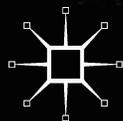# ENGAGING MEN AND BOYS IN VIOLENCE PREVENTION

MICHAEL FLOOD

Global Masculinities

Series Editors
Michael Kimmel
Department of Sociology
Stony Brook University
Stony Brook, NY, USA

Judith Kegan Gardiner
University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago, IL, USA

The dramatic success of Gender Studies has rested on three developments: (1) making women's lives visible, which has also come to mean making all genders more visible; (2) insisting on intersectionality and so complicating the category of gender; (3) analyzing the tensions among global and local iterations of gender. Through textual analyses and humanities-based studies of cultural representations, as well as cultural studies of attitudes and behaviors, we have come to see the centrality of gender in the structure of modern life. This series embraces these advances in scholarship, and applies them to men's lives: gendering men's lives, exploring the rich diversity of men's lives—globally and locally, textually and practically—as well as the differences among men by class, race, sexuality, and age.

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Michael Flood

Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention

Michael Flood
Queensland University of Technology
Brisbane, QLD, Australia

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 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 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 tried 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 & Vlais, 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 way 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 (Bonnemaison, 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; Kaeflein, 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 began 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 aware-
ness 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-vio-
lence advocacy, self-reflection on their intersectional identities shaped
their pathways to engagement. The men spoke of how their intersect-
ing identities as men, immigrants, and Latinos made them feel vulnera-
ble 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 influen-
tial 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-vi-
olence 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 exam-
ple, that high status groups have earned their position in the social hier-
archy 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 grew 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.

[1] See 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 man 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 are 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

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[2]This 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 to 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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