CHAPTER 2

Men's Antiviolence Activism and the Construction of Gender-Equitable Masculinities

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Introduction

One increasingly visible expression of alternative masculinities around the globe is men's involvement in efforts to prevent men's violence against women. Men who take part in such efforts, for example, as activists or educators, take up projects of personal change as well as wider social change. They seek to be "the change they wish to see in the world," working to undermine their own gender privilege and to act in gender-equitable and nonviolent ways. This chapter focuses on such men. It examines men's paths to involvement in collective projects to prevent men's violence and to build gender equality, the personal transformations men undergo, and the ways in which they may be complicit with patriarchal gender relations, concluding with an examination of the complexities of addressing personal and institutional privilege.

Men's antiviolence activism is a clear instance of counterhegemonic practice. First, this activism is defined by a critique and rejection of a practice associated with hegemonic masculinity, men's violence against women. Men who participate in activism focused on men's violence against women are addressing a practice named in feminist scholarship and advocacy as a paradigmatic expression of male power. Second, most men's antiviolence activism rests on the belief that it is precisely this hegemonic or dominant masculinity that underpins

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men's violence against women, and therefore that efforts to reduce or prevent this violence must challenge hegemonic masculinity. It is well documented that important predictors of men's use of violence against women include their adherence to sexist, patriarchal, or sexually hostile attitudes, their involvement in male-dominated power relations in relationships and families (Flood, "Involving Men" 359), and their participation in formal and informal contexts characterized by gender segregation, male bonding, and sexism (Flood and Pease 36–39). Third, much men's antiviolence activism involves the self-conscious development of antipatriarchal practices in both personal and public life, as this chapter explores below. What then is the context for and character of this activism?

Profeminist Men's Advocacy

The context for men's involvement in efforts to prevent men's violence against women is profeminist men's advocacy. Small numbers of men have become public advocates for feminism. They lobby for progress toward gender equality or gender justice: as individuals, through men's groups and networks, and in wider progressive movements and alliances (Flood, "Collective Struggles"). In Australia, for example, in the wake of the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, a series of antisexist men's groups emerged, with such names as Men Against Patriarchy (MAP), Men Opposing Patriarchy (MOP), and the Men's Anti Gender Injustice Group (MAGIC). There are longstanding national organizations such as the National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS) in the United States, and major international networks such as MenEngage, a global alliance of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and United Nations (UN) agencies seeking to engage boys and men to achieve gender equality. These efforts have historical precedents in men's organized support for women's suffrage and equality in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Men's antiviolence activism is now the most common and visible expression of profeminist men's advocacy. Profeminist men's groups and networks have addressed a range of issues associated with feminism, from the sexist socialization of children to pornography and reproductive rights. However, to the extent that there are men who are involved in activism and advocacy that is informed by and supportive of feminism, many of them are focused on men's violence against women. Again in Australia, for example, much of the profeminist men's activism that took place in the 1990s was through Men Against Sexual Assault (MASA) groups in most capital cities, and today, much takes

place through the White Ribbon Campaign, an international effort to engage men in preventing and reducing violence against women. Profeminist men's focus on men's violence against women reflects the understanding that this violence is a paradigmatic expression of male power and the fact that it is a central concern of feminism and the women's movements.

Growing numbers of men around the world participate in activist efforts to prevent and reduce men's violence against women. They organize rallies and marches, conduct education programs in schools and universities and elsewhere, disseminate ideas through news and social media, lobby governments and others, and work in partnership with women and women's groups. The most visible contemporary expression of this collective mobilization is the White Ribbon Campaign, dedicated to involving men in stopping violence against women. The campaign began in 1991 in Canada on the second anniversary of one man's massacre of 14 women in Montreal, and has now spread to the United States, Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Australia. Activities focus on and around November 25, a day declared by the UN General Assembly as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (IDEVAW).

There has been a groundswell of activity centered on men's roles in violence prevention. In Australia, for example, the White Ribbon Campaign has achieved very substantial institutional presence and support, distributed over 200,000 ribbons in each of the last five years, and generated significant media coverage and community awareness. 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. The White Ribbon Campaign also involves productive partnerships between women's organizations and a variety of men-focused networks and male-dominated organizations. A range of other forms of advocacy and mobilization among men complements the White Ribbon Campaign, including local events and marches.

Men's antiviolence activism globally is marked by further positive trends. There is an increasing body of scholarly evidence that, if done well, efforts to shift men's violence-related attitudes and behaviors can work. Significant regional and international networks and organizations have emerged in the last decade. There is substantial support in some national government policies for engaging men in

prevention. Strategies of community education and social marketing are increasingly complemented by other strategies, including efforts to engage and mobilize communities, change organizational practices, and influence policies and legislation. There has been an increase in efforts to engage men in violence prevention through particular domains such as parenting. There is growing attention to violence prevention work with men and boys in conflict and post-conflict settings in particular. There is some evidence of an increasing orientation toward "scaling up"—toward addressing the systemic and structural supports for men's violence. And there is an increasing emphasis on evaluation—on gathering evidence with which to assess the effectiveness of these efforts.

While these are encouraging signs, others are more sobering. Some men are prone to "premature congratulation," overestimating the extent to which men's involvements in violence prevention have made a substantial difference. Violence prevention work with men and boys remains small and scattered, and relatively few men are directly involved in ongoing advocacy. Many interventions have not been evaluated, and what evaluations there are demonstrate that some efforts are ineffective or even harmful. There is a powerful backlash against efforts to address men's violence against women, pioneered by anti-feminist "men's rights" and "fathers' rights" groups (Flood, *Where Men Stand*). Much of the work engaging men and boys in violence prevention is conceptually simplistic, and not informed by contemporary scholarship either on interpersonal violence and its prevention or on men and masculinities. The growing focus on engaging men and boys in prevention is politically delicate and, in some instances, dangerous. Not all "work with men" shares a feminist-informed commitment to gender justice. "Work with men" sometimes has ceased to be the strategy and has become the goal, perceived as an end in itself rather than as one means of pursuing violence prevention and gender equality. Finally, and most important of all, efforts to end men's violence against women face the enormous challenge of changing the entrenched gender inequalities and other collective or institutional processes that sustain this violence.

While men are agents of antiviolence advocacy, men and boys also are the objects or "targets" of such advocacy. Alongside men's direct participation in advocacy to end violence against women, men and boys increasingly are being addressed as the targets of education and other preventive strategies. In particular, a wide range of face-to-face educational groups and programs, communication and social marketing, and other educational strategies now focus on men and boys

(Flood, "Involving Men"). Some degree of formation of counterhegemonic masculinities is likely to take place among the male audiences for such strategies, and indeed this is often an explicit goal of this work. However, this chapter focuses instead on male advocates and activists.

Becoming Counterhegemonic

When men become involved in activism addressing men's violence against women, they are in a sense "becoming counterhegemonic." They take on understandings, emotional investments, and everyday practices that are at odds at least with aspects of hegemonic masculinity. How then do these men come to be involved? I highlight men's paths to involvement, both as advocates and activists in violence prevention and in wider profeminist activism.

There is a small body of research among men involved in antiviolence and gender equality advocacy. It suggests that there are some common themes among men with long-term dedication to such efforts: exposure to or personal experience 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 and Smith 956).

Recent research from the United States highlights the factors that shape men's initial entry into and involvement in violence prevention work. Casey and Smith interviewed 27 men who had recently began involvement in an organization 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 antiviolence group or effort. This research found that three factors are critical in shaping men's initial entry into antiviolence work: (1) personal, "sensitizing" experiences that raise men's awareness of violence or gender inequalities; (2) invitations for involvement; and (3) making sense of these experiences in ways that are motivating.

First, many men have some kind of "sensitizing" experience that makes the issue of men's violence against women more real or pressing. Common experiences include the following:

- hearing women's disclosures of violence
- having closeness and loyalties to particular women
- having political and ethical commitments to justice, equality, and related ideals

- being exposed to feminist ideas
- having nontraditional peers and relatives
- experiencing violent victimization

One of the most common sensitizing experiences is hearing from women about the violence they have suffered. Among the men in Casey and Smith's study, many had heard a disclosure about domestic or sexual violence from a close female friend, family member, or partner, or witnessed violence in childhood (Casey and Smith). Similarly, 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 137–140). In a study of 25 men active in all-male antirape 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 et al. 510).

Other sensitizing experiences also are influential. Some men come to profeminist involvements because their closeness to a particular woman in their life—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 11–12). Some men have a preexisting commitment to social justice, gender equality, or a related set of principles or values (Casey and Smith). Canadian young men involved in antisexist activism also had been inspired by intellectual engagement with feminist ideas and teachers and a sense that gender equity is "right" or "fair" (Coulter 137–140). Some men are exposed to materials about violence against women, for example, in a prevention education program, or have been moved or troubled by stories of victims/survivors (Casey and Smith). Research in Brazil also finds evidence for the influence of nontraditional peers. Some young men questioned prevailing gender injustices because of relationships with a relative, family friend, or other person who modeled nontraditional gender roles, membership in an alternative peer group with more gender-equitable norms, and their own self-reflection (Barker 96). Men's own victimization also can foster counterhegemonic involvements. 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 11–12).

A tangible opportunity to participate in an antiviolence 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 antiviolence work,

searching for groups that can "make a difference," or taking up paid or voluntary work (Casey and Smith 960–961). Among men sympathetic to the issue of violence against women, factors shaping a lack of involvement in antiviolence work include the lack of a tangible invitation to participate, lack of time, ignorance of how to help, and so on. Men's reasons for not being involved include a fear of not being welcome, lack of prioritization, helplessness, and defensiveness (Crooks et al. 219).

However, whether or not initial sensitizing events and involvements lead to ongoing involvements in antiviolence 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 sensitizing experiences, while for others these meanings arose out of their involvement in antiviolence work, and most men identified with more than one (Casey and Smith 961).

Some men involved in violence prevention work describe themselves as *compelled to action*. They now 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 that can help (961–962). Some men describe 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 (963–965). Finally, still from the US research, some men now see antiviolence 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 (965–966).

Most men do not use the bluntest forms of violence against women, most regard violence against women as unacceptable, and most are willing to take action to reduce or prevent violence against women, at least according to US data (Flood, *Where Men Stand*). At the same time, few men become involved in public and collective projects of antiviolence advocacy. Even among men who have some sympathy for the issue, there are significant barriers to taking action (Flood, *Where Men Stand* 35–38). Many men subscribe to sexist and violence-supportive attitudes and norms, including ones that are compatible with an overt condemnation of domestic violence and rape. Men routinely overestimate the extent to which their peers agree with violence

and sexism and underestimate their peers' willingness to intervene in these. Even when privately uncomfortable with or critical of violence and violence-supportive behaviors, many men do not act or speak up. They fear that they will be subjected to violent retaliation, that their masculinity will be called into question, (if heterosexual) that they will be perceived as gay, and that they will suffer other negative social reactions associated with questioning or challenging peers. Many men perceive antiviolence campaigns as "anti-male," and this often reflects a wider perception of feminism as hostile to and blaming of men. Men may lack concrete opportunities to participate. And finally, men often lack knowledge of or skills in the strategies with which to prevent or reduce violence against women (35–38).

Nevertheless, some men do become involved in movements to end men's violence against women and to build a more gender-equal world. Their commitments have grown in a rich soil of deeply felt personal experiences, particular relationships and intimacies and loyalties, and ethical and political commitments. Men's involvements have been nurtured by tangible opportunities to participate, and sustained by a sense of a mandate for action, a deeper understanding of the issues, and the support of peers and a community.

Making Personal Change

It is an article of faith in men's antiviolence activism that men should engage in both personal and social change. Men should strive for nonviolent and gender-equitable lives, as well as engaging in wider collective activism. Lists of "what men should do" are a routine inclusion in the materials circulated both internally and externally by men's antiviolence groups.[1] There are three broad forms of action men are expected to undertake: behaving nonviolently ourselves, taking action among other men and women, and taking wider collective action.

My own "toolkit for action in men's daily lives" is typical (Flood, *Men Speak Up*). It begins from the premise that men who wish to help prevent or reduce men's violence against women must start by "putting their own house in order." Men must strive to build nonviolent and respectful relations with the women and girls (and other men and boys) in their lives (Flood, *Men Speak Up* 11–13). This requires that men reflect on and change their own violent, abusive, or sexist behaviors and critically examine their social and sexual relations with women. Greig and Edström (9–10) argue that the first step in men becoming activists for change is to reflect on their own journeys,

including their own enactments of male privilege and complicity in violence. Men must build respectful and nonviolent relations with women, whether in the bedroom, the kitchen, the workplace, or on the street. Complementing these, men should boycott and resist a sexist and violence-supportive culture (media, language, and so on), and develop a working knowledge of the realities of violence and gender injustice (Flood, *Men Speak Up*).

Thus, men who participate in men's antiviolence activism are expected to be "the change they wish to see in the world." This expectation echoes the longstanding feminist sentiment that "the personal is political." It was embodied too in earlier profeminist efforts, such as the antisexist men's consciousness-raising groups that emerged in the early 1970s in various Western countries. These were used to facilitate a critical self-questioning of sexist practice, to build peer support for new ways of being, and to provide a basis for public activism.

Men's antiviolence activism also takes as given that individual men should act as agents of change in their everyday lives, particularly by intervening in violence and sexism. Again, my "toolkit for action" is typical. It urges that men intervene in situations involving violence against women or the risk of such violence, challenge perpetrators and potential perpetrators, and support victims and survivors. It also urges that men adopt a range of everyday strategies to shift the attitudes, practices, and inequalities that contribute to men's violence against women: challenging violence-supportive and sexist comments or jokes, being an egalitarian influence on sons and daughters and others, and striving for gender inequality in their identities and interactions (Flood, *Men Speak Up* 13–19). And, of course, it is essential for men also to take part in the third form of action, collective advocacy and activism.

If the men who participate in men's antiviolence advocacy are encouraged to develop antipatriarchal practices in both their personal and public lives, to what extent to do they actually do so? There is a small body of evidence that the men who take up activist involvements addressing men's violence against women do develop alternative forms of practice. Men who participate in men's antiviolence activism do move toward counterhegemonic masculinities. At the same time, this research also shows evidence of men's ongoing complicity in patriarchal privilege.

There are only a handful of studies globally of men's involvement in community-based violence prevention. These include studies among male activists and educators, for example, in campus antirape

groups or in violence prevention and gender-equality initiatives. Nearly all are from North America, few are longitudinal, and none assess the impact of men's involvement using pre- and postinvolvement measures of impact. Nevertheless, these studies do provide some support for the claim that the men who participate in men's antiviolence activism do undergo positive personal change. In an early study, Hong examined Men Against Violence, a campus-based network of male peer support, drawing on participant observation, interviews, and document analyses. She found that the men engaged in a substantial rejection or reformulation of key constructions of stereotypical masculinity (Hong). Looking at four tenets of traditional masculinity—"No sissy stuff," "Be a big wheel," "Be a sturdy oak," and "Give 'em hell"—Hong found evidence of men's rejection or reformulation of each. In another account, three women reported on their experience of recruiting male volunteers as antiviolence educators in the Men Against Violence Education Network (MAVEN) (Mohan and Schultz). They reported that they now have strong male allies, dedicated volunteers who are making a difference to their social change work.

In both these examples, however, there was also evidence of men's persistent involvement in patriarchal practices and relations. Men in the Men Against Violence network espoused chivalric notions of themselves as protectors and defenders of women, showed defensive homophobic responses to others' perceptions of gayness and effeminacy, and supported norms of male bravado regarding physical conflicts (Hong). The three women above also felt "mauled by MAVEN," encountering sexism, lack of empathy for survivors, and stereotypical expectations of their roles as women (Mohan and Schultz).

Several other studies among male antiviolence activists also show counterhegemonic trajectories. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, a program sought to engage male community leaders in the prevention of rape as a weapon of war. A postintervention assessment of the program's impact, conducted through focus groups and interviews, found improvement in both attitudes and behaviors among the participants, with this confirmed by women's groups (International Planned Parenthood Federation 70–71). A US study involved interviews with ten men who had completed a year-long service learning course, the Fraternity Peer Rape Education Program, in which men in university fraternities (all male residences) were trained to become peer rape educators. The men reported attitudinal and emotional shifts, increasing recognition of rape-supportive behavior, and at least some signs of an alternative discourse regarding gender and masculinity

(Wantland 66–68). Like other studies described here, these findings are limited by their reliance on retrospective self-reports and the likelihood that participants responded in socially desirable ways to the interview questions.

In Casey and Smith's interviews with 27 men who had recently began involvement in an organization or event dedicated to ending sexual or domestic violence in the United States, there were various signs of alternative forms of personal practice. Various of the men reported that they became aware of how violence is an issue relevant to the women in their lives, now connect violence to social injustices and to traditional masculinity, and reevaluated past experiences or behaviors, including their own use of aggression. Five of the men reported now doing "masculinity" differently, particularly in relation to close friendships between men. At the same time, while models of the development of social justice allies in other fields suggest that engaging with one's own social identities and privilege is an important precursor to involvement, among these men it was less apparent. Only a minority of the men referred explicitly to reassessing their own current or past sexist behavior (Casey and Smith 967). This may reflect the relative recent character of their initiation into antiviolence work (968).

The emphasis on personal change in movement accounts of "what men should do" is echoed by activists themselves. In interviews with 21 men who had been involved in violence prevention work for anywhere from 5 to 35 years, Funk found that the personal significance of this work was highly salient. The men reported that involvement had a significant impact, for example, on their relations with other men, including being positioned as "not men" and having friendships complicated or threatened. A common theme reported by these men was that working to prevent men's violence against women "demands of men a degree of self-interrogation about what it means to be a man and a re-examination of their conceptualization of masculinity" (Funk 168).

Support for the idea that involvement in men's antiviolence advocacy will lead to progressive personal change also comes from research regarding a related strategy of violence prevention, community education. Various community education programs among men or boys have been shown to shift the attitudes and behaviors associated with men's violence against women (Flood, "Preventing"). The boys and men who participate in face-to-face education in schools and universities are not activists or advocates. However, if they can show positive change as a result of educational sessions that are 6 or 10 or 20

hours in duration, then it is likely that men with more intensive and ongoing participation in violence prevention efforts will show greater change.

The nature and extent of personal transformation among men involved in antiviolence activism is likely to be shaped by various factors. One obvious factor is what they bring to their involvement. Men of course show differing levels of awareness about and willingness to take responsibility for problems of violence and gender inequality. They are at different places along the continuum of stages of change, from passive indifference to active intervention. Men's personal change also will be influenced by the duration and intensity of their involvement, the ideologies and practices of the groups and efforts in which they participate, and wider structural and collective influences.

Among the men who participate in men's antiviolence advocacy, there is significant variation in degrees of participation and commitment. In Australia, for example, 1,900 men have signed up as "Ambassadors" for the White Ribbon Campaign, to play a public role in promoting the campaign. While of these men, some have made the prevention of violence against women a significant part of their working week throughout the year, others' involvement is confined largely to the days on and around November 25, and still others' is 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 practiced far less critical reflection and self-transformation. Again in Australia, there were over 460 events and 250,000 ribbons distributed in the 2012 Australian campaign. However, it is unclear in how many of these events men played a significant organizing role, how many of the ribbons were worn by men, how many of the men wearing ribbons freely chose to wear them rather than being ordered to by a superior, and for how many wearing the ribbon symbolized a substantive rather than superficial commitment to addressing violence against women.

Complicity with patriarchal masculinities also is visible among men involved in other ostensibly countercultural movements and subcultures. For example, "Straight Edge" (sXe) is a male-dominated youth movement in the United States based on music and other cultural practices. It is based on an overt challenge to sexism and homophobia, advocacy of various social justice causes, and a rejection of "unhealthy" aspects of masculinity, including alcohol and drug consumption, sexual conquest, objectification and casual sex, and violence (including male-male violence) (Haenfler). The movement is an important

context for young men's redefinitions of masculinity. However, sXe also shows the pervasive influence of hegemonic masculinity, in its exclusion of women, particularly through homosocial cliques, the absence of women's voices, the emphasis on male camaraderie, and the neglect of institutional change.

Undermining Privilege

It should not surprise us that some men involved in the counterhegemonic project of ending men's violence against women also are complicit in patriarchal masculinities. Men in general carry an "invisible backpack" of privilege, a taken-for-granted set of unearned benefits and assets, and gender norms and inequalities shape patterns of male-female interaction. Men involved in violence prevention are not immune from these.

Reflecting their histories of privilege as men in a sexist society, some men deliberately or inadvertently behave in dominating ways in antiviolence work: using their newfound knowledge to do power to women, claiming to be better feminists than women, playing off one women's group against another, or taking over women's spaces. Men and women learn to relate in ways that advantage men as a group and disadvantage women as a group, because of wider gender inequalities and gender norms (Flood, "Collective Struggles" 464). In addition, as a study among men in campus antirape groups found, men may persist in homosocial investments, focusing more on and being more affected by evaluations by male peers than female peers (Piccigallo et al. 514). While participation in men's antiviolence events may invite transgressions of gender and sexual hierarchies, it may also reinforce them. For example, Bridges (22–23) describes his observations of "Walk a Mile in Her Shoes" marches, in which men wear stereotypically female shoes, typically with high heels, and literally walk a mile, to show their concern about violence against women. These men's use of drag involved the playful disruption of gender boundaries in ways that marked these performances as temporary and inauthentic, reinforcing rather than destabilizing gender boundaries. Their performances also showed a homophobic avoidance and renunciation of challenges to heterosexuality (16–19).

The public reception of men's antiviolence work also is shaped by patriarchal privilege, with men's efforts receiving greater media attention and interest than women's, and men receiving praise and credit (especially from women) that is often out of proportion to their efforts (Flood, "Collective Struggles" 464). As Bridges (22–23) observes,

this norm of gratitude from women was clear for example at the start of various "Walk a Mile in Her Shoes" marches.

Men involved in advocacy to prevent and reduce men's violence against women themselves recognize the tensions of negotiating male privilege. A recent international study involved interviews with 29 representatives of organizations that engage men and boys in preventing violence against women and girls, in Africa, Asia, Europe, Oceania, and North and South America (Casey et al.). Two-thirds of the representatives spoke of the tensions in asking a privileged social group to examine their deeply held beliefs about being a man and to critically evaluate their privilege. In particular, they faced the challenge of simultaneously inviting and involving men on the one hand and not colluding with or reinforcing male privilege on the other hand. At the collective or structural level, male privilege in the form of institutionalized male power in various institutions made it difficult to build resources, legitimacy, support, and membership (Casey et al. 235–236).

Undermining one's own gender privilege and living in gender-equitable ways are not easy tasks. There are several reasons for this. First, men have lived lives embedded in patriarchy. Men in general have formed subjectivities, behaviors, and habits of interaction informed by patriarchal privilege, and undoing these is complex and multilayered. Second, regardless of their antipatriarchal commitments, men are constantly invited into forms of domination over women—by media and popular culture, male acquaintances, and indeed sometimes by women themselves. Only good habits or vigilance prevent men from accepting these invitations into inequality. Third, and most importantly of all, in a patriarchal society, it is impossible for men to be fully antipatriarchal. Whether they wish to or not, men still receive patriarchal privileges. For example, men's voices and beliefs will usually be given more authority, men will be assumed often to be more competent and promotable workers than women, and men will experience levels of physical and sexual freedom denied to many women.

Men's antiviolence activism is a significant site for the construction of alternative masculinities. Developing gender-equitable forms of identity and behavior is a prominent aspect of men's antiviolence work. Progressive personal change is seen as a necessary complement to, and foundation for, social advocacy. It is clear from studies among men's antiviolence activists that many do move toward more gender-equitable practice. At the same time, patriarchal privilege remains a significant influence on both how male activists themselves behave and on how they are received.

Note

1. A collection of such lists can be found here: http://www.xyonline.net/content/what-men-can-do-stop-sexism-and-male-violence.

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EDITED BY ÀNGELS CARABÍ
& JOSEP M. ARMENGOL

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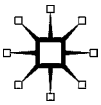

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