—we do this for us
Ally to ... Relationship to system	A person Not interested in systems—just stopping the bad people	Target group An exception from the system, yet ultimately perpetuates it	An Issue Seeks to escape, amend, and/or redefine the system
Privilege	Doesn't see privilege—but wants to maintain status quo	Feels guilty about privilege and tries to distance self from privilege	Sees illumination of privilege as liberating
Power	I'm powerful—protective	Empower them—they need our help	Empower us all
Admitting mistakes	I don't make mistakes—I'm good, and perpetrators are just bad people	Difficult—struggles with critique or own issues—highly defensive about behaviour	Seeks critique and admits mistakes—has accepted own isms and seeks help
Focus of the work	Perpetrators	Other members of the dominant group	My people—doesn't separate self from other agents

Adapted from Grove (2011), which itself draws on Edwards (2006)

also holding themselves accountable to women. They seek out critique and feedback, addressing their internalised dominant socialisation. Thus, such individuals have a passion for social justice which is not dependent on the praise and favour of the oppressed (Edwards, 2006).

Table 10.1 provides another version of this account, highlighting a continuum from ‘Aware Joe’ to ‘Activist Joe’.

Ideally, men who join efforts to prevent men’s violence against women move from left to right. They move from the initial realisation that loved ones and friends are hurt by men’s violence, to a concern for everyone who is impacted by violence and gender inequality. They move from an ‘othering’ focus on mad, bad men to a recognition of how they and other men are implicated in male privilege. And they begin to do the work of personal and collective change.

The fact that men show differing levels of readiness to change has implications for the effectiveness of violence prevention interventions. In an examination of the relationship between stages of change and sexual violence prevention, US researchers found that levels of readiness for change prior to receiving the program influenced the magnitude of the program’s impact (Banyard et al., 2010). Prior to undergoing the Bringing In The Bystander program, university students showed associations between levels of readiness and such factors as rape myth acceptance and knowledge and bystander attitudes and behaviours. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, after the program, individuals with higher levels of readiness (with higher scores on later stages of change and lower scores on earlier stages) also showed greater levels of change than individuals with lower readiness to change.

Different educational approaches should be adopted for men at earlier and later stages of change (Berkowitz, 2002, p. 177). Making one’s intervention relevant means matching it to men’s level of awareness about and willingness to take responsibility for the problem of violence against women. This matching can be done in two ways: by using different educational approaches with men who are at different stages of awareness and commitment, and by taking men through different developmental stages over the course of a program. Violence prevention efforts should seek to meet their participants at ideal entry points, including their levels of readiness to change, tailoring programs, sub-groups within programs, and strategies to these (Banyard et al., 2010).

Among men with little recognition of the problem—what the ‘stages of change’ model terms ‘precontemplation’—strategies such as empathy

induction should be used to foster initial concern for women's and girls' experience of violence and abuse. These can be completed by efforts to provide basic information about violence against women and to debunk common violence-supportive understandings. Among men with awareness of and concern about the problem, skills training begins to teach them to change their personal behaviour, and it invites deeper shifts in their understandings of gender and sexuality. Such efforts bring men into what the 'stages of change' model term 'preparation' and 'action'. Among men who share a concern about violence against women, a sense of personal responsibility for it, and some skills in personal change, bystander intervention approaches go further still, in inviting men to make change in peer relations and masculine culture (Berkowitz, 2002, pp. 177–178), while community mobilisation approaches involve men in becoming social change activists and taking part in collective action.

Education programs also can take men through different developmental stages over the course of the program or intervention. One example is given by the Gender Seminar for Men, an NGO-run program in the Philippines. Participants are taken through six phases, beginning with exercises in which they hear of women's pain, to games focused on giving them practice in articulating women's issues (through a card game of 'feminist poker'), to a ritual in which each man makes a commitment regarding what he can do to lessen the burden of oppression among one or two women in his life, ending with further reflection and planning for action (Cruz, 2002, pp. 4–7).

Respond to Anti-feminist Backlash

The term 'backlash' often has been used to describe any kind of resistance to feminism or to progress towards gender equality and, even more widely, any representation which departs from or questions feminism. For example, the term is a popular descriptor for the persistence or intensification of stereotypical feminine representations in popular culture and for the 'post-feminist' claim that feminism now is dead or unnecessary (Braithwaite, 2004). In the men and gender equality field, too, the term 'backlash' has been used to describe any resistance among men to positive change. In this book, on the other hand, 'backlash' is used primarily for organised and collective resistance to feminism, and particularly for the networks of anti-feminist men's rights and fathers' rights groups. These men's groups overlap with a wider range of

anti-feminist forces, including fundamentalist and conservative religious movements and right-wing movements, and with other, more individual instances of resistance among men.

There are three central problems with anti-feminist backlash: it represents a hostile and misogynist reassertion of patriarchal power, it offers a profoundly inaccurate account of gender, and its strategies and solutions are both dangerous for women and children and limiting for men themselves. Men's rights advocates and groups co-opt the language of social justice and civil rights, claiming to be a movement for positive change and arguing for the recognition of men as an oppressed class (Friedman, 2013). Yet they are more accurately described as 'hate' groups seeking to reassert patriarchal power. Rather than offering a detailed critique of anti-feminist claims regarding gender, violence, and so on, here I focus on the strategies which may be useful in lessening and resisting backlash.

Responding to anti-feminist backlash

- Offer alternative analyses of the issues on which anti-feminist men focus
 - Acknowledge and respond to areas of male pain and disadvantage
 - Offer alternative male voices
- Critique and discredit organised anti-feminist backlash
- Show that anti-feminist efforts are harmful for men themselves.

Offer alternative analyses of the issues on which anti-feminist men focus: Anti-feminist men's and fathers' groups purport to highlight areas of male disadvantage (and female or feminist domination) in such areas as men's health, domestic violence, family law, and boys' education. Profeminist efforts to address men must address these same areas. Drawing on feminist and other scholarship, we can offer alternative accounts of these issues, directly critiquing anti-feminist claims and seeking to improve community opinion.

A key task here is to speak directly to the forms of male pain or disadvantage on which anti-feminist men focus. These include men's experiences of violent victimisation, men's poor health, boys' poor performance in schools, poor and working-class men's economic

disenfranchisement, men's lack of involvement in parenting after separation, and narrow representations of men in popular culture. Anti-feminist accounts of each of these typically blame women and/or feminism, painting men as the downtrodden victims of oppressive female domination and feminist conspiracy (Flood, 2004). And for each, they are wrong. Men's rights and fathers' rights advocates misdiagnose men's pain and thus misprescribe the cure. Feminist analysis readily can accommodate and account for these forms of disadvantage among men.

We must 'speak to men's pain'. I wrote above of the need to address men's own experiences of gender, including perceived and actual disempowerment. This includes responding to the experiences which bring some men to anti-feminist groups and forums. For fathers' rights groups, these experiences include difficult marital separations and conflicts over family law, child support, and custody (children's residence) (Crowley, 2006). For the male 'pick up artist' communities (online and offline) which overlap with men's rights networks, these experiences include anxieties and insecurities about competence in their sexual and relationship involvements with women and perceptions of women's power in dating interactions (Dr. NerdLove, 2013). There may even be *positive* desires and motivations which can be mobilised in more constructive ways, including men's desires to have ongoing contact with their children or to improve their abilities to have enjoyable sexual and intimate interactions. We must, of course, bring a critical feminist lens to men's experiences here, recognising how they are structured by both internalised male privilege and wider patriarchal relations. And we must also speak directly to these felt experiences, in part to divert men from entry into toxic and misogynist anti-feminist networks.

Another strategy here is to show that anti-feminist men do not speak for all men. We can promote alternative male voices, featuring men who offer compelling stories of their commitments to and practices of non-violence and gender equity. This complements the strategy of telling women's stories, of increasing public acknowledgement of women's experiences of the everyday indignities and harsh injustices of gender inequality.

Critique and discredit organised anti-feminist backlash: While the first two strategies above focus on a critique of the worldviews or ideologies—the claims about reality—of anti-feminist men, this strategy is focused on a critique of men's rights and fathers' rights movements themselves. One important critique highlights their regressive motivations and agendas.

For example, while fathers' rights groups rely on the rhetoric of 'the best interests of the child' and capitalise on contemporary images of the nurturing father, in fact many participants seem interested only in reducing their financial obligations to their children and in extending or regaining power and authority over their ex-partners and children. Fathers' rights groups do little to increase men's actual share of childcare or positive involvement in parenting both before and after separation. Indeed, some collude with perpetrators of violence against women and children, protect and advocate for perpetrators, or are perpetrators themselves (Flood, 2010).

Show that anti-feminist efforts are harmful for men themselves. Perhaps one of the most powerful criticisms to offer of men's rights' and father's rights' efforts is that they are harmful for men themselves. They neglect the forms of disadvantage or pain which men actually experience. They focus on the wrong target. They do not generate appropriate services for men and they antagonise potential supporters. And they taint as backlash the need to address genuine aspects of men's experience.

Men's rights and fathers' rights groups fail to address important forms of pain and suffering among men, and when they do, they blame the wrong targets for these. Perhaps the best example is to do with men's violent victimisation. Large numbers of males are the victims of physical and sexual assault, and when they are assaulted their perpetrators overwhelmingly are male. Yet, to the extent that anti-feminist advocates address violence against males, they focus single-mindedly on violence against males by *females*, neglecting both pervasive violence by men against men in public settings and men's sexual abuse of other men and boys.

Anti-feminist groups point the finger at women and feminism as the source of male disadvantage, circulating hate-filled screeds about women's 'misandrist' (man-hating) actions, bizarre caricatures of man-hating feminism, and dubious depictions of a vast and powerful feminist conspiracy. Their ideologies are based on a systematic denial of the power and privilege which many men receive and a profound disregard for scholarly research and empirical evidence (Flood, 2004). When there is substance to the problems they identify—the poor state of men's health, boys' difficulties in education, and so on—they fail to recognise the well-substantiated ways in which these often are attributable not to feminism but to manhood. That is, the forms of pain and disadvantage many males experience often are the result of unhealthy and destructive models of manhood. One well-researched

example here is men's health, with a series of studies showing that traditional constructions of masculinity (as stoic, risk-taking, powerful, and so on) are important influences on men's health and well-being (through risk-taking, lack of help-seeking, and so on) (Wong, Ho, Wang, & Miller, 2017).

The actual strategies adopted by men's rights advocates and networks do little to help men. Men's rights activists blame, threaten, and harass women and women's organisations, rather than offering men support or services. And when they do 'support' men, such as separated fathers, they may incite them into misogynist anger, blame, and destructive strategies of litigation and harassment (Flood, 2012), and they may uncritically advocate for men alleged to have committed domestic violence or child abuse. Their calls for services for men sometimes involve a knee-jerk logic of equality in which services for women should be matched by identical services for men, or an ostensibly inclusive model of generic services for women and men alike. Neither impulse involves any kind of informed appraisal of the services which will be effective and appropriate among men.

Anti-feminist men's groups' apparent concern for men's welfare seems shallow at best, and dishonest at worst, when examining their actual efforts. Their attention to women's domestic violence against men is a powerful example of this. They focus on violence to men by women, while men are most at risk from other men. They undermine the protections available to female and male victims of domestic violence alike, by trying to wind back the protections available to victims and to undermine the treatment of domestic violence as criminal behaviour. And they attack and harass the organisations that respond to the victims of violence (Flood, 2010).

Across such fields as health, education, and violence, anti-feminist men's groups have focused their energies on attacking support services and advocacy for women and girls. They do this through public and social media criticism, court cases, harassment, and threats of and the use of violence. This also antagonises potential supporters. Focusing on men's health in Australia for example, men's rights advocates have sought to de-fund and delegitimize women's health services and advocacy (Flood, 2004). This represents an attack on the very people who raised issues of men's poor health in the first place, who have often been key advocates for men's health (Fletcher, 1996), and who could be key

supporters of efforts to address areas of poor health among men. More generally, the efforts of men's rights and fathers' rights groups taint as misogynist backlash the need to address various aspects of men's experience. As a feminist blogger put it,

You have forever tainted those issues with your rage-filled, obsessively anti-woman horseshit, to the point where it's become difficult for any rational, compassionate person to trust a man who claims he's been screwed over in family court or abused by a female partner, even if he has. (Harding, 2012)

Given the presence of anti-feminist advocates, should profeminist advocates and groups engage in direct debate with them? Engagement with our ideological enemies can drain our political energies, distract from our own strategic priorities, weaken our own convictions and motivations and, where this debate is public, be used by anti-feminist advocates to claim credibility and legitimacy. Some argue that people in the men's rights movement are not worthy of good-faith engagement: they are embittered ideologies and conspiracy theorists, and engagement with them has no political value (West, 2014). On the other hand, some activists call for building relationships with one's opposition, identifying their needs and fears, arousing doubts in them, and providing them with opportunities and motivation to change their position (Shields & Somerville, 1994). In either case, we must be strategic about our engagements with anti-feminist advocates and groups.

CONCLUSION

Often, when we try to move men towards gender equity and non-violence, there is resistance. Indeed, if there is no resistance, are we having any impact at all? If no man in the room feels discomfort or tension, then are we making change? When there is movement, inevitably, there is friction. At the same time, resistance and hostility among the men who are the targets of violence prevention interventions is not necessarily a sign of progress. It may indicate that the intervention has failed to engage them, and it may even have intensified their commitments to gender inequity. Therefore, efforts to reduce and prevent men's resistance are a crucial part of this work.

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Working with Diverse Populations

Efforts to engage men and boys in prevention must reckon with the intersections of race/ethnicity, class, and sexuality which structure males' lives. Scholarship and activism on gender inequalities, and on violence against women, increasingly is based on an *intersectional* approach. This involves the fundamental recognition that gender intersects with ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, and other forms of social difference and social inequality. As Hankivsky (2014, p. 2) summarises, 'Intersectionality promotes an understanding of human beings as shaped by the interaction of different social locations [... which] occur within a context of connected systems and structures of power [... creating] interdependent forms of privilege and oppression'.

I first offer an intersectional account of men and masculinities.

AN INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF MEN AND MASCULINITIES

At the simplest level, 'being a man' means different things in different cultures and among different ethnic groups. There are multiple masculinities, with some dominant and some subordinate or marginalised. In Australia for example, research among particular cultural or ethnic groups finds considerable diversity in constructions of masculinity (Pease, 2002). There are different ways of 'doing masculinity', and different masculinities stand in different relations to power. All of us have multiple and interlocking identities: some give us privilege and some make us vulnerable, depending on the context (Plantenga, 2004).

Men in different social locations have differential access to social resources and social status. This recognition complicates and unsettles our analyses of men's power. Gendered power is intersected by race power and class power. Indigenous men, men of colour and ethnic minority men are clearly not the beneficiaries of patriarchal capitalism in the same way as other men. As Clatterbaugh (1990) writes in the US context, 'just as the dominant masculinity is shaped by privilege and racism, black masculinity is shaped by poverty and oppression'. There are groups of men who face economic, political and legal constraints arguably which overshadow whatever privileges they may have as men. However, there is also a potential risk in this focus on diversities among men, of losing sight of men's power as a gender. Particular groups of men may be both oppressed and *oppressing*, e.g. in oppressive relations with women (Morrell & Swart, 2005, p. 96).

Immigrant and refugee men are located

within intersecting relations of power, and thus [... can be understood] as both oppressed and privileged in relation to dominance and subordination. On the one hand, immigrant and refugee men occupy a position of male privilege by belonging to the social group that is protected from gender-based violence, and that inflicts that violence on women and girls. On the other hand, immigrant and refugee men also occupy a subordinated position and share with immigrant women those disadvantages that can stem from their structural locations as migrants. These include precarious visa status, social exclusion/isolation, racism, discrimination, structural disadvantage in the labour force and in education, lack of access to citizenship rights, stigmatisation of migrant cultures or religions in the media, and English language barriers. (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016, p. 12)

Dominant cultural images of masculinity often involve a white masculinity. Popular culture places the lives of white, Anglo-Celtic men at centre stage, while those of men from non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB) and men of colour are marginalised or made invisible. Histories of colonialism and imperialism have had a profound impact on meanings of 'race' and on the organisation of masculinities (Morrell & Swart, 2005; Segal, 1990). Contemporary racisms continue to involve particular constructions of masculinity, based on associations between crime, violence, and race and ethnicity. Men from marginalised ethnic groups often are portrayed in derogatory ways in media (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). While this affirms hegemonic ideals of white manhood, it also

provides symbolic resources for men of colour and from ethnic minority groups to craft oppositional forms of identity and culture (Messner, 1997). For example, in the context of social and economic marginalisation, some young Lebanese men in Sydney, Australia, adopt a ‘protest masculinity’, based in strong group solidarity and exaggerated claims of potency and hypermasculinity (Poynting, Noble, & Tabar, 2003). Such masculine performances may be personally empowering, but also potentially self-destructive (Messner, 1997).

One of the critical insights of an intersectional approach to men and masculinities is that *all* men are located in multiple relations of privilege and disadvantage. To put this another way, ‘everyone speaks with an accent’—every person has specific forms of culture and ethnicity, but some are culturally dominant, normalised, and thus often invisible. It is ethnocentric if not racist to assume that only men from minority communities have some kind of cultural specificity, while Anglo, English-speaking-background men somehow are generic. Every man is grounded in culture: particular forms of language and norms, traditions, ways of viewing the world, and so on. If white men are blind to their own, specific culture, if white men assume that diversity is about ‘other people’, not only is it harder for them to make conscious choices about their own identities and social relations, but it is harder to recognise themselves as a group with systemic advantage (Welp, 2002). There is ‘diversity within diversity’, with men’s (and women’s) lives shaped by intersecting and overlapping influences of ethnicity, culture, religion, and country of origin (Department of Social Services, 2015). Not only is there cultural diversity, but there is material and structural *inequality*, structural patterns of privilege and disadvantage.

Sexuality too is an important axis of social differentiation and hierarchy among men. Gender and sexuality are highly interconnected, with the meaning and organisation of each shaping the other. Homophobia, the fear of and hostility towards homosexuality, is central to constructions of masculinity in many contexts. As Miedema, Yount, Chirwa, Dunkle, & Fulu (2017, p. 210) summarise,

Heterosexuality serves as a key dimension of hegemonic masculinity and social gender systems [...]. Hierarchies among masculinities subordinate non-heterosexual or less overtly heterosexual masculinities to heterosexual versions of manhood [...]. These hierarchies are maintained through social consensus around the hegemonic ideal [...], but also violence or the threat

of violence against non-heteronormative men [...]. Within this system, society accords value and advantages to those men who engage in normative sexuality (e.g., heterosexual marriage to a woman) and stigmatises those who do not (e.g., men who have sex with men).

In the light of an intersectional analysis, work with any group or community of men in any context must be cognisant of the intersections of gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and so on which structure these men's lives.

AN INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH TO MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Feminist activism and scholarship increasingly has adopted an intersectional approach to men's violence against women. There is intensified attention to the complex intersections of social difference and social location which shape women's and men's understandings of, experiences of, and involvements in violence. Attention to intersectionality is visible in both theoretical work on how to conceptualise men's violence against women and in empirical examinations of the intersections of violence with particular social, cultural, and political contexts, processes, and populations. In Australia for example, there is a growing body of scholarship on violence against women from ethnic minority or 'culturally and linguistically diverse' (CaLD) communities.¹

Intersectional approaches to men's violence against women generate key insights. I focus here on race and ethnicity, although other forms of social difference such as class, sexuality, and (dis)ability also are significant. Ethnicity shapes women's victimisation, in that women from immigrant, refugee, and ethnic minority backgrounds face heightened and distinct forms of vulnerability to violence, as well as experiencing culturally specific forms of abuse. It also shapes men's perpetration of violence, including both men's use of violence and the ways in which perpetrators and their violence are understood.

¹'CaLD', or 'culturally and linguistically diverse', is a commonly used term in the Australian context for people from ethnic minority backgrounds. It replaced the term 'non-English speaking background' or 'NESB' in policy usage in the 1990s. However, the term 'CaLD' is vulnerable to the criticism that it implicitly centres white, Anglo people and communities as the norm, while other people and communities are 'othered' as 'diverse'. I have opted for the terms 'ethnic minority' and 'non-English speaking background' (NESB) instead.

Women in ethnic minority communities and women who are immigrants and refugees to Australia face a heightened vulnerability to intimate partner violence. While there is mixed evidence regarding whether such women face higher rates of domestic and family violence than non-immigrant and English-speaking-background women (Bartels, 2011; Flory, 2012), they do face distinct vulnerabilities to violence. Influential factors include dependency on their spouses or fiancés for visa status; social isolation and lack of support networks; language barriers; cultural factors; and limited knowledge of services, legal rights and options. Perpetrators may exploit these factors, deliberately isolating women from support networks or using women's language difficulties to spread misinformation (Flory, 2012).

Immigrant and ethnic minority women's heightened vulnerability to violence is shaped by intersections between ethnicity, class, and disadvantage. Immigrant-specific factors 'exacerbate the already vulnerable position — as dictated by class, gender, and race — of immigrant women in domestic violence situations' (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002). Social and political forces and circumstances, including histories of racial and ethnic discrimination and prejudice, limit immigrant and minority women's abilities to find housing, employment, or training and thus their ability to leave abusive relationships (Kasturirangan, Krishnan, & Riger, 2004). Immigrant women often live with an uncertain legal status and harmful legal consequences (such as loss of legal status, or deportation with the abuser) if they end a violent relationship or file charges (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002). Focusing on sexual violence in particular, various factors are said to increase the risks of sexual violence towards women from ethnic minority backgrounds, including non-recognition of or tolerance for rape in marriage (Taylor & Putt, 2007).

There are sub-groups of ethnic minority women who have a heightened vulnerability to family violence, including refugee and newly arrived women without permanent residency (Flory, 2012). Both men and women from refugee backgrounds have a higher rate of exposure to many of the risk factors for intimate partner violence identified early in this book. In addition to those associated with the migration process and exposure to culturally specific norms associated with the perpetration of partner violence (factors affecting all new settlers), these include exposure to generalised and state sanctioned violence and associated trauma, and disruption to family, community and cultural connections and relationships which might otherwise be protective (Kaplan & Webster, 2003; Pittaway, 2004).

In addition, there are forms of violence to which immigrant and refugee women are particularly vulnerable, there are forms of violence which are specific to or more common in particular cultural contexts, and specific forms of abuse have differing meanings in different cultural contexts (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). Experiences of interpersonal violence among immigrant and refugee women and men may overlap with experiences of state-based and other structural violence (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016). Finally, the impacts of violence against women vary with setting and community. For example, women's ability to end or leave abusive relationships varies depending on social sanctions and economic opportunities, while the impacts of domestic violence will be different in contexts where there is no social welfare system to act as a safety net (Colucci & Hassan, 2014).

Focusing on men, ethnicity shapes men's attitudes towards violence, their perpetration of violence, and the ways in which this violence is seen and represented. Looking at attitudes first, data from a recent national survey in Australia documents that men (and women) from countries where English is not the main language have poorer attitudes to and understandings of violence against women than men (and women) born in Australia or from English-speaking countries (New Zealand, North America, UK and Ireland). They are more likely to see violence as justified or excused in some circumstances, to see domestic violence as a private matter, to blame victims, and to endorse gender inequalities (VicHealth, 2014). Other factors are influential here too, including length of time in Australia and education. Furthermore, these patterns are dynamic. Attitudes towards gender and violence among immigrant communities tend to change over time to more closely resemble those of the host society, in a process of acculturation, although the evidence is that settlement can have positive *and* negative effects on levels of intimate partner violence within immigrant communities (Webster et al., 2014, p. 46).

Indigenous people in Australia have better understandings of violence against women than non-Indigenous people, but also greater endorsement of attitudes supportive of this violence. The gender gap in attitudes is pronounced among Indigenous respondents, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) men having far more violence-supportive attitudes than ATSI women, and more so than non-ATSI men. Highlighting the ways in which social disadvantage may intersect with ethnicity, the high levels of violence-supportive attitudes here were

associated particularly with disadvantaged Indigenous men (Webster et al., 2014, pp. 214–217).

Experiences of immigration and resettlement also can shape men's *use* of violence, their actual perpetration. As one Australian report notes,

The experience of resettlement, particularly changes in women's social and economic status can increase tension and the risk of violence by men towards women. Whilst women often felt empowered by changes to their social and economic status, men reported feeling disempowered and attributed conflict within the relationship to these changes. [...] these changes in the gender dynamics within families often results [sic] in increased efforts by men to maintain or regain control, including through violence. (Flory, 2012, p. 8)

Experiences of resettlement may contribute to men's use of violence against female partners in refugee communities. For example, in the context of shifts in their dominant status within families, men may use violence in efforts to make their wives and children obey and show respect. Men may fear separation and divorce from their wives. As a result of war trauma, they may experience physiological arousal and respond more readily with violence (James, 2010). Perpetrators may manipulate notions of culture, or portray themselves as the victims of racism, in order to excuse or legitimate their use of violence against women (Department of Social Services, 2015).

When men use violence against women, their ethnicity shapes how they are treated. Male perpetrators who are white are less likely than to be held accountable, less likely to be arrested and charged, and their use of violence is less likely to be seen as linked to their ethnicity and cultural heritage. Male perpetrators are more likely to be held accountable and criminalised, and their crimes are more likely to be seen as linked to their ethnicity, if they are poor, black or men of colour (Russo, 2001). A recent and powerful example of this in Australia was the differential treatment of group sexual assaults by young men of Lebanese or Middle-Eastern backgrounds and alleged group sexual assaults by white members of rugby league teams. While the behaviour of the former was attributed by political and media commentators to their ethnicity or culture, the behaviour of the latter was not (Grewal, 2007). Similarly, US media coverage of domestic violence by male celebrities is structured by white privilege. White men's violence against women is more likely than

Black men's to be justified or excused (e.g. in terms of conflict or intoxication), while Black men's violence against women is more likely to be criminalised and racialised (Pepin, 2016).

Intersections of ethnicity, racism, and disadvantage also influence community responses to men's violence against women. Indigenous and black women may be more reluctant to report violence to the police given histories of negative interactions with the criminal justice system (Hampton, LaTaillade, Dacey, & Marghi, 2008; Webster et al., 2014). They may fear that a black perpetrator will incur higher penalties, police will be reluctant to intervene, or police themselves will perpetrate crimes against black women.

More widely, race and racism shape community and institutional understandings of and responses to men's violence against women. Recent events in Sydney—gang rapes in Sydney and riots in the beachside of Cronulla in Sydney—have been represented in ways which intensified racist associations between ethnicity, violence and crime and which fuelled backlash against particular ethnic groups and communities. There have been moral panics at various times in the UK, Australia, and elsewhere, linking particular groups of men to crime and violence (Warner, 2004). Moral panics typically show 'a high level of concern over the behaviour of a certain group or category of people, an increased level of hostility towards the group regarded as a threat, and disproportionality or an exaggeration of the threat' (Warner, 2004, p. 345). Such a moral panic was visible in media and community discourse regarding gang rapes in Sydney and the legal trials which followed. As Warner (2004) argues, political and media portrayals misrepresented the facts of these crimes, used the victims in the service of populist racism and political gain, attributed criminal behaviour to cultural factors, and demonised and criminalised the 'other'. This fuelled backlash against the Arab-Muslim-Lebanese community and led to increases in attacks and racial hatred. The sexual assaults were racialised by conservative media commentators. As a result, 'the figure of the "Lebanese/Middle-Eastern/Muslim gang rapist" has gained a certain acceptance within Australian public discourse' (Grewal, 2007, p. 120). Representations of migrant, Arabic, and Muslim men as more violent or patriarchal than other men often reflect simplistic, racist assumptions, and even concerns about gender inequalities in immigrant and refugee communities can in fact be symptoms of racial intolerance (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016).

PREVENTION IN IMMIGRANT, REFUGEE, AND ETHNIC MINORITY CONTEXTS

There has been relatively little research on effective forms of primary prevention among immigrant, refugee, and ethnic minority populations (Poljski, 2011). Reflection and research on violence-related interventions in these contexts has concentrated on tertiary responses, particularly the delivery of services to victims. In majority English-speaking countries, there is little documentation, let alone evaluation, of efforts to engage immigrant and ethnic minority men in violence prevention. In Australia for example, while there is a vast amount of primary prevention activity underway within local Aboriginal communities, little is formally documented (Closing the Gap Clearinghouse [AIHW & AIFS], 2016; Department of Human Services [Victoria], 2012). A handful of Australian prevention initiatives directed at men and boys in non-English-speaking and Indigenous communities have been documented, including ‘men’s camps’ and programs with indigenous or African participants, men’s groups, White Ribbon events, and fathers’ and children’s programs (Bartels, 2011; Department of Human Services (Victoria), 2012). The Strong Aboriginal Men program, developed by the Education Center Against Violence (ECAV), uses processes of community development to engage indigenous men in change. Beginning with extensive consultation with community members, the program then provides three two-day workshops over three months, and after this the men explore how to contribute to community-level prevention efforts such as ongoing men’s groups or other violence prevention initiatives and events (Carmody, Salter, & Presterudstuen, 2014). While there is little published discussion of primary prevention work in such contexts, there is more on how best to work with perpetrators (Bonar & Roberts, 2006; Flory, 2012). On the other hand, there is a growing body of experience and scholarship on engaging men in countries in the global South in primary prevention, whether in India, Brazil, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or elsewhere.

There are emerging principles for effective primary prevention in immigrant, ethnic minority, and indigenous communities, including community ownership and engagement, cultural appropriateness, and community strengthening. I briefly describe these here, before providing a more detailed account in relation to men in particular.

Above all, prevention efforts in immigrant, ethnic minority, and indigenous communities should engage and be led by members of those communities themselves. Community-driven and community-owned strategies receive strong emphasis in discussions of violence prevention and reduction, both in ethnic minority contexts (Department of Social Services, 2015) and Indigenous contexts (Closing the Gap Clearinghouse [AIHW & AIFS], 2016). This means that strategies of community development and community engagement should be central to prevention programming and policy, as I discussed in Chapter 8. Effective community engagement requires identifying community needs, developing community relationships, making services and institutions accountable to community needs, and connecting community members to services and support (Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2004; Michau, 2005; Rosewater, 2003).

A second key principle is cultural appropriateness. ‘One size’ does not ‘fit all’. Prevention efforts must be culturally appropriate: tailored to, and even developed specifically for, particular communities (Bonar & Roberts, 2006; Closing the Gap Clearinghouse (AIHW & AIFS), 2016; Flory, 2012). This means for example that community education efforts should be framed in culturally and linguistically relevant ways and address community issues and values. This has also been framed in terms of being ‘culturally competent’ or ‘culturally responsive’, again to the beliefs, interpersonal styles, attitudes, language, and behaviour of people from diverse cultural backgrounds (Simbandumwe et al., 2008)

A further priority in violence prevention work in indigenous and ethnic minority contexts is building community strength or capacity. This includes recommendations;

- to improve access in Australian indigenous communities to resources and systems of support (Department of Human Services (Victoria), 2012);
- in immigrant and refugee communities to build relationships and networks among women and between such women and their local communities and services (Immigrant Women’s Domestic Violence Service, 2006);
- to provide comprehensive family support for migrant communities and refugees (Bonar & Roberts, 2006); and
- to integrate violence prevention into programs that address other community concerns, e.g. regarding language, community violence, and housing (Simbandumwe et al., 2008).

Before moving to an examination of how to engage men from ethnic minority or indigenous backgrounds in violence prevention, I note some challenges in prevention work in immigrant and refugee, indigenous, and ethnic minority contexts.

In the context of pervasive racist discourses regarding ethnicity, gender, and violence, it is easy to reinforce racism in conducting violence prevention work. This is true even when the work is not directed at any particular ethnic community or context. For example, in a social marketing campaign in Australia directed at men aged 21–29, while more than half of men surveyed correctly perceived that the campaign was aimed at men in general, one in eight (12.5%) thought it was aimed at particular ethnic groups (Hubert, 2003, pp. 36–37). One man said for example, ‘I reckon the campaign is aimed at ethnics [sic] who treat their women like dogs’. Prevention campaigns which do address particular ethnic minority or indigenous populations run a greater risk of intensifying dominant groups’ stigmatising and racist perceptions (Department of Social Services, 2015).

While one challenge is negotiating the racist contexts for our work, there are other dilemmas concerning ‘culture’. In popular Western understandings of men’s violence against women as a reflection of ‘culture’, ‘culture’ often is imputed to the Other, to communities and countries outside the West and to ethnicities outside the dominant White norm. At the same time, ‘culture’ may be used by defenders of traditional or indigenous culture to defend or excuse violence against women (Venganai, 2015). While ‘cultural’ explanations of violence against women often are invoked only outside the west, one significant exception to this is feminist accounts of ‘rape culture’ (Herman, 1988).

Should prevention efforts in ethnic minority and indigenous communities support and celebrate their cultural diversity, their specific cultural traditions? On the one hand, if we support cultural traditions which normalise or justify violence against women we may be complicit in abuse. Appeals to ‘culture’ sometimes are used by members of minority communities to diminish men’s responsibility for their violence. On the other hand, if we intervene to undermine particular cultural traditions, we may perpetuate colonialism and paternalism. Potential solutions lie in both respecting cultural diversity and rejecting notions of violence as culturally legitimate (Braaf & Ganguly, 2002). Community members themselves are likely to draw on cultural values and beliefs in articulating a rejection of violent behaviour, and an important strategy is to assist people to draw on such values.

ENGAGING IMMIGRANT, ETHNIC MINORITY, AND INDIGENOUS MEN

There is little systematic knowledge of how to address intersecting forms of gender, class, and race in working with boys and men. At the same time, the fact that intersecting forms of disadvantage and privilege throw up challenges for this work is widely recognised. For example, an international survey among representatives of organisations that engage men and boys in preventing violence against women and girls found that they emphasise the ways in which poverty, racism, migration, food insecurity and other issues complicate the conceptualisation, implementation, and prioritisation of engaging men in violence prevention (Casey et al., 2013). There are a range of ways in which intersectional factors pose challenges for violence prevention work among men;

- Racism, poverty, and other factors may push issues of men's violence against women to the margins, with this issue seen as less important than or a distraction from these;
- Disadvantages and injustices associated with race, class, and sexuality make it harder for men to become and remain involved and limit the sustainability of programs (Casey et al., 2013);
- It can be deeply problematic to ask men to critically evaluate their power and privilege or to recognise themselves as privileged social actors when in fact they are disadvantaged in important ways (Salter, 2016). Men who experience intersecting forms of social disadvantage—such as indigenous men in Australia (Adams, 2006) or Latino men in the USA (Alcalde, 2014)—experience high levels of abuse, marginalisation, and racism, including violent victimisation;
- Differences and inequalities among men can limit solidarities in gender justice advocacy. For example, in the Samajhdar Jodidar ('supportive partners') project in rural Maharashtra, India, which involves men in advocating for women's political participation and other dimensions of gender equality, the hierarchical relations of caste, class, and status proved an obstacle in various ways. For example, they prevented lower class or lower caste members of men's groups from interacting with wealthy or high caste elites, although they were also a basis for solidarities and collective action (Edström, Shahrokh, & Singh, 2015).

On the other hand, men's locations in intersecting forms of subordination can be powerful inspirations for involvement in anti-violence advocacy. Among African American gay and queer men who participated in Sweet Tea: Southern Queer Men's Collective, their experiences as queer men of colour informed an early awareness of power, inequality and injustice, shaping early and mundane pathways to feminist allyship (Peretz, 2017). Similarly, in another North American study, men of colour who joined violence prevention work brought with them an 'organic intersectionality', an intimate understanding of violence against women was 'already and always connected with the everyday violences of race and class subordination in their own lives' (Messner, Greenberg, & Peretz, 2015, p. 92).

I focus in the following on how to engage ethnic minority, indigenous, and immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention work, p. However, let us focus for a moment instead on the men who organise and lead violence work. In North America, the demographic makeup of male anti-violence advocates has changed over time. A study of three cohorts of male anti-violence activists who joined this work over the 1970s to the present found that, while the earliest cohort was largely white, heterosexual, and middle-class, more recent cohorts are increasingly diverse (Messner et al., 2015). Among men who joined from the 1990s to the present, there are greater numbers of African American and Latina men and gay, bisexual, and queer men. Such men sometimes have differing pathways to this work from other men, and bring more intersectional understandings and strategies. In Australia on the other hand, a study among men who have volunteered to be 'Ambassadors' for the White Ribbon Campaign found that the vast majority are white and English-speaking, heterosexual, and socioeconomically advantaged relative to men in Australia in general (Bell & Flood, 2018). Nevertheless, those coordinating the Australian campaign recently have begun initiatives to increase the diversity of Ambassadors, and this echoes the growing emphasis across the violence prevention field on the need for an intersectional approach.

What are the essential elements of primary prevention efforts among immigrant, ethnic minority, and indigenous men?

Engaging immigrant and indigenous men

- Improve the social and economic conditions of CaLD men and communities
- Include culturally relevant content
- Acknowledge racism and intersectional disadvantage
- Address culturally specific supports for violence and gender inequality
- Draw on local resources and texts in promoting non-violence and gender equality
- Engage men through the leadership of women
- Address men's experiences of changing gender dynamics in families
- Improve CaLD men's access to services.

Improve the Social and Economic Conditions of Men and Communities

The first priority is to address the social and economic conditions of immigrant, ethnic minority, and indigenous men and communities. Writing in the US context, West (2008) argues that consistent risk factors for Black men's perpetration of dating violence include lower socio-economic status, childhood exposure to family violence, and being involved with or exposed to community violence. Therefore, to reduce this violence, we should work to improve the employment status, job conditions, and economic well-being of African Americans (West, 2008). A similar argument can be made in Australia, that improving the material conditions of ethnic minority and Indigenous men and communities also will feed into lower rates of intimate and family violence. Some indigenous advocates recommend that we improve the positions of ATSI men as leaders, providers, and teachers, and 're-empower' them within families and communities (Adams, 2006). More generally, self-determination, including individual and community empowerment, is identified as a key component of violence prevention efforts in Indigenous contexts (Carmody et al., 2014).

Men's use of violence and power in some contexts may have a 'compensatory' dynamic. Writing in the context of countries in Africa, Silberschmidt (2011) argues that work and earning power often are central to constructions of masculinity, and when these are not available to

men, male control and sexuality can become more central. Economic and social changes associated with colonisation and globalisation have undermined men's material standing and social roles, and some men thus resort to other means to establish their authority and control, including violence and sexual aggression.

Community education work with newly arrived men from immigrant and refugee communities should address their pre-arrival experiences of war, torture and trauma, social inclusion and exclusion, precarious legal status, and shifts in domestic relationships (Flory, 2012; Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016). Beyond this however, in contexts where men really are economically and socially disempowered, larger socioeconomic changes are needed to improve their living conditions, such as helping men gain access to income-generating activities with which to contribute materially to their families (Silberschmidt, 2011). Similarly, in contexts where young men may be drawn to antisocial and criminal behaviour, e.g. in gangs as a way to establish masculine identities and cultural capital, it is valuable to provide alternative spaces where they can learn new cultural and vocational skills (Barker, 2000).

Include Culturally Relevant Content and Processes

If cultural appropriateness is a key feature of prevention initiatives, then efforts among immigrant and indigenous men should include culturally relevant content. US research finds that in violence prevention work with racially diverse groups of men, culturally relevant interventions are more effective than 'colourblind' ones. White and Black men took part in two versions of a violence prevention program. One was designed to be culturally relevant in terms of both its form and content: it was facilitated by Black and white educators, it included information on race-related rape myths, and it discussed sexual violence in a cultural context. The other was a generic or 'colourblind' program (Heppner, Neville, Smith, Kivlighan, & Gershuny, 1999). Black men found the culturally relevant program to be more relevant and engaging than the colourblind intervention, although the study was unable to test whether they were more likely to improve than men in the 'colourblind' program. In addition, the study did *not* support the claim that including racial and cultural material in the program will alienate White participants.

The same principle of culturally relevant content applies in communications and social marketing campaigns. This extends from the use of

local or culturally representative figures in marketing materials to the reliance on culturally specific and significant appeals and narratives. For example;

- A media campaign in Australia used high-profile men from a variety of cultural backgrounds to dissuade men from their communities from perpetrating violence against their families. The campaign, called ‘Family Men Don’t Do Family Violence’, involved two television commercials, in which men from various ethnic communities told men to ‘Knock it off mate’ (Poljski, 2011).² (Poljski also describes various other communications and social marketing campaigns directed at particular communities, and notes some of the features of campaigns likely to be more effective in immigrant and refugee communities [Poljski, 2011, pp. 44–49].)
- A process of formative research and local consultation informed a national communications campaign in New Zealand, ‘It’s Not Ok’, resulting in its cultural acknowledgement of the importance of family and whānau (extended family) to Māori and Pacific peoples (Castelino, Colla, & Boulet, 2013).
- In Canada, the Aboriginal Men’s Anti-Violence Campaign (AMAVC) ‘highlights and reclaims Aboriginal men’s traditional roles as protector, provider and warrior and shines a light on positive role models who live their life in a good way by raising and honouring the women and girls in their lives’, aiming to engage ‘Aboriginal men to become active agents of change within their families and communities’.³ The campaign comprises five posters featuring Aboriginal men from Manitoba.

Making interventions culturally appropriate or relevant can include adapting existing programs from one context to increase their applicability in another. As I discussed in Chapter 7, social marketing campaigns for example seek to draw on ‘social self-identification’, the target audience’s sense of familiarity and identification with the people and settings depicted. This may simply mean substituting culturally appropriate language or people, as was done when Men Can Stop Rape’s ‘My Strength

² See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ifna0AsLQdE>.

³ See www.gov.mb.ca/stoptheviolence/amavc.html.

is Not For Hurting' was adapted from the US for use in South Africa. But it may also involve more substantive revisions to the content or delivery of an intervention. For example, when a US-based violence prevention program for athletes, Coaching Boys Into Men, was taken up in India, its implementors first conducted extensive formative research. This research among cricket coaches and athletes documented that sexual harassment or 'eve teasing' was widely practised and condoned and attitudes accepting of gender discrimination were common (Das, Ghosh, Miller, O'Conner, & Verma, 2012), and the program curricula was modified to address these (Miller et al., 2014). Other examples of programs which have undergone adaptation to new settings include Program H, first developed in Latin America but adapted and implemented in Ethiopia and India; Stepping Stones, developed in Uganda and later implemented in various settings in sub-Saharan Africa (Ricardo, Eads, & Barker, 2011) and Sex + Ethics, an Australian sexual violence prevention program adapted for use among Indigenous young people (Wright & Carmody, 2012).

Including culturally relevant content includes addressing racism. In the US context, West (2008) calls for content exploring the intersections of racism and sexism, stereotypes about Black women, and the ways in which Black popular culture encourages violence against women. In the Australian context, relevant content might address the stereotypes of Islam and of Muslim men as backwards, sexist, rapists. In fact, including culturally relevant content will make CaLD participants more motivated to participate and listen to the message (Heppner et al., 1999). Violence prevention with men from CaLD backgrounds should highlight the links between racism and sexism and between racist and sexist violence. It should celebrate the men of colour for example who have worked to end men's violence against women, such as Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, and James Baldwin (Funk, 2006).

There are culturally specific processes and practices which may be used in the name of violence prevention. Among ATSI men, these may include 'men's camps' and 'returns to country', in which men literally return to areas and sites associated with Aboriginal history and occupation, participate in traditional activities and rituals (to do with lore, dance, song, and so on), and sit with indigenous elders. Returns to country can revive traditional Indigenous culture, reinforce strong and positive male role models, maintain cultural protocols of respecting each other and each other's lands, strengthen family networks and relationship

systems, and maintain gender-specific obligations, e.g. of respecting women and the aged (Adams, 2006).

Some grassroots efforts among Indigenous men have brought such men together to make public commitments to ending violence against women. For example, the Central Australian Aboriginal Congress facilitated a national summit for Aboriginal males on stopping violence in July 2008. The summit issued the Interyerrkwe Statement, an apology for violence, which reads in part,

We the Aboriginal males from Central Australia and our visitor brothers from around Australia [...] acknowledge and say sorry for the hurt, pain and suffering caused by Aboriginal males to our wives, to our children, to our mothers, to our grandmothers, to our granddaughters, to our aunts, to our nieces and to our sisters. We also acknowledge that we need the love and support of our Aboriginal women to help us to move forward. (<https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/people/domestic-and-family-violence#toc9>)

‘Culturally specific’ practices for engaging men also include those associated with the dominant, often invisible, white culture. Thus, engaging white, English-speaking men may involve using the practices or events which white men often favour.

Acknowledge Racism and Intersectional Disadvantage

Men of colour—African American, Latino, Asian, and Native American men—face particular myths related to violence. These include the notions that they are more likely to perpetrate violence than European American men, and that they pose a greater threat than their white male counterparts to European American women (Funk, 2006). Work with men from minority ethnic and racial backgrounds should address these myths. It should highlight for example that most rapes are *intraracial*—perpetrated by men against women of their own ethnic or racial class. In turn, most *interracial* rapes are perpetrated by white or European men against women of colour (Funk, 2006).

More generally, work with any group of men should be sensitive to the multiple forms of social difference and inequality which structure their lives. I argued at the beginning of this chapter that every person has a culturally specific social position, that everyone is located in

intersecting relations of privilege and disadvantage. For example, in violence prevention education among rugby league players in Australia, it was clear that while these young, working-class men embodied aspects of dominant masculinity (physical prowess and sporting success), they could not be seen as simple embodiments of hegemonic masculinity: they do not have universal feelings of ‘power over’, and their social locations are not ones of simple privilege (Albury, Carmody, Evers, & Lumby, 2011).

Recognising the intersectional disadvantages experienced by indigenous, immigrant, and other minority men is crucial. Conversations about men’s privilege and power simply may not resonate with such men, or indeed with other men such as working-class and non-heterosexual men. Engaging such men in conversations about the inequalities they have experienced may be a productive path into reflections on gender and violence (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016).

Indeed, men’s recognition of their intersecting identities has proven to be a productive path to engagement in anti-violence advocacy. In an early study among African American feminist men, men drew on their personal experiences of oppression as a reference point in understanding the oppression of women. The experience of racism by itself was not enough to explain their profeminism, but progressive self-reflection on their experiences informed a recognition of how various forms of oppression interact and reinforce each other (White, 2001). In a more recent study, again, reflections on the experiences of vulnerability and discrimination associated with their class and ethnic identities, their immigrant status, and for some, their sexual orientation informed Latino men’s empathy with women victimised by men’s violence and their sense that anti-violence work was both appealing and necessary (Alcalde, 2014).

With any group of men or boys, we must do our homework. Specific patterns of gender and sexuality will be dominant or influential among the men and boys in any particular group or community, and knowing something about these is vital in order to work effectively among them. As I have argued elsewhere, ‘One of the first steps in working with a particular group or community of men should be to map their gendered and sexual culture, in order to see what aspects of this culture contribute to violence against women and what aspects can be mobilised in support of non-violence’ (Flood, 2005–2006, p. 31).

While the intersectional notion of multiple masculinities is widely accepted in principle in work with men, this has been more difficult to

realise in practice (Viitanen & Colvin, 2015). In the experience of the One Man Can campaign in South Africa for example, multiple masculinities were recognised in the campaign's mission statement and programming, but contradicted in practice by participants' emphasis on a singular, homogenous masculinity and reliance on generalised accounts of 'men' as uniform in their character and actions. The 'multiple masculinities' argument was recognised in the abstract, but participants found it difficult to support significant departures from hegemonic norm or to recognise the diversity of masculinities in their own lives and communities (Viitanen & Colvin, 2015).

Address Culturally Specific Supports for Violence

Violence prevention efforts also should address culturally specific supports for violence and gender inequality. They should challenge culturally specific models of masculinity, and inviting men to disinvest from them (Dabby, 2013).

One common form of justification for gender inequalities and violence against women is religious or theological. For example, Christian men may defend gender inequality by claiming that male dominance is mandated by God and legitimated in the Bible. There are several ways to respond to and undermine such accounts;

- Respond that this represents a *misinterpretation* of the text.
- Find *other* theological accounts which support gender equality and non-violence. In the case of the Christian example given, these include Biblical references which state that God created man and woman equally, that a Christian marriage should be a partnership, and so on.
- Focus on *other principles and values* in the text which contradict, or override, apparent defences of inequality and violence.
- Create room for *revision*, e.g. by noting that the religious text also defends *other* practices which are regarded as abhorrent and which we have now rejected, and that the particular text was written in a social context which no longer exists, and it should be abandoned.

Another form of justification is 'cultural', involving defences of violence or gender inequalities in terms of 'tradition' or 'culture'. There are ways to challenge these:

- Place ‘tradition’ or ‘culture’ in their social and historical context, showing that they have varied over time and are shaped by many forces and factors;
- Invite assessment of the positive and negative aspects of ‘tradition’ or ‘culture’ (Greig & Peacock, 2005);
- Note that culture and tradition are dynamic and fluid, in flux across time and space (Braaf & Ganguly, 2002);
- Note that there is plurality and dissent within particular cultures (Braaf & Ganguly, 2002; Venganai, 2015);
- Highlight those aspects of ‘tradition’ or ‘culture’ which have already been abandoned as unethical or harmful, thus opening room for further revisions.

One issue at stake here is how tradition and culture themselves are perceived. Even if particular indigenous or traditional cultures *were* patriarchal or oppressive for women, this does not mean that women in the contemporary societies based on these should continue to be subject to violence (Braaf & Ganguly, 2002).

Supports for violence and gender inequality also may come from the forms of media popular in particular communities. In the US context, West (2008) argues for challenging sexist and violence-supportive beliefs and messages in hip-hop music and culture. She notes the evidence that the misogynistic content of hip-hop and rap music and music videos is associated with greater endorsement of rape myths and gender-role stereotypes about rape (West, 2008).

Draw on Local Resources and Texts in Promoting Non-violence and Gender Equality

Complementing the strategy above, prevention efforts should look for and build on *local* resources, texts, and norms in promoting non-violence and gender equality. In working with immigrant, ethnic minority, and indigenous men, we may make comparisons with other forms of inequality or unjust power, and draw on culturally appropriate texts and stories in critiquing gender inequality such as religious texts, local myths and fables. This might mean, for example, in a Muslim community working to build on Islamic teachings that condemn family violence (Simbandumwe et al., 2008). For example, the Lebanese Muslim Association (New South Wales, Australia) disseminated a video of Islamic

leaders highlighting how the teachings of Islam prohibit domestic violence.⁴

The literature on violence prevention in immigrant and indigenous contexts also tends to suggest that materials should emphasise family harmony, building stronger family relationships, and related messages (Simbandumwe et al., 2008). For example, a review of literature on family and domestic violence in culturally and linguistically diverse communities suggests that ‘positive messages reinforcing community values, such as family harmony and healthy relationships, may be much more effective than confronting and aggressive messages’ (Bonar & Roberts, 2006, p. 5).

There are also obvious dangers here, in that emphases on family harmony and unity may serve to excuse men’s violence, keep women in violent relationships and families, and silence discussions of sexism and abuse. Prevention work in immigrant or indigenous contexts, and indeed in any context, must be prepared to challenge cultural and religious values which support or condone violence against women, as this literature also cautions (Simbandumwe et al., 2008; Venganai, 2015).

Appeals to local and culturally specific resources may be complemented by appeals to universal values of human rights, fairness, justice, and so on. However, relying only on human rights discourse is inadequate, and risks interventions that are ‘impoverished and strategically weak’ (Venganai, 2015). Drawing on the emancipatory potential of culture may be particularly important in more collectivist societies where community goals come before individual goals. In short, culture is an important resource for intervention into violence against women.

Engage Men Through the Leadership of Women

One strategy recommended in much of the literature on violence prevention in ethnic minority communities is involving community and religious leaders—building their capacity to respond to disclosures of family violence, provide information and assistance to women and men, and address family violence in their communities at a broader level (Flory, 2012, pp. 9, 58–59; Poljski, 2011, pp. 35–39; Simbandumwe et al., 2008).

⁴See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w7AjGYjh91E>.

However, most community and religious leaders are men, and both they and their institutions may be poorly placed to show leadership in addressing men's violence against women. In working in ethnic minority contexts to prevent and reduce violence against women, there are at least two reasons to question the emphasis on engaging community and religious leaders. First, while the most visible community leaders often are men, they may not have progressive knowledge of violence or gender, while women's views and informal leadership may be more valuable (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016). Second, there are challenges in faith-based organisations and their leaders becoming champions for gender equality. There are questions about

the extent to which religious institutions, which have historically excluded women from leadership positions and roles, and which concern themselves via forceful and public mechanisms with the regulation of women's sexuality, reproduction and conjugal roles and the reinforcement of traditional family relationships, might become effective conduits for change in gender relations. (Poljski, 2011, p. 37)

In Australia, at least from anecdotal evidence, involving faith-based leaders has had some positive effects, but has also in some instances involved male leaders weakening responses to domestic violence (Poljski, 2011).

I side therefore with the recommendation in a recent report that we engage men through the leadership of women (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016). In immigrant and refugee communities, while men should be engaged as spokespeople and advocates, they 'should not be *promoted* as leaders in violence prevention, but should be guided by the leadership of women, and particularly feminists, from immigrant and refugee communities' (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016, p. 23). This same report provides further guidance on how this work should be organised, including coalitions with immigrant and refugee women from relevant communities and/or settings, the use of established institutional intersectional knowledge and experience in violence against women, and structures of reporting and accountability to relevant community and institutional representatives through steering and advisory groups. Other reports on violence prevention in ethnic minority contexts emphasise that it is desirable to diversify leadership in such contexts, expanding to include ethnic minority women and young people, as well as educating existing community and religious leaders (Department of Social Services, 2015).

One key way in which men become sensitised to the issue of violence against women is through hearing from women about the violence they have suffered, as I discussed in Chapter 5. However, men in some immigrant or Muslim communities may have little social contact with women, because of typical ‘homophilic’ patterns in which men’s social contact largely is with other men. In such contexts, it is particularly important to build relationships across difference, to make alliances with women and women’s organisations from particular communities and ask them to invite men in (Peretz, 2017).

There are two final strategies which are particularly important in efforts to engage immigrant, ethnic minority, and indigenous men in violence prevention.

Address Men’s Experiences of Changing Gender Dynamics in Families

One key task is to address men’s experiences of changing gender dynamics in families. For example, when immigrant and refugee men arrive in Australia, a challenge that some face is managing shifts in their and their female partners’ involvements in paid work and employment (Flory, 2012). Focus groups among 65 immigrant and refugee men in Canada found that many emphasised the economic or financial stresses they faced and the shifting power dynamics in families as their roles as primary breadwinners changed. Some men perceived that the ‘system’ in their new country gives women too much power, producing family tension, although other men disagreed (Simbandumwe et al., 2008). Of course, there is diversity in men’s perceptions of, and responses to, the changes which migration and settlement bring to gendered relationships (Murdolo & Quiazon, 2016).

In helping men to cope with their changing gender and family roles and to improve their relationships with their partners and families, one useful strategy is bilingual health education (Poljski, 2011). Another important education strategy is parenting programs, through which to ‘highlight the equal importance of female and male children, encourage parents to treat all their children equally and educate their children about the value of respectful relationships’ (Poljski, 2011, p. 54). Another is programs for men who are newly arrived immigrants or from new and emerging communities, such as that run by the Australian Migrant Resource Centre (Department of Social Services, 2015).

Improve Men's Access to Services

A small body of Australian research on NESB men's difficulties in accessing domestic violence services suggests that some of the barriers they face are similar to those for NESB women, including

communication and language difficulties; a lack of multilingual and culturally appropriate information; a lack of knowledge of services available; a lack of appropriate outreach programs; counselling may be an alien concept; employment commitments, particularly shift-work; traditional gender roles, which make it difficult for men to admit they need help; and; a belief that family issues should be dealt with within the family. (Bonar & Roberts, 2006, p. 51)

At the same time, there are further issues which CaLD men emphasise. Research in Western Australia suggested that CaLD men

often feel particularly marginalised and are reluctant to approach any government department with any problem or issue in case it reflected on their permanency or residency status.... [particular among recent migrants]; Most CaLD men felt that their role as head of the family had been diminished, and they were deeply concerned about the resultant feeling of anomie, particularly in relation to family discipline; There was a perception that service providers often lack cultural sensitivity. Many CaLD men already felt isolated, and it was perceived that seeking help for any issue such as domestic violence would increase their sense of isolation. (Bonar & Roberts, 2006, p. 51)

CONCLUSION

In violence prevention, we must move beyond simplistic notions of 'white men saving brown women from brown men' (Spivak, 1988). Women from culturally and linguistically diverse and indigenous communities are not necessarily hapless victims, and nor are immigrant and refugee men any more sexist or violent than their English-background male peers. In any context—rich or poor, Anglo or otherwise, newly arrived or fifth-generation—work with men must recognise the intersections of race, class, and sexuality which shape men's lives. An intersectional approach requires attention to both privilege and disadvantage—whether among white, heterosexual men or among other men in marginalised communities—and to the links between violence against women and other forms of social injustice.

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CHAPTER 12

Conclusion

What is the future of efforts to engage men and boys in the prevention of violence against women? To answer this, we must first know where such efforts are up to. What is the state of the men's anti-violence field? Let us begin with the achievements of this work.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FIELD

Perhaps the first achievement to highlight is the sheer breadth of activity taking place to engage men and boys in preventing men's violence against women. Strategies focused on men and boys now are a regular part of many countries' primary prevention efforts. The diversity and breadth of prevention initiatives engaging men and boys was visible for example at a major international gathering in 2014, the *2nd MenEngage Global Symposium: Men and Boys for Gender Justice* (New Delhi, 10–13 November 2014). Over one thousand people from 94 countries took part in the event, and violence prevention was one of several major streams of discussion.

The establishment of significant international networks is part of the field's intensified activity. The largest is MenEngage, a global alliance of country networks, non-government organisations, and United Nations partners, focused on engaging boys and men to achieve gender equality. Begun in 2004, MenEngage has become an important influence on the 'engaging men' field, through its efforts to build and improve the field of practice in engaging men and boys and influence policy-makers at

local, national, and international levels. Gender-based violence is one of five or so priority areas for the alliance.

There has been an increase in the extent to which violence prevention activities now include efforts addressed to men and boys. On university campuses in North America for example, historically most prevention efforts were ‘risk reduction’ or ‘risk avoidance’ programs focused on how young women could lessen their risks of victimisation. More recently though, campuses have devoted increasing attention to engaging men in prevention. In a 2014 survey of grantees in the US Department of Justice Office on Violence Against Women (OVW) Campus Program, among the 83 universities that responded, over half of campuses (59%) were engaging men although using gender-neutral approaches (with no explicit examination of masculinity), and one-quarter (24%) were using gender-neutral *and* gender-informed approaches to engage men in primary prevention (McGann, 2014). Under one-fifth (17%) of campuses were not engaging men or had only very limited efforts to engage men in primary prevention.

As efforts to engage men and boys in the prevention of violence against women have accelerated, there has also been an increase in the body of evidence assessing their effectiveness. A 2007 review documented 15 evaluated interventions involving men and/or boys in preventing and reducing violence (Barker, Ricardo, & Nascimento, 2007), a 2011 review included 65 relevant studies (Ricardo, Eads, & Barker, 2011), and a 2013 review included three further studies not in the 2011 review (Dworkin, Treves-Kagan, & Lippman, 2013). This is not to say that all impact evaluations find that work with men and boys is effective. And to the extent there is evidence, it comes largely from interventions in high-income countries such as those in North America. Nevertheless, there is increasing knowledge of the kinds of strategies and approaches which are more likely to make positive change, as this book itself has explored in detail.

The idea that it is desirable to involve men in preventing violence against women has increasing support through both international commitments and state and national government policies. This enshrining in policies and international commitments of the value of engaging men is the second achievement of note. Various countries have affirmed their support for work with men in a succession of international commitments. Commitments to engage men in building gender equality have been made, for example, at the Beijing Platform for Action

(1995), the General Assembly on HIV/AIDS (2001), the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (2004), and the Istanbul Convention (2011). Analysis of documents from the United Nations and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) finds that in successive documents there is an increasing focus on men as agents of change (van Huis & Leek, 2016). Focusing on the most recent of these international commitments, the Istanbul Convention, this is more properly known as the ‘Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence’. Under Chapter 3, ‘Prevention’, the Istanbul Convention states, ‘Parties shall take the necessary measures to encourage all members of society, especially men and boys, to contribute actively to preventing all forms of violence covered by the scope of this Convention’. So far it has been signed by 46 countries and the European Union.

Some countries’ national frameworks or policies for the prevention of violence against women also include emphases on engaging men and boys in prevention. In Australia, the influential prevention framework *Change the Story* emphasises that fostering gender equality is at the heart of preventing men’s violence against women and girls, and it urges action for example to ‘challenge the normalisation of violence as an expression of masculinity or male dominance’ and ‘reduce backlash by engaging men and boys in gender equality’ (Our Watch, ANROWS, & VicHealth, 2015). There are similar emphases on engaging men in other violence prevention guides and frameworks, such as the CDC’s technical package on *Preventing Intimate Partner Violence Across the Lifespan* (Niolon et al., 2017) and its earlier technical package on preventing sexual violence *Stop SV* (Basile et al., 2016).

A third achievement is to do with public awareness and community attitudes. There are signs of an increasingly widespread acceptance of the notion that men have a responsibility to act to reduce and prevent men’s violence against women. While there is not data with which to quantify this, when a major news story or campaign regarding violence against women emerges, calls for men to play their part in prevention do seem more common than they were perhaps a decade ago. For example, the MeToo campaign began in October 2017 on social media (using the hashtag #MeToo) to demonstrate the widespread prevalence of sexual assault and harassment, particularly in the workplace. Media commentary on the campaign included various calls for men to take action in their workplaces to avoid, challenge, and seek

to prevent harassment and assault. Indeed, inspired by the #MeToo and other movements, a group of film industry and anti-violence men then launched the #AskMoreOfHim campaign. This effort was launched in March 2018 just before the Oscars movie awards, and it aims to challenge men to use their privilege and platforms for good in addressing sexual harassment, abuse, and assault (Katz & Newsom, 2018).

There are signs that the ‘engaging men’ field is growing in its conceptual and political sophistication. On the conceptual front, studies among male anti-violence advocates and educators find that many such men are engaged in critical reflection regarding men, masculinities, and gender (Casey et al., 2013; Tolman et al., 2016). There is widespread recognition for example of how men’s intersecting social locations complicate the conceptualisation, implementation, and prioritisation of engaging men in violence prevention (Casey et al., 2013).

On the political front, there appears to be in the field an increasing awareness of the political complexities of members of a privileged group acting to address that same privilege. For example, the last few years have seen focused discussions of issues of accountability and partnership, as part of examination of how work to engage men can best advance wider efforts to build gender equality and social justice. The international network MenEngage produced accountability standards and guidelines for its members in 2014 (MenEngage, 2014b), facilitated a Partnership and Accountability Blog series in November 2015, facilitated an online discussion on ‘Critical dialogue on engaging men and boys in women’s rights and gender justice: accountability and partnerships’ in April 2016, and released a revised version of its accountability toolkit in January 2018.

It is less clear, however, that the actual strategies used to engage men in violence prevention are moving closer to established standards for effective practice. While such standards are increasingly visible, there is not the data to assess whether actual programs and interventions increasingly meet them. One might hope that as the field evolves, programs will involve more intensive and participatory education strategies, more robust measurement of outcomes, and more rigorous evaluation designs. This is not always the case, as assessment of the recent history of one popular US program for men documents (Tharp et al., 2011).

THE LIMITS AND CHALLENGES OF THE FIELD

The ‘engaging men’ field also faces important challenges. The most important one concerns how this field of practice is positioned vis-à-vis the wider fields of feminist or women’s rights, violence prevention, and social justice work.

Work to involve men in reducing and preventing men’s violence against women came out of the women’s movements, and much of this work continues to be based in feminist and women’s rights organisations and networks. In a global survey of organisations that seek to engage men in violence prevention, three-quarters of respondents reported collaborations with women’s organisations (although this does not necessarily mean robust partnerships) (Kimball, Edleson, Tolman, Neugut, & Carlson, 2013). At the *2nd MenEngage Global Symposium: Men and Boys for Gender Justice* in New Delhi in 2014, one-third of registrants self-identified as women’s rights representatives. As a 2016 MenEngage report notes, many organisations involved in this work grew out of women’s rights movements, partner with them, and have strong feminist agendas (MenEngage Alliance, 2016).

The links between men’s anti-violence work and women’s rights efforts may, however, be weakening. Feminist advocates have expressed concern recently about male-led programs, campaigns, organisations, and networks which are parallel to women’s rights efforts and independent of them, as such efforts may fail to support or even detract from women’s leadership (COFEM, 2017). As the ‘engaging men’ field has grown, new organisations have emerged which do not necessarily have the same feminist agendas or ties to women’s rights movements:

Care must be taken to prevent funds going to organizations that opportunistically jump on the “engaging men” bandwagon but do not approach this work within a framework of gender equality, the empowerment of women, and the transformation of harmful and destructive ideas of manhood. (MenEngage and UNFPA, 2013, p. 10)

There is a compelling rationale for seeking to involve men in the prevention of violence against women, as I argued in Chapter 4. At the same time, the spread and institutionalisation of an ‘engaging men’ agenda has had some unanticipated, negative consequences for women’s rights work. It has eroded the focus and legitimacy of and support for women’s rights work, in several ways.

Engaging men and boys sometimes has been framed as *the solution* to ending men's violence against women and girls (Shiffman, 2014). It is seen as a 'magic bullet', which will do more than any other strategy to lessen this violence. While work with the women who are the victims and survivors is merely 'picking up the pieces', 'real' prevention involves working with men (Shiffman, 2014). Such claims are both inaccurate and dangerous. An excessive and uncritical emphasis on engaging men thus has diminished the legitimacy of women-only and women-focused programs and services. For example, some women's organisations report that they now are subject to pressure to include men (Meer, 2011). Women's rights organisations and women-focused work are being asked, 'What about the men?', although work with men may be irrelevant to or unproductive for them (MenEngage Alliance, 2016). The emphasis on, and practice of, involving men in violence prevention work also risks intensifying the invalidation and marginalisation of the expertise of women and the women's sector (Castelino, 2014). On the other hand, the international network MenEngage has emphasised the vital importance of women's autonomous organisations and leadership.

Work with men is a means to prevent violence against women, rather than a goal in its own right. Yet there is some concern that work with men and boys has become a goal in and of itself, and that some organisations or interventions have only weak commitments to gender justice and do not do enough to challenge patriarchy and power imbalances (MenEngage, 2014a). In a 'critical dialogue' among practitioners and advocates hosted by MenEngage in 2016, some participants argued that much 'of the work with men and boys for gender equality is done without an in-depth analysis of patriarchy and gender power relations' (MenEngage Alliance, 2016, p. 10). Partnerships with, and accountability to, feminist and women's rights organisations and networks thus are a crucial strategy for the work of engaging men.

In the field of work engaging men in violence prevention, strongly intersectional perspectives are only just beginning to emerge. There is widespread recognition of the core tenets of intersectionality: that gender intersects with other forms of social difference and inequality such as those of race and ethnicity, class, and sexuality, and that women and men occupy multiple social locations, each positioned in relation to intersecting social divisions and inequalities (Mann, 2012). In the 'engaging men' field this recognition is stronger for social inequalities to do with race and ethnicity and weaker when it comes to inequalities to do

with sexuality, class, and gender itself (Flood, 2015a). And, as I explored in Chapter 11, the implications of this for how to recruit, inspire, and mobilise men to prevent violence against women are only just being worked out.

There are ongoing debates in the ‘engaging men’ field, and the wider fields of practice with which it is associated, regarding how best to understand gender. These are far from new. Tensions for example between understandings of men as privileged and as also constrained or harmed under the gender order have a long history (Messner, 1997). With regard to interpersonal violence in particular, there are signs of growing debate regarding violence against women and violence against men. While anti-feminist men’s rights advocates have been attacking efforts focused on men’s violence against women for a long time, the debate I am referring to here is different. It is taking place among advocates, researchers, and policy-makers for example in the development field, including many who are sympathetic to feminist attention to violence against women. For example, Dolan (2017) calls for recognition of men’s experiences as victims of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict settings and criticises the neglect of the gender-based harms they experience. On the other hand, some feminist advocates criticise evolving definitions of gender-based violence in the international arena which shift attention away from a specific focus on women and girls (COFEM, 2017). They argue that ‘inclusive’ accounts may undermine attention to the rights and needs of women and girls, lessen efforts to change the social conditions that give rise to violence against women, and lead to inadequate services for males.

There are further limitations to violence prevention efforts among men and boys, ones common to many fields of health promotion, public health, and development, to do with timeframes, levels of intervention, lack of orientation to policy and institutional change, and evaluation. First, much of the work has a short-term, project orientation rather than a long-term, social change orientation. Funding cycles typically are only one to three years long, while longer timeframes may be needed for significant social impact. Second, many interventions work only at a single level rather than at multiple levels of the social order—they fall short of the ideal that prevention efforts are comprehensive, based on multiple strategies, in multiple settings, and at multiple levels. Third, most efforts engaging men and boys in violence prevention take place at the individual, relationship, and community levels. While such work is

vital, this must be complemented by ‘upstream’ efforts focused on policy and institutional change. There are promising instances of efforts to shift policy, as Chapter 8 documented, but such activities are rare. Finally, as I explored in Chapter 3, the evidence basis for work with men is limited.

WAYS FORWARD

There is much one could say about how to take forward the work of engaging men in preventing men’s violence against women. There is not the space here for a detailed manifesto for this project, and in any case, the preceding chapters already have identified a wide range of ways in which to improve the effectiveness of this work. Instead, I conclude by emphasising six key tasks for the ‘engaging men’ field, as follows:

1. Maintain a feminist agenda
2. Work in partnership with women’s rights and movements
3. Link gender justice to other forms of justice
4. Build the evidence base
5. Politicise men and masculinities
6. Scale up.

Maintain a Feminist Agenda

My first general point is that this work must maintain a feminist agenda. We must continue to embed efforts to prevent and reduce violence in feminist frameworks, feminist agendas, and feminist movements for gender justice.

Why should feminist principles and politics be central to violence prevention and reduction? First, it is feminist scholarship that provides the most comprehensive and credible account of the causes and consequences of this violence. Second, it is feminist activism that placed violence against women on community and policy agendas. Third, the evidence is that feminist activism is critical to the existence of violence prevention and reduction policy. A recent review of violence against women policies in 70 countries over four decades finds that the existence of a strong, autonomous women’s movement is a critical success factor in the prevention of violence against women (Htun & Weldon, 2012). It is particularly important that *men’s* anti-violence work is guided by feminism. This work involves advocacy by members of a privileged group

(men) to undermine that same privilege, and it is feminism which speaks most to gender and gendered privilege.

Affirming that violence prevention work with men must be feminist does not settle the issue. There are significant differences and debates within feminism regarding men's violence against women. Diverse strands or schools of feminist advocacy and scholarship differ in the weight they give to the issue of men's violence against women, their explanatory or theoretical frameworks regarding this violence, and the strategies they advocate or pursue in response. Indeed, there are heated debates within feminism over particular practices or domains seen by some to be implicated in men's violence against women, such as pornography, prostitution or sex work, and trafficking. The question then becomes *which* feminisms and feminist positions are adopted.

Nevertheless, drawing on feminist frameworks and agendas has several implications. A feminist agenda requires that:

- Our efforts are *transformative*—that is, that they are oriented towards the transformation of gendered systems and structures (MenEngage Alliance, 2016).
- We must take seriously the feminist attention to the *structural* and *material* nature of gender inequalities. This means, for example, moving beyond the focus on attitudes which has sometimes characterised the violence prevention field, as if attitudes were the only important dimension of gender and gender inequalities (Pease & Flood, 2008).
- We must resist shifts towards the degendered approaches to violence prevention already visible in some areas of this work (Katz, Heisterkamp, & Fleming, 2011).
- We must use the term 'feminist', asserting its legitimacy and credibility.

Overlapping with this, efforts to engage men in the prevention of violence against women must be conducted in partnership with women's rights and movements.

Work in Partnership with Women's Rights and Movements

It is vital to build and maintain alliances between men's work for non-violence and gender equality and the women's rights organisations and

movements. This requires processes of partnership, dialogue, and cooperation (MenEngage, 2014a).

There are legitimate concerns that as the ‘engaging men’ field progresses, it may divert scarce resources from women’s rights work, diminish the legitimacy of feminist women’s expertise and leadership, and develop in separate and siloed ways. To avoid this, several interrelated strategies are important, particularly for male anti-violence advocacy. This work should be accountable, both in terms of holding men to account for violent and sexist behaviour and being accountable to women’s rights organisations. Advocates should work to sustain and extend feminist and women’s programs, movements, and policy machinery. In short, the work of engaging men and boys and the work of women’s rights are part of a common project, united by the shared goal of gender justice (MenEngage Alliance, 2016).

Link Gender Justice to Other Forms of Justice

Work to engage men and boys in preventing violence against women and girls must link gender injustices to other forms of social injustice and build alliances with other social justice efforts. There are several reasons for this. First, both gender in general, and violence against women in particular, are shaped by multiple, intersecting forms of inequality and oppression. An intersectional feminist analysis allows us to have a better understanding of the problems on which we are focused. Second, efforts to engage men must reckon with the inequalities and hierarchies among men themselves, the complex patterns of privilege and disadvantage which shape men’s lives. Third, forging partnerships between gender justice and other social justice struggles and movements—such as those addressing sexual diversity, sexual rights, and economic justice—helps to make social change (MenEngage, 2014a). If advocates, programs, and movements engaging men can build collective solidarity with other progressive efforts, they will intensify the support for and momentum towards justice (Horn, 2013).

Build the Evidence Base

There are encouraging signs that well-designed interventions engaging men and boys can contribute to the reduction and prevention of violence against women. At the same time, many interventions have not been

evaluated, existing evaluations often are limited methodologically, the actual evidence on effectiveness is uneven, and what change takes place typically is measured only at the level of individual attitudes and behaviours. In addition, we do not yet have good answers to some important questions here. As I have asked elsewhere,

Are some strategies more effective among some groups of men or boys than others, and why? [...] What are the mediators of change, those factors which influence whether and how change occurs? What factors sustain men's and boys' involvement in and commitment to prevention activities? How do the contextual features and dynamics of organisations, communities, and cultures influence efforts to engage men and boys in violence prevention? How is men's and boys' participation in the prevention of violence against women shaped by the wider dynamics of gender and sexuality and other forms of social difference? (Flood, 2015b, p. 205)

Building the evidence base for this work thus is an ongoing task.

Politicise Men and Masculinities

There is a need to *politicise* this work. By this, I mean, we must continue to highlight that violence against women, and gender inequalities more generally, are fundamentally political—they concern issues of injustice and oppression, privilege and disadvantage. More widely, we must highlight the political character of masculinities—the harms and injustices which are the product of dominant constructions of manhood. There has been in popular culture in recent years some productive discussion of the ways in which men do gender inequality or sexism, and the harms to men associated with gender, for example in journalistic accounts of ‘toxic masculinity’ (Cosslett, 2017). We must continue to popularise and disseminate feminist critiques of men's violent and sexist practices.

We must also politicise the work of engaging men and boys itself (Edström, 2013). A key dimension of this is working to ensure that efforts engaging men and boys are based on strong feminist agendas and oriented towards transformative social change. Another is to take to heart the feminist slogan that ‘the personal is political’ (Hanisch, 2000 [1969]), such that male participants in this work take action to build non-violence and gender justice in their own lives (MenEngage Alliance, 2016). A third dimension is to mobilise men and build activist

movements. As I argued in Chapter 8, strategies of community development and mobilisation are essential to shift the cultures, social relations, and structural inequalities which underpin violence against women.

Mobilising men in violence prevention is important for several reasons. First, men have been largely absent from efforts to end violence against women, and still, most of the work is done by women. We need more men doing the work, including the unpaid, low-status, behind-the-scenes work. Second, more men means more energy and labour, greater resources, and wider networks. Third, mobilisation is one way to change men themselves: when men do get involved in anti-violence advocacy, typically they go through processes of personal change, developing a stronger consciousness of their complicity in violence and sexism and more gender-equitable personal relations (Flood, 2014). But most importantly, mobilising men will build help to build the movements and networks which can advocate for social change and hold governments and other institutions to account.

Scale Up

If work with men and boys is to contribute to the dismantling of pervasive and systemic gender inequalities, it must be scaled up. We must take violence prevention work with men and boys from the program and project level into policies and institutions. This work must reach large numbers, and change systems and institutions (MenEngage, 2014a).

‘Scaling up’ is a standard part of a public health approach to intervention. To ‘scale up’ is to expand successful programs in order to create greater impact. Methods for scaling up may include (a) expansion of scope: expanding the size or scope of a particular intervention to increase the number of beneficiaries served or services offered; (b) replication: reaching greater numbers of beneficiaries geographically through replication, and perhaps adaptations, of an intervention; and (c) expanding geographic coverage (USAID, 2015). Scaling up thus involves dissemination of information about effective strategies, and the implementation of effective and promising interventions in a wide range of settings (Walden & Wall, 2014). There is now increasing guidance on how to scale up violence prevention interventions, including case studies of efforts focused on men and boys (Promundo and UNFPA, 2016; USAID, 2015).

Scaling up thus raises challenging issues of capacity, transferability, and applicability. Is there the institutional capacity to support scaling up, and what kinds of policy and program development and resources are necessary (USAID, 2015)? Can interventions developed in high-income countries and contexts be transferred to low- and middle-income ones? Can interventions developed in one cultural setting be applied in another? Will a proven strategy or program now implemented on a much greater scale still be effective? What locations or institutions are particularly strategic in scaling up work with men and boys?

Most violence prevention work with men and boys has been local in scale and limited in scope. To really transform gender inequalities, we must adopt systematic, large-scale, and coordinated efforts. We need to scale up at every level of intervention, from community education in schools, to mobilisations among activist networks and movements, to organisational and institutional change.

LAST WORDS

This book has explored a wide range of ways in which to engage men and boys in the prevention of men's violence against women. The confronting news is that this violence will not cease in our lifetimes. Physical and sexual violence against women and girls is a pervasive social problem, embedded in systematic inequalities, widespread cultural norms, and typical patterns of interaction and relationships.

Still, there is cause for hope. This book has documented that it *is* possible to shift the attitudes and behaviours which sustain men's violence against women. Primary prevention efforts intended to reduce and prevent domestic and sexual violence increasingly include programs and strategies aimed at men and boys. And there is heartening evidence that well-designed interventions here can and do make a difference.

To stop the physical and sexual assault of women and girls, we will need large-scale social change. We must transform the gender inequalities which shape every level of society and build just and respectful gender relations in relationships, families, and communities. While community organisations, institutions such as workplaces and sports and the military, and indeed governments all have vital roles to play, it is men in general who must act. Men and boys must take personal and collective action to end men's violence against women, once and for all.

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