15 Engaging Men and Boys in the Primary Prevention of Sexual Violence

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Engaging men and boys is a key strategy for preventing the perpetration of sexual violence. In order to end sexual violence, and particularly its most frequent forms, we must change the behaviour of those men and boys perpetrating it, change the behaviour of those men and boys who condone or are complicit in other males' violence, and change the social conditions that allow violence against women to continue. While each of these is necessary if we are to make progress in preventing and reducing sexual violence, they are only rarely the focus of prevention initiatives. At the same time, there is a growing consensus among advocates, educators, and practitioners that violence prevention efforts should include strategies aimed at men and boys (Flood, 2011). Prevention efforts should engage men and boys to lessen their likelihood of perpetration, to harness their positive influence on other boys and men, and to address key drivers of sexual violence including traditional masculine norms of sexual entitlement (Flood, 2019a).

Primary prevention takes place before violence has occurred to stop initial perpetration or victimisation. It requires changing the social conditions that support and promote sexual violence. One key aspect of primary prevention, therefore, is changing the social factors that *produce and enable perpetrators*. Men's use of sexual violence is the unsurprising outcome of widespread social relations: the predictable result, for example, of the lessons about manhood many men have absorbed as they grow up, the sexist peer cultures in which they participate, and the gender inequalities woven into their and women's everyday lives.

Prevention initiatives aimed at men and boys are an increasingly visible aspect of the violence prevention field. This chapter describes, assesses, and seeks to inform sexual violence prevention efforts among men and boys. Programmes often are limited in scope and scale, and the evidence base for their effectiveness is small, although increasing rapidly. The chapter argues that it is necessary for prevention work to place a greater focus on the structural and cultural factors contributing to sexual violence. It considers three core principles for engaging men and boys effectively: that this should be rooted in feminism, committed to enhancing boys' and men's lives, and intersectional. The chapter assesses key debates, tensions, and challenges for the field, including: how best to approach men and masculinities in sexual violence prevention work; how to shift norms of male sexuality; addressing differences and inequalities among men; and the need to take sexual violence prevention work online. The chapter concludes that recent feminist social movements such as #MeToo illustrate the importance of engaging men and boys in ending sexual violence.

Current strategies among men and boys

The most common strategy for sexual violence prevention work with men and boys is face-to-face education: in schools, universities, other institutional settings such as sports, the military and the workplace, and in the community. Workshops focused on consent

education, respectful relationships, or bystander intervention are a common method. A second common strategy is social marketing and communications, in which media platforms such as print, radio, TV, and social media are deployed (Flood, 2019a). Media campaigns may seek to encourage norms prioritising sexual consent among men (Kim & White, 2008; Masters, 2010), invite men to take responsibility for their sexual behaviour (Castelino et al., 2013; Mabry & Turner, 2016), or encourage men to act as pro-social bystanders in response to other men's violent and violence-supportive behaviour (Mabry & Turner, 2016). A third stream of activity involves community mobilisation, comprising efforts to recruit men as advocates for violence prevention. There are notable efforts, for example, by the international White Ribbon Campaign, as well as by organisations such as Sonke Gender Justice in South Africa and Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women in India (Flood, 2019a).

Two further streams of activity aimed at engaging men in sexual violence prevention are separate from these in terms of the forms of violence they address, the settings in which they are implemented, and the organisations typically implementing them. First, there is a substantial field of activity aimed at workplace sexual harassment, including leadership commitment, institutional policies, reform of workplace practices and norms, and training (Campbell & Chinnery, 2018), and these often involve male participants although they are only rarely self-consciously aimed at men. Second, there are efforts to address men's demand for and use of commercial sexual services (Matthews, 2018) and related efforts to address men's (and women's) involvement in human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The past two decades have seen an intensification of efforts to engage men and boys in the prevention of sexual violence. There are three dimensions to this. First, there has been an increase in projects and initiatives aimed at men and boys within violence prevention sectors. On university campuses in North America, for example, a 2014 survey found that four-fifths of universities were engaging men in prevention efforts, whether through gender-neutral or gender-informed approaches (McCann, 2014). Second, there is a proliferation of projects and organisations with a defining focus on engaging men and boys in violence prevention. Grassroots pro-feminist men's groups have existed at least since the 1990s, yet the range of organisations now seeking to engage men and boys has grown. Third, an international "engaging men" field has developed, comprising gender-conscious initiatives and interventions aimed at men and boys (Flood, 2015a), and violence against women is the most common of the issues on which this work focuses (Barker et al., 2007).

Prevention efforts aimed at men and/or boys and addressing sexual violence may be focused on this or have broader attention to this and other forms of violence, such as intimate partner violence. The degree of attention to sexual violence seems to vary with the setting. For example, universities in some Western countries recently have seen significant attention to sexual violence prevention alongside relative neglect of intimate partner or domestic violence, while secondary school programmes are more likely to address both. Other prevention campaigns address forms of violence or exploitation that overlap with or involve sexual violence, particularly in the Global South, such as early or forced marriage and female genital mutilation (Greig & Flood, 2020).

Assessing existing efforts to engage men and boys

The establishment of an array of programmes and initiatives aimed at engaging men and boys in the prevention of sexual violence and other forms of violence is an important achievement. At the same time, there are significant limitations to the field of violence prevention work aimed at men and boys, to do with 1) its scope and scale, 2) its evidence base, and 3) its attention to structural and cultural factors.

Scope and scale

Many primary prevention interventions aimed at men and boys are limited in scope. Most are short-term projects, whether this is shaped by limited organisational resources, pragmatism, or donors' funding frameworks. Education interventions must have sufficient duration and intensity to effect change, as multiple reviews attest, and single-session programmes are unlikely to create lasting behavioural change (DeGue et al., 2014; Matjasko et al., 2012). Despite this, one-off sessions are commonplace, comprising close to half of the programmes in a review of seven male-focused prevention programmes (Graham et al., 2019). On the other hand, nearly all programmes involved multiple sessions in a review of 15 interventions addressed to heterosexually active men (Dworkin et al., 2013) and in a review of 34 programmes working with adolescent boys and young men to promote more gender-equitable masculinities (Marcus et al., 2018). In addition, most prevention efforts are aimed at boys and young men, such as school-aged and university populations, with relatively few aimed at older cohorts.

Most interventions among men and boys work only at a single level of the social order rather than at multiple levels. Programmes are focused largely on individual- and relationship-level change, seeking to strengthen individual knowledge and skills and educate community members. Few interventions focus on policy, law, and institutional change.

There is little attention to engaging men within the violence prevention plans of state and national governments, and initiatives focused on men and boys rarely are embedded in a comprehensive prevention approach. A review of 114 plans of action from 14 countries in the Global North found that attention to men and boys most commonly addressed them as victims, or perpetrators, and less often in terms of their roles in prevention (Wells & Fotheringham, 2021).

The evidence base

The evidence base for the effectiveness of sexual violence prevention efforts among men and boys is limited, although growing rapidly, and evaluated interventions show mixed impacts. In the first place, many interventions simply are not evaluated, and when they are evaluated, often these are methodologically limited. Few evaluation studies measure actual violent behaviour as an outcome, use control or comparison groups, collect longer term follow-up data, or assess mediators of change (Flood, 2019a). For example, only five of 29 studies in a meta-analysis of male-targeted sexual assault prevention interventions included measures of sexual assault perpetration (Wright et al., 2020). Assessments of programmes' impacts on violence itself typically are only among the direct participants in the programme and not also on the communities in which it takes place (Fulu et al., 2014). Other streams of prevention activity, such as training to reduce workplace sexual harassment, have remarkably little robust evidence of impact (Magley et al., 2013).

Nevertheless, the evidence base is increasing. There have been seven reviews of efforts to engage men and boys in violence prevention since 2007 (Barker et al., 2007; Dworkin et al., 2013; Graham et al., 2019; Marcus et al., 2018; Ricardo et al., 2011; Taliep et al., 2021; Wright et al., 2020). A 2011 systematic review documented that interventions can change boys' and young men's attitudes towards rape and other forms of violence against women, and the gender-related attitudes associated with these, but there was far less evidence of impact on behaviours (Ricardo et al., 2011). Only one of the studies with "strong" or "moderate" research design demonstrated a significant impact on sexually violent behaviour, a US schools programme (Foshee et al., 2004). A systematic assessment of experimental or quasi-experimental interventions addressed to heterosexually active men and aiming to

produce more gender-equitable relationships (Dworkin et al., 2013) included three interventions that were not in the 2011 review (Ricardo et al., 2011), and these showed declines in the perpetration of violence, although only one was methodologically "strong" (Dworkin et al., 2013).

The uneven impacts of sexual violence education programmes among boys and men continue to be highlighted in two more recent reviews. A 2019 systematic review examined male-focused programmes that have been evaluated using randomised designs and have measured changes in perpetration behaviours longitudinally, reporting on nine studies of seven programmes (Graham et al., 2019). To note some encouraging findings, in a programme comprising 11 or 12 brief group education sessions delivered to male high school athletes, participants showed less physical, sexual, and psychological violence against a female intimate partner than the comparison group at 12-month follow-up. In an online programme comprising six modules for male undergraduate students, participants reported perpetrating significantly less sexual coercion than those in the control group at six-month follow-up. On the other hand, four programmes showed no positive impact, and one in fact showed an increase in reported sexual coercion (Graham et al., 2019).

A second recent review involved a meta-analysis of male-targeted sexual assault prevention interventions, examining studies among male participants with an average age of 18 or older, with a control group and adequate quantitative evidence. Overall, among the 29 published articles and theses, the meta-analysis found positive impacts on men's attitudes towards sexual assault and future inclinations towards engaging in sexually aggressive behaviour and engaging in sexual assault prevention behaviour, but no significant effects on their rape empathy, sexual assault knowledge, or sexual assault perpetration (Wright et al., 2020). Assessing programmes' impact on perpetration was limited by the small pool of studies with relevant data, only five.

These mixed findings are indicative of both the general challenges of sexual violence prevention and the distinct challenges of engaging men and boys, as we explore further below.

Addressing structural and cultural factors

A third important limitation of the field of violence prevention work aimed at men and boys is its inattention to structural and cultural factors (Casey et al., 2013; Dworkin et al., 2013). The field has been criticised for a focus on the harmful aspects of individual male beliefs, roles, and behaviours and a neglect of the systemic and structural forces that produce these (Coalition of Feminists for Social Change [COFEM], 2017; Dworkin et al., 2015; Greig & Flood, 2020; International Center for Research on Women [ICRW], 2018). Patriarchal social conditions and structures shape men's and boys' perpetration of sexual violence, and yet few initiatives aimed at men or boys directly target these.

A focus on risk and protective factors only at the individual and relationship levels is characteristic of the violence prevention field more generally. In response, there are calls for efforts to expand attention to all levels of the social ecological framework, addressing community-level factors in order to produce social and structural change (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009; Michau et al., 2015). Primary prevention of sexual violence requires changes in norms (understandings of what other people do and what people are expected to do), practices (behaviours and interactions), and structures (systems and organisations that arrange our norms and practices) (Our Watch, 2017). The field thus should shift towards greater use of community-level strategies, targeting risk and protective factors not just at the individual or peer level but at the community or organisation level and seeking to modify community and contextual supports for and structural enablers of violence (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009; DeGue et al., 2012; Dills et al., 2019).

However, there are more social action efforts among men and boys, oriented towards community and structural change, than may first appear in the reviews described above. Such reviews tend to favour time-bound projects with discrete outputs while omitting social action efforts. The latter, involving multiple actors working over extended periods towards systemic change and with longer timelines and less discrete domains of impact, tend to appear instead only in more descriptive literature (Casey et al., 2016).

How can we engage men and boys effectively?

What principles and approaches are most likely to generate change among men and boys? There is a wealth of guidance on dimensions of effective practice for violence prevention in general, and this typically emphasises that prevention efforts should be 1) informed, 2) comprehensive, 3) engaging, and 4) relevant. First, violence prevention interventions must be based on a sound understanding of both the problem – the workings and causes of violence – and how it can be changed, showing both an appropriate theoretical framework and a theory of change. Second, interventions should be comprehensive, using multiple strategies, in multiple settings, and at multiple levels (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009; Nation et al., 2003). Third, interventions should involve effective forms of delivery which engage participants, in terms of their content, implementation, and practitioners. Fourth, effective programmes are relevant to the communities and contexts in which they are delivered. They are informed by knowledge of and collaboration with their target group or population and their local contexts (Nation et al., 2003).

Efforts to engage men and boys in particular should seek to live up to these criteria, but they must also be guided by further principles. There are various articulations of the principles that should guide violence prevention work with men and boys (Flood, 2019a; Wells et al., 2020), complemented by guides to engaging men and boys in general (American Psychological Association [APA], 2018; Flood et al., 2010; Greig & Flood, 2020; ICRW, 2018; Institute of Development Studies (IDS) et al., 2015; VicHealth, 2019). Although there is diversity here, most accounts share three emphases: a concern with sexism and gender inequalities, a concern with men's and boys' own well-being, and attention to differences and inequalities among men and boys themselves. We can think of these therefore in terms of three principles: 1) feminist: intended to transform gender inequalities, 2) committed to enhancing boys' and men's lives, and 3) intersectional: addressing diversities and inequalities.

Feminist: intended to transform gender inequalities

Sexual violence prevention efforts among men and boys must be feminist. They should be grounded in principles of gender justice, recognise the systemic gender inequalities that structure society, and seek to transform oppressive gender structures, norms, and practices. A feminist approach should be foundational to the work's aims and agendas, its content and processes, and its structures. There is a growing emphasis in the "engaging men" field on the need for interventions to be "gender-transformative" – to transform gender inequalities and generate more gender-equitable relations (Barker et al., 2007; Casey et al., 2016; Dworkin et al., 2013; Wells et al., 2020). Although the term is used in varying ways, in general, it seems synonymous with the term "feminist" (Flood, 2021).

Effective violence prevention efforts among men and boys will have feminist content, addressing the gender-related factors known to drive sexual violence perpetration. Educational programmes should include content on power and patriarchal norms and inequalities. This is evident, for example, in the *Manhood 2.0* curriculum among young men (Kato-Wallace et al., 2019) and among six male-based sexual violence prevention men

programmes on US college campuses (McGraw, 2013). However, prevention efforts aimed at general audiences frequently treat sexual consent as a gender-neutral issue and do not address the gendered aspects of sexual violence (Beres, 2018).

Prevention efforts among men and boys also require gender-transformative *processes*. They should involve boys and men in critical reflection on masculinities and gender and seek to foster their support for gender equality and non-violence (Flood, 2019a).

Finally, work with men and boys requires feminist structures: it must be done in partnership with, and be accountable to, women and women's groups (Flood, 2019a). Accountability is a key strategy to minimise the risks: first, in working *with* a group, men or boys, who are privileged or advantaged in certain ways, and the risks, second, in work *by* men. Accountability is intended to reduce the risks of reinforcing gender inequalities, colluding with violence, or taking away resources and legitimacy from women's rights efforts. The principle of accountability is emphasised among men's anti-violence advocates (Rosenberg, 2012) and in standards for this work (MenEngage, 2018; Pease, 2017; Wells et al., 2020).

Committed to enhancing boys' and men's lives

The second principle comprises a commitment to enhancing boys' and men's lives: to address men's and boys' distinct needs, recognise them as stakeholders and beneficiaries, and use strengths-based or positive approaches in engaging them.

While men and boys are the recipients of various forms of unearned privilege in the patriarchal gender order that characterises contemporary societies, they also pay important costs. Men and boys who conform to traditional constructions of masculinity may show poorer mental health, greater risk-taking, and lower help-seeking (The Men's Project & Flood, 2018), and boys and men are subject to gendered and homophobic policing and abuse particularly by other males (Reigeluth & Addis, 2021). Prevention efforts among boys and men must be attentive to their distinct needs, including the challenges they may face in accessing and using support services (Pulerwitz et al., 2019).

Men and boys themselves have a stake in progress towards gender equality and non-violence. In violence prevention work with men, and in the wider "engaging men" field, there is a consensus that men and boys will *benefit*, in terms of their own lives, their relations with women, children, and other men, and their workplaces and communities (Flood, 2019a). There are also caveats: with progress towards a society free of violence against women, men who can no longer perpetrate such violence lose the perceived benefits associated with this, and men in general will lose unfair privileges (Flood, 2019a).

Strengths-based or positive approaches are widely seen as more effective in prevention work with men and boys. Efforts should acknowledge and build on men's and boys' existing commitments to and involvements in non-violence and equality, in particular to minimise the likelihood of defensive or hostile responses (Flood, 2019a).

Intersectional: addressing diversities and inequalities

The third principle is to be intersectional: to acknowledge and respond to diversities and inequalities among men and boys (MenEngage Alliance, 2019; Pulerwitz et al., 2019; Wells et al., 2020). An intersectional feminist approach recognises that gender intersects with other forms of social difference and inequality, and hence that men in different social locations have differential access to social resources and status. Focusing on sexual violence, an intersectional approach highlights that men's attitudes towards violence, men's use of violence, and how male perpetrators are viewed and treated all are structured by multiple relations of disadvantage and privilege tied to ethnicity, class, sexuality, and nation.

This has four implications for work with men and boys. First, with any population of men or boys, we must engage with their specific cultural and material conditions, including both local cultures of gender and sexuality and material and structural inequalities. In contexts particularly of disadvantage, efforts should seek to improve the social and economic conditions of men and communities. Second, we must address culturally specific risk and protective factors, including challenging cultural supports for sexual violence and building on local resources, texts, and norms in promoting non-violence and gender equality. Third, prevention work should be developed in collaboration with the communities in which it is being delivered, to help ensure that it is as relevant for participants as possible (Burrell, 2018; Zounlome et al., 2019).

More generally, sexual violence prevention among men and boys must acknowledge intersectional disadvantages and privileges. Initiatives among men and boys from ethnic minority and indigenous backgrounds should highlight the links between racism, sexism, and sexist violence and address common racist myths about violence. However, an intersectional approach is relevant for *any* group of men or boys and not just those who are different from the dominant norm.

Key debates, tensions, and challenges

While violence prevention work in general faces the challenge of shifting normative constructions of gender and sexuality and entrenched formations of power and inequality, it is particularly challenging – and necessary – to work with men and boys. Significant proportions of men – including numerical majorities in some countries and settings – themselves have perpetrated sexual violence (Flood, 2019a). Compared to women and girls, men and boys typically have poorer knowledge of sexual violence and more violence-supportive attitudes, poorer awareness of sexism and gender inequalities, and lesser support for gender equality (Flood, 2019a). Given these issues, men and boys who are the targets of prevention initiatives start behind women and girls, they are harder to change, and they are more likely to react with defensiveness and hostility. Resistance and backlash are greater among men who have more violence-supportive attitudes and a greater involvement in violence perpetration itself, and in some instances programmes among men have in fact worsened rates of sexually coercive behaviour among high-risk participants (Flood, 2019a).

Approaching men and masculinities in sexual violence prevention

One of the core areas of debate within sexual violence prevention work with men and boys is the specifics of how best to approach them and what role they are being asked to play. This can play a substantial part in shaping the design of a campaign or programme as a whole. For instance, are men being approached as potential "bystanders," who can play a positive role in intervening to challenge sexual violence and the practices that feed into it in their communities (Kaya et al., 2019)? Are they being approached as potential allies to women, who actively work to build gender equality and bring into question manifestations of "rape culture" (Hillenbrand-Gunn et al., 2010)? Are they being approached to explore their own behaviours, sexual interactions, and relationships, as potential perpetrators of sexual violence? Different approaches such as these can each have advantages, and it can be effective to combine them. There are also problematic or counterproductive ways of approaching men and boys, for example, as "white knights," "saviours," or "protectors" of women, reinforcing patriarchal constructions of men benignly wielding power over women. Some communications campaigns threaten potential rapists with consequences such as incarceration, but

these are likely to be ineffective given the failure of criminal justice systems to hold most perpetrators of sexual violence to account.

How should men's role in relation to sexual violence itself be constructed? Perpetrators of rape, perpetrators often are constructed as "monsters" and "deviants" (Boyle, 2019), yet in reality they are ordinary men, typically known to the victim-survivor. Prevention efforts among men should address the possibility that there will be perpetrators and potential perpetrators "in the room" (Flood, 2019a). They must also address men as "perpetrators," encouraging them to reflect more broadly on "rape culture" and how they may have been complicit in reproducing this (Pease, 2019).

How should masculine norms and cultures be addressed in this work? One approach is to appeal to men's existing investments in masculinity and attempt to take these attachments in new directions. Some efforts draw on stereotypically masculine individuals (such as professional athletes) as spokespersons for campaigns, and others make use of specific ideals attached to hegemonic masculinities, such as "strength" and "bravery," to construct messages which appeal to men (Masters, 2010). However, such approaches have also been criticised for risking reinforcing the restrictive and dominating constructions of masculinity which feed into sexual violence itself (Fleming et al., 2014; Flood, 2015b; Salter, 2016). While stereotypically masculine appeals and messengers may invite men's interest, they also compromise a gender-transformative approach.

How do the men involved in work to prevent sexual violence construct masculinity themselves? Male anti-violence practitioners are expected to, and often do, adopt more equitable forms of selfhood (Flood, 2014), but they may also reproduce gender inequality (Macomber, 2018; Messner et al., 2015). Accountability and critical self-reflection in relation to one's own attitudes and practices are important principles for men involved in this work (Pease, 2017). More broadly, the prominence of the "engaging men" field has been seen by some as threatening the legitimacy and leadership of women's anti-violence work (Flood, 2019a), and it is vital that efforts to engage men and boys are conducted in collaboration and partnership with feminist advocates and organisations.

Which violence?

Should violence prevention efforts aimed at men and boys address all forms of interpersonal violence or include efforts focused on sexual violence in particular? On the one hand, programmes must address the distinct dynamics and determinants of sexual violence (DeGue et al., 2013), for example, through content on sexual coercion and consent and key risk factors such as male sexual entitlement (Jewkes, 2012). On the other hand, programmes must make links between sexual violence and other forms of violence, such as intimate partner violence, for three reasons: they co-occur in both victimisation and perpetration, their risk and protective factors overlap, and prevention strategies may be beneficial across them (Banyard, 2014; Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, 2016; DeGue et al., 2013; Dills et al., 2019).

Shifting norms of male sexuality

One important area of focus for sexual violence prevention work is challenging and changing dominant social norms relating to male sexuality: that men should always want sex, seek to display sexual prowess, have many sexual partners, and be in control and aggressive in sexual interactions (Gavey, 2018; Heilman et al., 2017). However, there is relatively little research to date on what works to change these norms and foster healthier, more mutual, and egalitarian forms of sexual expression among men. Nevertheless, sexual violence prevention work should highlight and explore such norms critically with men and boys, including how

they are socially constructed, unrealistic, limiting, and harmful in relation to men's sexual identities, desires, and practices (Masters et al., 2013).

Pornography, and the sex industry more broadly, are significant influences on male sexualities. Pornography helps to shape the ideas and expectations that people have about what constitutes "normal" and "desirable" sex, perhaps especially among young people (Crabbe & Flood, 2021). There is much evidence that pornography eroticises gender inequality, with male sexual aggression, unequal power dynamics, lack of consent, and sexual violence both commonplace and normalised (Vera-Gray et al., 2021). Addressing pornography therefore should be a vital part of sexual violence prevention work (Mikorski & Szymanski, 2017).

Prevention strategies regarding pornography include "media literacy" or "pornography education" approaches, intended to encourage young men and women to critically evaluate and respond to pornography's harmful influences (Crabbe & Flood, 2021). Pro-feminist and anti-violence men's groups and organisations at times have campaigned for pornography to be banned or boycotted or for increased regulation. Similarly, some campaign against other aspects of the sex industry, such as prostitution and sexual entertainment venues, with a particular focus on "ending (male) demand" (Matthews, 2018). Although the "engaging men" field has devoted little attention to these issues, the objectification and dehumanisation of women, legitimisation of male entitlement, and prioritisation of male sexuality and the male gaze which lie at the heart of the sex industry mean that it is vital to address as part of work with men and boys to end sexual violence (Ricardo & Barker, 2008).

Differences among men

Although there is widespread acknowledgement in the engaging men field of the need for an intersectional approach (ICRW, 2018), there are challenges in enacting this. First, common tropes about sexual violence can perpetuate inequalities between different groups of men. These include racist stereotypes of Black men being "hypersexual" and posing a threat to the "purity" of white women (Zounlome et al., 2019) and of sexual violence as only a problem among men from specific racialised groups or social classes. Second, sexual violence prevention work often has treated all male participants as heterosexual, neglecting sexual minority men and transgender men (Dworkin et al., 2015; Flood, 2015b). Prevention efforts must thus address differences and inequalities of sexuality (Miedema et al., 2017), class, and ethnicity and tackle the hierarchies among men and boys themselves that structure sexual violence both by and among men and boys (Flood, 2021).

Whilst the vast majority of victim-survivors of sexual violence are women and girls, some are men and boys. This can create a genuine tension in work with men and boys, in how to recognise their disproportionate role in creating the problem, whilst avoiding marginalising those who are themselves victim-survivors. Unhelpful or inaccurate responses include overstating the extent to which men are victim-survivors relative to women or adopting a "gender-neutral" approach to prevention work (Heleen et al., 2020). Gender-transformative work with men and boys can change the masculine norms that make it difficult for male victim-survivors to recognise what they have experienced, prompt shame, and discourage disclosure and help-seeking (Easton, 2014) and can undermine the entitled and dominating constructions of masculinity and male sexuality that inform men's sexual violence against other men and boys.

Preventing sexual violence online

Online spaces and social media are direct contributors to sexual violence. Sexual violence is perpetrated, in part, in and through online media (Marganski & Melander, 2021),

including through pornography, and violence-supportive norms and practices are promoted by anti-feminist and misogynistic groups and communities online (Ging, 2019).

The internet and social media are thus important settings for sexual violence prevention among men and boys. Organisations working with men are increasingly taking their efforts online, providing information and resources, discussion fora, and support tools, particularly in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic (Burrell & Ruxton, 2020). Online platforms have advantages over in-person delivery in terms of reach, cost, fidelity, and tailoring (Salazar et al., 2014). Web-based education programmes aimed at boys and men are also emerging. Additionally, there is a need to develop two further strategies as part of prevention efforts, although little is known at this point about how to carry them out effectively. Intensive intervention is required into sexist and violence-supportive online cultures and communities, particularly those frequented by young men, to reduce men's misogynist radicalisation. Complementing this, we need strategies to divert young men from such spaces, such as providing alternative and compelling content on the issues that may lead them to anti-feminist spaces online, and strategies to "deradicalise" them, learning from strategies used to counter violent extremism (Roose et al., 2020).

Engaging men in creating change

In recent years, there have been growing critical conversations in many countries about men and masculinities. This "turn to men" in media and popular culture has various causes (Flood, 2017), but one is feminist advocacy on men's violence against women. #MeToo and similar movements have inspired an intensified focus on men, both with regard to their role in causing the problem and in preventing it, and such movements have prompted positive, albeit uneven, shifts in men's own attitudes and behaviours (Flood, 2019b).

Such impacts have been intensified by feminist movements' use of online technologies (Mendes et al., 2019). Efforts to engage and mobilise men too are increasingly networked and globalised via the internet, most notably through the MenEngage Alliance. The same is true of anti-feminist backlash, embodied online by the "manosphere," and this is often focused on undermining feminist campaigns against sexual violence (Gotell & Dutton, 2016). The internet therefore holds considerable potential for developing work with men and boys to end sexual violence, whilst also playing a significant role in facilitating that violence and the sexism and misogyny that feed it.

Men's and boys' perpetration of sexual violence, their attitudes towards this violence, and their responses as bystanders to others' perpetration, victimisation, or violence-supportive behaviours all can be improved by well-designed sexual violence prevention programming. Yet this is hardly the only influence on them: men's and boys' relationships to sexual violence are shaped by families, peers, institutions, and media and culture. They may also be shaped by high-profile incidents of violence. In 2021, the UK (where one of the authors lives) was shaken by police officer Wayne Couzen's kidnap, rape, and murder of Sarah Everard, a 33-year-old woman who disappeared whilst walking home from a friend's house in London. The case garnered substantial media and public attention, including a significant emphasis on men's responsibility to stop violence against women. High-profile cases such as this can enhance men's sensitisation to violence against women and prompt their involvement in collective action (Westmarland et al., 2021), although the case also has prompted defensive responses among men and institutional resistance to reform. Nevertheless, these events illustrate the impact that feminist advocacy can have in altering the social and cultural conditions in which meaning is made of sexual violence, including among men and boys.

There is an urgent need to engage men and boys in ending sexual violence. It remains a major struggle to achieve the longer term, deep-rooted structural changes needed to

prevent sexual violence and foster gender equality. Prevention efforts among men and boys must be gender-transformative, positive, intersectional, and scaled up if they are to engage large numbers of men and boys in personal and social change.

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Rape

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and Jennifer M. Brown

To Ilithyia and Gaia, may they live to see a world
without the pandemic of rape.

A world where there is a vigorous political will and
skilled professionals to deal with perpetrators and
support rape complainants, victims, and survivors.