Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality

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Edited by

Michael Flood with Richard Howson

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"*Engaging Men* captures the growing and diverse actions of men around the world who see gender equality as the foundation for building fulfilling, healthy and peaceful families, workplaces and communities. Michael Flood, long a leader in feminist studies of men and masculinity, has compiled a crucial resource that does the important work of bridging academic research on men and gender equality with progressive activism."
—**Michael A. Messner, author of** *Some Men: Feminist Allies and the Movement to End Violence Against Women*

"Gender-based inequalities, fears and hatreds, and gender-based exclusions and violence, are among the world's great problems. The way masculinities are made is a fundamental part of these problems; and if they are to be solved, men must play an active role in solving them. Michael Flood and Richard Howson have brought together a rich collection of research and practical experience on these issues from around the world, from developing countries and wealthy countries - ranging across working life, social change, fatherhood, situations of extreme violence and situations of everyday life. This is a most valuable resource for everyone concerned with creating a more equal and more peaceful world."
—**Raewyn Connell, author of** *Masculinities* **and** *Gender: In World Perspective*.

"To simply assert that to empower women and girls we must engage men and boys begs as many questions as it answers. How? How can men and women work as allies? How can men be accountable to established women's organizations? This welcome compendium raises virtually all the relevant issues that accompany political efforts to engage men and boys for gender equality. Many of the authors are respected experts, both activists and researchers, whose essays will certainly help the rest of us, and inform the conversation about how to do it right."
—**Michael Kimmel, Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Gender Studies, Stony Brook University, and Executive Director of the Center for the Study of Men and Masculinities.**

"*Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality* is one part theory and one part action. This timely collection includes international perspectives with a blend of topics from violence prevention to labor issues to effective fatherhood. We can't solve the problems of sexism without men on board. This book is a positive contribution to that goal."
—**Shira Tarrant, author of** *Men and Feminism* **and** *Men Speak Out: Views on Gender, Sex, and Power*.

"This is a rich and nuanced description of the evolution of efforts to engage men and boys to achieve gender justice. It chronicles the steady growth of this work across the globe and captures the increasingly sophisticated strategies from community education, social mobilisation, movement building, policy advocacy, and strategic litigation, being marshalled by organisations across the world to end men's violence against women and promote equality. The editors have brought together an impressive set of writers who convey well the debates, differences and tensions within the field as well as the sense of momentum and vitality driving this important work."

—Dean Peacock, Founding Director of Sonke Gender Justice, South Africa, and Co-Founder and Co-Chair of the MenEngage Alliance

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CHAPTER ONE

MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY

MICHAEL FLOOD

Our world is a deeply unequal one. Systemic inequalities which disadvantage women and advantage men are visible around the globe. Whether one looks at political power and authority, economic resources and decision-making, sexual and family relations, or media and culture, one finds gender inequalities. These are sustained in part by constructions of masculinity–by the cultural meanings associated with being a man, the practices which men adopt, and the collective and institutional organisation of men's lives and relations.

Yet these inequalities are not fixed in stone. Women's movements and feminism have mounted a sustained challenge to local and global gender inequalities, with important successes in undermining the pervasiveness and acceptability of women's subordination. This is not some rosy story of steady progress towards a gender-egalitarian world. While some forms of gender inequality have lessened, others have worsened, under the influence of transnational neoliberal forces, aggressively patriarchal religious movements, and other dynamics.

One significant shift in the ways in which efforts to build gender equality are articulated and enacted has been an increasing emphasis on the role of men. Men's roles in establishing gender equality are now squarely on the public agenda. This emphasis is visible in programming, policy, public advocacy, and popular debate. When yet another incident of 'men behaving badly' takes place somewhere in the world–when a group of men sexually assault a woman, when the male CEO of a company defends the absence of women from the company's leadership, when a high-profile male athlete beats his partner, when some dimension of gender inequalities is exposed or expressed–then social media routinely include calls for men to take action to end gender inequalities. Gender-conscious initiatives and interventions focused on men and boys have proliferated, particularly in relation to violence prevention, sexual and

reproductive health, parenting, and education but also in other domains. The last decade has seen the growth of national and global interventions and campaigns, initiatives by international agencies, and scholarly assessments of their impact and significance.

The book *Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality* brings together key discussions and evaluations of this field. Based in part on a conference held in Australia in November 2012, the collection highlights the leading edges of both theory and practice. Chapters by internationally recognised scholars close the gap between contemporary scholarship on men and gender, on the one hand, and practical interventions on the other. Alongside these, other contributors explore the promise and problems of engaging men in building gender equality in relation to such areas as violence, health, fathering, and work. The book's contents have a global reach. Some chapters offer frameworks and insights applicable to work regarding men and gender across the globe, while other chapters present case studies from particular countries or regions. The book is intended to be of interest to a wide range of researchers, advocates, educators, professionals, and others from universities, governments, local and international organisations, and community agencies. It offers a timely examination of an area of policy, programming, and research which is growing rapidly.

Naming 'men' as a social problem

How is it that men's and boys' roles in progress towards gender equality are now the subject of such attention? This is the outcome of over four decades of social change. The women's movements and feminism have offered a wide-ranging critique of the attitudes, practices and cultures among men which sustain gender inequality. There have been disruptions to and contestations of the social organisation of gender in at least four realms. In power relations, the legitimacy of men's domination has weakened dramatically, in particular under the influence of global feminism. Production relations in capitalist countries have undergone fundamental changes, with shifts in divisions of paid labour and the decline of traditionally male areas of primary industry. There have been important shifts in sexual relations, in particular with the emergence and stabilisation of lesbian and gay sexualities as public alternatives to heterosexuality (Connell 1995, 84-85). In the wake of these, other sexual identities and communities have proliferated and the specifically homophobic construction of manhood has weakened, at least in some contexts. Cultural representations of manhood are changing too, with

constructions of the involved father and the 'metrosexual' emerging in Western countries in the 1980s and 1990s and further shifts in the new millennium. Of course, shifts in gender relations are not necessarily positive, and there is no inevitable progression towards gender equality.

The last four decades have been marked by an increasingly visible public debate regarding men and masculinities. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s in advanced capitalist countries and increasingly in other countries, men have been interrogated "as a sex, in a way until recently reserved for women — as a problem" (Segal 1993). This is not the first time in history such periods of intensified scrutiny of men and gender have taken place, and there are other times and places where it has been confidently declared that men are 'in crisis'. Such claims are visible now as well. To take two prominent examples, the cover story in the US publication *The Atlantic* in 2010 declared "The End of Men". That same year, the periodical *Newsweek* (again in the USA) ran a cover story titled, "Man Up? The Traditional Male is an Endangered Species. It's Time to Rethink Masculinity." While such media reporting marks a sometimes progressive and feminist-informed scrutiny of men and gender in popular culture, in many ways systemic patterns of male privilege remain entrenched.

Men themselves have shown a variety of responses to these shifts in gender relations. Men's collective and public responses include both active support for feminism and efforts to shore up male privilege. Small groups and networks of men across the globe, often in collaboration with women, are engaged in public efforts in support of gender equality, and men's anti-violence activism is the most visible and well-developed aspect of such efforts (Flood 2004a). On the other hand, 'men's rights' and 'fathers' rights' groups are engaged in an energetic defence of patriarchal masculinity and men's power, particularly in families (Flood 2004b). As we note in more detail below, men show uneven and equivocal support for the feminist goal of gender equality, and there is a great deal of variation in this support across countries and between particular groups of men.

Why involve men?

There is a powerful impetus for involving men in work on gender equality. One simple way of framing this is the notion that 'men are both part of the problem and part of the solution'. While this may minimise the genuine challenges of men's engagement in anti-patriarchal struggles, there is little doubt that gender injustice will only cease when men join with women to put an end to it. Many men's attitudes and behaviours will

need to change in order for gender equality to be achieved. Many men participate in sexist practices and the maintenance of unjust gender relations, men often play a crucial role as 'gatekeepers' of the current gender order and as decision makers and community leaders, and patterns of gender injustice are tied to social constructions of masculinity and male identity. Men may limit women's agency–limiting women's control over resources, ability to move freely, ability to make decisions about family formation, freedom from violence, and ability to have a voice in society– both directly, through face-to-face interactions with and control over women in households and elsewhere, and indirectly, as decision-makers and leaders (Fleming *et al.* 2013, 11-12).

Agendas of gender equality have been widely seen as the concerns of women and not men. It was women, of course, who placed gender issues on the public agenda. The logic goes that, given that it is women who are disadvantaged by gender inequality, it is women who have a claim for redress, and thus gender issues are of no concern to men. However, this logic can no longer be sustained, for as Connell (2003, 3) notes: 'Men and boys are *unavoidably* involved in gender issues.' Gender long has been seen to refer only to women, reflecting men's position as the dominant, unmarked gender category. Yet men, like women, are gendered.

Including men in gender equality work is necessary because gender inequality is intimately tied to men's practices and identities, men's participation in complex and diverse gender relations, and masculine discourses and culture. Fostering gender equality requires change in these same arenas, of men's lives and relations. At the same time, involving men in efforts towards gender equality runs the risk of reinforcing men's existing power and jeopardising resources and funding directed at women (Kaufman 2003, 5). The goal of promoting gender justice must be central.

The agenda of engaging men in gender issues is not novel because of whom it addresses, but how. Men have long been the target of public policy efforts–as workers and bosses, as husbands and fathers, as perpetrators or survivors of crime, as patients, and so on. But men have been largely treated as generic and ungendered human beings, representatives of all humanity, and the specifically gendered character of men's lives and relations has been ignored or taken for granted. This has perpetuated masculine norms and gender inequalities. The agenda of engaging men is novel because it addresses men *as men* — as gendered beings who participate in gender relations.

While growing policy interest in men and gender issues often has feminist motivations, it also is fuelled by non-feminist or even anti-feminist motivations. These include the misguided perception that claims

regarding gender equality are exaggerated, men are disadvantaged or indeed worse off than women, or even that women now have found their way while men are in 'crisis' or the victims of over-zealous feminist vilification. Anti-feminist men's rights and fathers' rights groups have had successes in propagating such beliefs. More widely, governments may be sympathetic to simplistic notions of male disadvantage, especially as there are areas of social life such as health and secondary schooling in which some boys and men suffer. This makes it all the more necessary that we ensure that gender equality remains the guiding principle of any engagement in 'men's issues'. Governments certainly should address areas of male pain, but not at the expense of women.

Men show both support for, and resistance to, gender equality. Including men in gender work ideally involves the recognition of this diversity, and the adoption of different strategies in responding to resistance while mobilising and building on support. Many men receive formal and informal benefits from gender inequalities, including material rewards and interpersonal power. At the same time, men also pay significant costs, particularly to their emotional and physical health. More widely, men can be and are motivated by interests other than those associated with gender privilege. There are important resources in men's lives for the construction of gender-equitable masculinities and forms of selfhood, such as men's concerns for children, intimacies with women, and ethical and political commitments. Thus, while men ought to change, it is also in men's interests to change. There is a moral imperative that men give up their unjust share of power, and men themselves will benefit from advancing towards gender equality.

There are further reasons why efforts at gender reform should address men, to do with both the detrimental effects of male exclusion and the positive effects of male inclusion. First, the longstanding equation of 'gender' with women potentially marginalises women and women's struggles (Kaufman 2003, 3). In the field of development for example, leaving men out of efforts towards gender equality can provoke male hostility and retaliation, arising out of both exclusion and more general anxieties among men (Chant and Guttman 2000, 25; Lang 2003, 9). Focusing only on women, in relation to such issues as economic participation, credit, or sexual and reproductive health, can leave women with yet more work to do and thus intensify gender inequalities. Failing to engage and change men can mean that women still have to deal with unsympathetic men and patriarchal power relations, and can leave women with sole responsibility for sexual health, family nutrition, and so on (Chant and Guttman 2000, 26).

Including men in grassroots work on gender equality has important benefits. Given that many women already interact with men on a daily basis in their households and public lives, involving men can make interventions more relevant and workable (Chant and Guttman 2000, 26). Male inclusion increases men's responsibility for change. Explicitly addressing men can increase men's belief that they too will gain from gender equality and can engage men directly in the renegotiation of gender relations. Male inclusion can speak to many men's sense of anxiety and fear as 'traditional' masculinities are undermined. Men's suffering (such as men's growing burden of illness or social and economic marginalisation among young, poor men) is worth addressing in its own right, and in terms of its potential impact on women (Chant and Guttman 2000, 26-28).

None of this means that women's groups and gender-related programming must include men. There continue to be reasons why 'women's space', women-only and women-focused programs are vital: to support those who are most disadvantaged by pervasive gender inequalities; to maintain women's solidarity and leadership; and to foster women's consciousness-raising and collective empowerment. Nor should growing attention to male involvement threaten resources for women and women's programs.

In reflecting on the need to incorporate men in gender-related work, it is worth remembering that a policy concern with women and with gender equality remains marginal or even non-existent in many countries. Even in countries where governments have adopted policies and institutional structures that are supportive of women, only rarely has gender equality been integrated into the depth and breadth of government policies and processes. The same goes for many local decision-making bodies, community organisations, and international agencies. In the field of development for example, there is little evidence that a concern with women, let alone with gender, has been integrated into programs and planning among development agencies, bureaucracies, funding agencies, or governments (Chant and Guttman 2000, 2,14). Despite four decades of effort, actual development work has continued to marginalise women and women's concerns. This also means that 'male-inclusive' gender initiatives are relatively undeveloped.

There are both good and bad reasons for the ongoing absence of men-as-men in gender policy and programming. Given the persistence of widespread gender inequalities which disadvantage women, and the limited availability of resources for gender-related work, there are good reasons for continuing to focus on women (Chant and Guttman 2000, 16-19). In the field of development for example, there are understandable

fears as to what may happen if men are invited in, in the context of a history of grassroots examples where women have lost out, men have taken over, and women-oriented projects have been diluted or subverted (Chant and Guttman 2000, 19). Women may be hesitant to share a realm which has been historically a place of sanctuary for women (Lang 2003, 3). The patriarchal organisational structures and cultures of development organisations, and governments, inhibit attention to men's roles in gender equality (Lang 2003, 2-3). Women's sectors often are weak, marginalised, under-funded, and have had little impact on mainstream developmental policies, programs and processes (Chant and Guttman 2000, 21). In this context:

> Men may feel threatened by women's challenge to male entitlements, they
> may feel that gender has nothing to do with them, they are less likely to
> recognise gender relations as unequal, or may avoid raising gender issues
> for fear of disapproval and ridicule (Chant and Guttman 2000, 21-22).

Men may also feel that as men they have been seen as 'all the same', and may resent approaches that are tactless or overly negative. Overall, as Chant and Guttman conclude (2000, 23), there might be more willingness to include men in gender-related work if women had been given an equal place and say in policy in general and if worldwide gender inequalities had lessened. Nevertheless, including men will be critical to the successful creation of gender equality.

How should men be included in gender-related work? The bottom line of course is that any incorporation of men and men's gendered issues into practice and policy should further the feminist goal of gender equality. There is the danger that in speaking to men's concerns, interests and problems, the impetus for justice for women will be weakened and slide into anti-feminist backlash (Connell 2003, 10). Yet gender equality initiatives must include an engagement with men and masculinities if they are to be effective. Thus the rationale of gender equality must be kept central.

Beyond the overarching principle of gender equality, there are further elements to any effective and beneficial strategy of male inclusion. One is that funding for work with men and boys should not be at the expense of funding for gender equality work with women and girls (Expert Group 2003, 14). Another is that work with men should be done in partnership with women. Partnerships with women and women's groups enable men to learn from existing efforts and scholarship rather than 'reinventing the wheel'. They lessen the risk that men will collude in or be complicit with dominant and oppressive forms of masculinity. And they are a powerful

and practical demonstration of men's and women's shared interest in democratic and peaceful gender relations. Another element is that rather than having separate and parallel policies for women and men, we should adopt integrated gender policies which address the relations between women and men (Expert Group 2003, 13). Organisations and agencies themselves must also model gender equality, addressing their own policies, staff and organisational culture (Lang 2003, 1). This should include reflection by male staff on their own experience, privilege, and gendered practice.

Contemporary work with men

There are at least four dimensions to contemporary work engaging men in building gender equality: (1) activism and advocacy; (2) local programs and interventions among men and boys; (3) national and international policy commitments; and (4) research and scholarship.

Small numbers of men have become public advocates for gender equality. Men develop powerful commitments to gender equality through various paths: close relations with particular women, relationships with relatives or friends or others who modelled non-traditional gender roles, involvements in other political or ethical activities and networks, membership of peer groups or workplaces with more gender-equitable norms, university study, and a host of other experiences (Flood 2005b). Some profeminist men take part in men's groups focused on stopping violence against women, others advocate for gender equity in their schools, and others work for change in their workplaces and institutions (Flood 2005a). Men's organised support for gender equality dates at least as far back as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with men's groups advocating for women's right to vote or suffrage in the context of the first wave of the women's movements.

The late twentieth century saw the intensified re-emergence of men's groups and networks advocating in support of feminism. Anti-sexist men's groups emerged in the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain, Australia and elsewhere in the wake of the development of second wave feminism in the late 1960s. The numbers and organisational strength of profeminist men's advocacy has ebbed and flowed since, as a recent anthology documents (Okun 2014). However, longstanding national organisations such as the National Organization of Men Against Sexism (NOMAS) in the USA now have been joined by major international networks such as MenEngage, a global alliance of NGOs and UN agencies seeking to engage boys and men to achieve gender equality. As this book

itself reflects, one of the most significant focuses of men's profeminist activism is men's violence against women. There is a small body of research among men involved in anti-violence and gender equality advocacy. This finds that male activists do develop anti-patriarchal identities and practices in the course of their advocacy, and that at the same time patriarchal privileges shape both how male activists behave and how they are received (Flood 2014).

Pro-feminist men's advocacy is growing in both complexity and sophistication. In the first decades of the twenty-first century, a feminist critique of an uncritical or excessive focus on men's roles in building gender equality became increasingly visible. Various commentators have expressed concern regarding the marginalisation of women's voices, an uncritical fawning over male celebrities who make statements in support of feminism, and other troubling patterns. Pro-feminist men's groups exist within a wider field of 'ally politics', in which members of privileged groups seek to undermine that same privilege. Thus white people take up anti-racist politics, heterosexuals advocate on behalf of same-sex rights, and so on. There are increasingly sophisticated discussions in social media and elsewhere about appropriate and inappropriate ways for feminist men to advocate on behalf of feminism.

Profeminist activism involves men as the direct *agents* of change, themselves acting in the name of feminism and gender equality. Overlapping with this, a second form of work regarding men and gender equality involves men as the *objects* of change, as the participants in or audiences to various types of interventions. Across the globe, a wide variety of initiatives focused on or inclusive of men or boys and aimed at building gender equality are proliferating, in such fields as men's violence against women, sexual and reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, and fatherhood and families.

Interventions among men have used a variety of strategies, from community education to social marketing to community mobilisation to policy change. However, face-to-face community education programs among groups of boys and young men, or mixed-sex groups, of relatively short duration, and in schools, have been one of the most widely used strategies. For example, in relation to violence prevention, a recent systematic review of interventions for preventing boys' and men's sexual violence, focusing on high-quality studies addressing adolescent boys and young men aged 12 to 19, found 65 relevant studies. Of these studies, 85% took place in high-income countries and 90% in schools settings, and one-third comprised only a single session typically of an hour's duration (Ricardo *et al.* 2011). Another, more recent review offers a systematic

assessment of gender-transformative interventions aimed at heterosexually active men and intended to have an impact on HIV/STI outcomes, violence perpetration, sexual risk behaviour, or norms and attitudes related to gender equity (Dworkin *et al.* 2013). Of the 15 studies which met this review's criteria, the most common intervention design, involving 12 of the interventions, comprised small group learning and discussion, with five of these also incorporating a community-level component such as social marketing (Dworkin *et al.* 2013, 2847).

In the violence prevention field and probably in other fields as well, work with boys or men often is a subset of a much wider body of work addressing males and females. In Ricardo *et al.*'s review, two-thirds of the 65 studies involved both male and female participants. Similarly, in an earlier systematic review of sexual assault prevention programs, based on English-language evaluation publications over 1990-2003, Morrison *et al.* (2004) reported that nine of the 59 studies focused on all-male groups rather than mixed-sex or all-female groups. In addition, existing work with men around the globe often is undertaken by organisations with a broader focus rather than by dedicated men-focused organisations. For example, a global survey of men's anti-violence work found that at least in terms of numbers of organisations, most of this work is being done by organisations with a wider agenda involving sexual violence prevention, batterer intervention, domestic violence service provision, and so on (Kimball *et al.* 2012).

The 'engaging men' field is marked by several trends. First, there is increased regional and global networking, including new international networks and events. A global alliance of non-governmental agencies and United Nations agencies seeking to engage boys and men to achieve gender equality, called MenEngage, began in 2004. The first *Global Symposium on Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality* was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 2009, and a second *MenEngage Global Symposium* took place in New Delhi, India, in November 2014. Second, there is increasing diversity in prevention strategies. Community education strategies are now increasingly complemented by efforts to engage and mobilise communities, change organisational practices, and influence policies and legislation. Third, there has been an expansion in the domains of social life or social practice through which men are engaged in building gender equality. While many programs address men's roles in relation to violence against women, sexual and reproductive health, and HIV/AIDS, others now engage men in relation to new practices such as parenting (as fathers and as intimate partners) and prostitution or sex work (as the male clients of sex workers). Some also now engage men in existing strategies

focused on women. For example, while women's economic empowerment is a longstanding strategy in development work, some recent initiatives now engage husbands and fathers in this as well, in order to foster more equitable household decision-making, increased couple communication and decreased couple conflict, and higher income gains for families (Peacock and Barker 2012). Fourth, there is increasing methodological sophistication in the impact of programs and interventions. Fifth, there is an increasing emphasis on 'scaling up', that is, on the need to address the social and structural determinants of gender inequalities (Flood *et al.* 2010). This includes the intensification of efforts to integrate gender work with men into laws, policies and national plans regarding HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence, health, and parenting (Peacock and Barker 2012).

Work with men has undergone conceptual developments in the last decade, and this is a further significant shift. There is greater attention to how diversities in men's lives, including issues of poverty, racism, migration, food insecurity, and violence, complicate the conceptualisation, implementation, and prioritisation of engaging men in prevention. There is increased awareness of the challenges of involving members of a privileged social group in examining and undermining their own privilege (Casey *et al.* 2013). There is an increased consensus that work with men should be 'gender-transformative'–oriented towards transforming gender roles and promoting more gender-equitable relationships between men and women, with evidence that this approach is more effective than others (World Health Organisation 2007). There is disquiet regarding whether 'work with men' sometimes has ceased to be the strategy and has become the goal, perceived as an end in itself rather than as one means of pursuing gender equality.

The legitimacy of and institutional support for these first two dimensions of work with men have been bolstered by endorsements by governments and international agencies. Beginning in the mid-1990s, men's role in progress towards gender equality was the subject of growing international commitments and activity. In the Beijing Declaration, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, governments expressed their determination to encourage men to participate fully in all actions towards gender equality. This was reaffirmed and extended in the follow-up meeting in 2000. The theme "the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality" was adopted, among other themes, for the forty-eighth session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in March 2004, New York. Part of the preparation for this undertaken by the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) was an Expert Group Meeting, held in

Brazil in October 2003, to which I was fortunate enough to contribute. The role of men and boys has also been affirmed by other intergovernmental fora, including the International Conference on Population and Development (1994), the Programme of Action of the World Summit on Social Development (1995) and its review (2000), the twenty-sixth special session of the General Assembly on HIV/AIDS (2001), the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in 2009, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) Action Framework on Women, Girls, Gender Equality and HIV (2009), and the UNAIDS Operational Plan for Action Framework (2009). In addition, various national governments now emphasise in their plans of action the need to engage men in violence prevention.

National and international agencies' attention to the agenda of engaging men in building gender equality also is evident in their support for meetings, manuals, and other infrastructure. In relation to men's roles in violence prevention for example, in the last decade international agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO), Save The Children, the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), and UNIFEM all have released reports and manuals and held workshops and meetings focused on engaging men. These complement similar products by national organisations such as the Family Violence Prevention Fund (USA), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, EngenderHealth (South Africa), and Instituto Promundo (Brazil).

The fourth dimension of contemporary work engaging men in building gender equality is research and scholarship. We can imagine this scholarship in terms of three concentric circles. At the centre are evaluations of the actual impact of particular interventions among men and boys, including a relatively small number of scholarly studies with rigorous experimental designs and a much greater number in both scholarly and 'grey' literature with other methodologies. This body of work also is subject to increasing systematic assessment, with at least three notable reviews (World Health Organization 2007; IPPF 2010; Dworkin *et al.* 2013). Surrounding these are academic and activist commentaries and reflection on the field. And wider still is the rapidly expanding body of scholarship on men and masculinities more generally.

The actual body of evidence attesting to the efficacy of work with men is relatively small, and limited in methodological terms. In Dworkin *et al.*'s (2013) review of gender-transformative interventions aimed at heterosexually active men for example, few of the programs or

interventions identified were randomised control or randomised cluster trials. Of the 15 programs, one third involved quasi-experimental designs using comparison groups and pre- and post-tests, and another third used pre- and post-tests but no comparison group. Programs are rarely supported for enough time to produce an impact and assess outcomes. Few studies use rigorous longitudinal designs or comparison groups or report on measures of intervention fidelity (Dworkin *et al.* 2013, 2847). While there is debate over the methodological criteria and epistemological assumptions which should guide assessment of the effectiveness of efforts to engage men in building gender equality, there is no doubt that we need to know what works to make change and what does not.

Men's support for gender equality

In order to engage men in building gender equality, we must first know something about their existing involvements in gender. There is an increasingly rich body of data on the patterns and dynamics of masculinities on which to draw here. Particularly in making historical and cross-national comparisons of men's involvements in gender, however, one useful marker is their attitudes towards gender itself.

Attitudes are not the only, nor necessarily the most important, dimension of gender. Men's actual practices, their relations with others, and collective and institutional orderings of gender are at least as important. There are complex and bi-directional relationships between attitudes and behaviour (Pease and Flood 2008). Still, attitudes are related to practices: a wide range of studies link men's adherence to traditional gender role ideologies and their involvement in practices such as the perpetration of violence against women, avoidance of household labour, unsafe sex, and neglect of their health. In addition, there is both international and longitudinal data on men's gender attitudes. They therefore provide a valuable gauge of men's relations to gender equality. So, to what extent are men supportive of gender equality?

In many countries, men's attitudes towards gender equality show four patterns. First, most men are supportive, in broad terms, of gender equality. 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.

There is widespread agreement among men in countries such as Australia with broad principles of gender equality. Most men, like most

women, take for granted that women and men are equal, should have the same rights and responsibilities, and women should be treated fairly and justly in the distribution of benefits and responsibilities. This is evident in recent national surveys of community attitudes in Australia (VicHealth 2009, 66). International data is similar. One recent, useful source of data on men's attitudes and practices related to gender is the International Men and Gender Equality Survey or IMAGES, a quantitative household survey carried out with over 8,000 men and 3,500 women aged 18-59 in 2009-2010. A report on the findings from Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico, and Rwanda notes that men in all the countries, with the exception of India, were generally supportive of gender equality, with 87 to 90 percent saying that "men do not lose out when women's rights are promoted" (Barker *et al.* 2011, 9). However, this support can be only superficial or tokenistic. When asked if they supported quotas and other concrete affirmative action policies for women to increase their participation in politics, education and the workplace, men's support dropped to the range of 40-74 percent. Men's reactions to efforts to advance women's rights and gender equality can be ambivalent, with both positive and defensive or resistant responses (Dworkin *et al.* 2012).

Men in some countries are far more supportive of gender equality than men in others. There are radical disparities in men's gender-related attitudes and practices across countries. Focusing still on attitudes, the IMAGES data shows that men from India and Rwanda had far more gender-inequitable attitudes than men in the other countries surveyed. For example, while only 10 percent of men in Brazil agreed that "Changing diapers [nappies], giving kids a bath and feeding kids are mother's responsibility", 61 percent of men in Rwanda agreed, as did 86 per cent of men in India. While only eight percent of men in Mexico agreed that "To be a man, you need to be tough," this statement was supported by close to half of men in Brazil and Chile and 86 percent of men in India (Barker *et al.* 2011, 19). There are wide variations in men's attitudes regarding women's roles and responsibilities, including in relation to practices such as cooking and cleaning and avoiding pregnancy (Fleming *et al.* 2013). This survey also documents substantial disparities in men's actual practices, whether their involvements in household labour and parenting or in the perpetration of violence or other practices.

To the extent that men have a general attitudinal support for gender equality, like that among women, this support reflects the success of the women's movements in establishing norms of gender equality. However, this does not mean that men support or identify themselves with feminism. Instead, most are ignorant of or hostile to feminism, and many have been

influenced by popular stereotypes of feminism as 'man-hating'. Men's discomfort about or hostility towards feminism is fuelled by many of the same factors as women's, but also above all by feminism's challenge to sexism and male power and the unease and defensiveness this can generate.

There is a persistent gender gap in attitudes towards gender equality. Men consistently show less support than women for women's and men's equal treatment and access to resources. This gender gap is evident across age groups. For example, in a 2001 Australian survey of over 5,000 young people aged 12 to 20, 37 per cent of young men aged 12 to 20 but only 12 per cent of young women agreed that "Men should take control in relationships and be head of the household", while 25 per cent of males but only 14 per cent of females agreed that "Girls prefer a guy to be in charge of the relationship" (NCP 2001, 74). In a multi-country study among school and university students in Australia, Canada, China, India, Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, USA, South Korea, and Japan, there was a consistent gender gap in attitudes towards sharing housework, a pregnant woman's right to choose an abortion, the acceptability of pornography, and the relevance of feminism (Bulbeck 2003).

Boys and young men typically have better attitudes to gender equality than older generations of men. Survey data from the US for example shows that both women's and men's attitudes towards gender equality have improved over the past 30 years, although men's have changed more slowly and as a result the gap between women's and men's attitudes has widened (Ciabattari 2001, 574-575). Improvement in men's attitudes reflects two processes. First, as individual males' attitudes improve, the attitudes of cohorts of men improve over time. Second, younger generations of men have less conservative attitudes than older generations. American men have become less conservative about women's roles since 1970s, both because younger generations are less conservative and because all cohorts have become less conservative over time. For example, in the 1970s 34 per cent of pre-baby boom men (born 1925 to 1944) agreed that "Women should run their homes and leave running the country to men", but by the 1990s this had declined to 20 per cent, and only 12 per cent of post-baby boom men (born 1965 to 1980) agreed (Ciabattari 2001, 583). Other international data from the IMAGES survey echoes such patterns, with younger men generally more supportive of gender equality (Barker *et al.* 2011). Boys and young men have more progressive attitudes to gender because they are growing up in the wake and presence of feminism and other social changes.

The relationship between age and gender attitudes, however, is uneven.

The IMAGES survey of men in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico, and Rwanda found mixed trends. While in some countries younger men showed more equitable views, in other countries men over the age of 50 were more equitable than their younger counterparts (Barker *et al.* 2011, 20). Among young males, some studies find that younger boys have worse attitudes than young men. For example, the Australian survey of 5,000 youth aged 12 to 20 found that younger boys aged 12 to 14 showed *higher* support for violence-supportive attitudes than older boys (NCP 2001, 75-95).

Men's support for gender equality also varies depending on what dimension of gender equality is at stake. Looking at changes in attitudes over the past 30 years in countries such as the US, there has been more progress on some issues such as women's participation in paid work than on others such as interpersonal violence (Ciabattari 2001, 576). Recent surveys in Bosnia, Brazil, Chile, Croatia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), India, Mexico, and Rwanda find that most men have broad attitudinal support for gender equality, including women's fair treatment in education and the workplace, but there is less universal support for shared divisions of household labour and shared decision-making (Fleming *et al.* 2013, 47).

Finally, men's attitudes towards gender equality vary according to other forms of social difference and inequality including race and ethnicity, education, and region. This is not surprising given that men's involvements in gender are shaped by the gender relations of their local contexts and communities. These vary markedly in Australia for example: some communities are characterised by strong norms of gender equality, while others are characterised by conservative gender norms of male dominance and female subordination. Even in a single community or context, there is diversity in men's peer cultures and groups (Flood and Pease 2009). Globally, education has significant, although not universal, associations with attitudes towards gender. The IMAGES surveys in eight countries showed positive associations between level of education in the country and support for gender equality in six of these countries, but not for Brazil and India (Fleming *et al.* 2013, 47). Cross-national data from the IMAGES survey documented that men with higher educational attainment and married men had more equitable attitudes, while unmarried men had the least equitable attitudes. This suggests that men's attitudes towards gender also are shaped by their intimate relations, with men who live and negotiate with female intimate partners perhaps (but not inevitably) becoming more gender-equitable in their attitudes. Other, earlier evidence suggests that men's attitudes towards women's roles vary by economic

situation, family context, socialisation experience, religious and political ideologies, race/ethnicity, and regional and historical contexts (Ciabattari 2001).

These patterns in men's attitudinal support for or resistance to gender equality are only one dimension of men's involvements in gender. Men's attitudes have a complex relationship to their practices. Men may respect the women in their lives, but not challenge the broader power structures in society which favour men (Fleming *et al.* 2013, 15). Many men are complicit with the current patriarchal gender order, and their support for gender equality is only partial, superficial, or felt only in relation to the women and girls in their own lives. While many men are reconciled to idea that women should have equal access to education and employment, the proportions of men who *practise* gender-equitable behaviour in their own lives is far less, and even less is the proportion of men who will intervene when other men behave in sexist or violent ways. Men's gendered practices may be contradictory, in that some "try to protect their women (wives, mothers, daughters) from gender discrimination while simultaneously defending their own masculine privilege" (Ciabattari 2001, 576).

The book *Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality* showcases some of the best international thinking and practice regarding men's roles in sustaining gender inequalities and their potential roles in transforming these. We turn now to an outline of the book's contents.

The book

Part I of *Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality* sets the scene with key explorations of the relationships between theory and practice in the field of engaging men in building gender equality. Three influential theorists and advocates raise complementary questions about the ways in which men and masculinities are understood, the need for male advocates for an end to gender inequality to address their own complicity with institutionalized male power, and the value of more structural understandings of the constraints to gender equality.

Jeff Hearn begins by examining the changing ways in which "men" as a gendered category has been framed over the last 40 years. His chapter explores the complex relations between the diverse politics of men's gender-conscious activism, the development of explicitly gendered policy-making on men, and the establishment of the sub-field of critical studies on men and masculinities. In these arenas a crucial issue is to what extent and in what ways practices and theories of, on and around men and

masculinities are critical, or not, and how they relate to wider feminist and gender debates and theorising. The chapter draws on extensive transnational research on men and masculinities over many years, including the 18-country collection, *Men and Masculinities Around the World* (Ruspini *et al.*), as well as more specific studies on Finland, Sweden, UK and the European Union.

As masculinity studies has grown and as men have been seen as having a key role to play in promoting gender equality and challenging men's violence, some key feminist insights about the dynamics of men's gender privilege and men's location within gendered hierarchies have been neglected. It is the premise of Bob Pease's chapter that to engage men in building gender equality, we have to disengage them from the structures and processes of patriarchy. Such a project requires that men acknowledge their complicity in relation to the wider culture that supports men's violence. For men to recognise their complicity, they must face the contribution they make to causal influences that perpetuate violence against women. This necessitates a framework of shared responsibility for the ongoing injustices against women. Consequently, profeminist men must examine their gendered practices and their complicity with the reproduction of institutionalized male power before they can effectively advance gender equality.

The next chapter, by Jerker Edström, argues that the way forward in engaging men on masculinities and gender equality must involve moving beyond the homogenised and individualised framings in gender and development discourse, or reformed gender roles, to think politically in more structural–yet dynamic–ways about patriarchy. Recognising key contributions by feminist thinkers, on the marginalisation of women's voices, discrimination against and the subordination of women, or the very idea of deep structures of constraint to gender equality, this chapter sets out a framework for 'undressing patriarchy' in four dimensions. Drawing on a range of writers in feminism, masculinities studies and on power, four dimensions are proposed as: 'Male centeredness' (in a cultural or representational dimension), 'Male privilege' (in a material and institutional dimension), 'Male supremacy' (in an ideological or political dimension) and 'Male order' (in an epistemological dimension). Whist the first three are more familiar, male order is proposed as a key sub-structural source of constraint to gender equality. Edström argues that it provides the deep-level syntax of patriarchal knowledge-power, with an underlying and divisive binary operating-code, resulting in an active obfuscation of alternative constructions of sense and meaning. After laying out this framework, the chapter briefly considers how each dimension has started

to become addressed, or not, in development discourse on the role of men and boys and concludes with reflection on some possible implications and challenges ahead.

Part II of the book focuses on one of the most significant and well-developed areas of work engaging men in building gender equality, focused on men's violence against women. It begins with Stephen Fisher's critical assessment of the frameworks and approaches which often underpin efforts to involve men in violence prevention. Fisher argues that much work presented as 'engaging men in violence prevention' is ideologically undermining of the work of feminist women's rights organisations. In response, he outlines principles for training men to become allies for the women's movements. The book then moves to discussion of particular projects which are of interest. Two of the six chapters in this section document important initiatives in Bangladesh and Indonesia focused on men's roles in preventing and reducing men's violence against women, in chapters by Abu Sufian and Nur Hasyim respectively.

Abu Sufian's chapter describes the Engaging Men Initiative (EMI) project developed by CARE over 2010-2013 in the north east of Bangladesh. This project, oriented towards women's empowerment and gender equality, is an innovative initiative engaging men into a women's empowerment program among ultra-poor target groups and in a remote and difficult area which is relatively conservative, poor, and has a high prevalence of violence against women.

Nur Hasyim's chapter discusses initiatives to engage men and boys in ending violence against women in Nusa Tenggara Indonesia. It describes strategies of engaging men in the movement for ending violence against women which had been applied in the region and explores the outcomes generated by the strategies. Hasyim argues that given the multifaceted factors which influence violence against women, strategies that address those factors are inevitable. Furthermore, feminist principles are needed to guide those strategies in building a non-violent and equal society. Even though the initiative shows evidence of change, there are many challenges in generating meaningful outcomes.

The next two chapters highlight the ways in which feminist-informed examinations of men and masculinities generate valuable insights regarding violence against women and indeed violence against men. While Veronica Oxman Vega's chapter focuses on homicides against women and girls on the border of Mexico and the United States, Sara Meger's chapter focuses on sexual violence against men in the context of armed conflicts.

Ciudad Juarez at the border of Mexico and the United States has

become emblematic due to the large number of homicides of women and girls, or 'feminicides', that have taken place in the city during the last twenty years. For the Sydney Action Group for Juarez (SAGJ), this gendered violence raises hard questions about why it happens and what to do to confront it. Veronica Oxman Vega looks at the context of socio economic and political changes that have generated a particular type of violent masculinity which can lead men to commit homicide against women, thus creating a gender abyss. In Mexico, this reality poses great challenges not just for women but also to all levels of society. In fact feminicide is a phenomenon which appears to be increasing in other regions of the world and therefore requires a systemic approach. At the same time, policy making needs to consider not only taking measures to empower women and girls, but also innovative measures to free boys and men from this violent type of masculinity.

Dominant narratives in international relations and security treat sexual violence in conflict as an exceptional form of gender-based violence, perpetrated primarily against women and girls. Due to underreporting and a programmatic bias of focusing only on women, the sexual violence experienced by men in many contemporary conflicts has been largely overlooked in both policy formation and academic analysis. Sara Meger's chapter seeks to understand the occurrence of sexual violence against men and boys in armed conflict by positioning it within (and against) the current feminist discourse on wartime sexual violence. The perpetration of sexual violence against men and boys demonstrates the materiality of sexual violence in conflict and its instrumentality in providing economic, political, and social opportunity to men who would otherwise be marginalised in the formal global economy. This function is served regardless of the sex of the victim(s).

The final chapter in this section broadens the focus to the ways in which the politics of gender equality are enmeshed with other political commitments. An existing attachment to other political objectives may provide the basis for men's cooperation with feminist politics or establish barriers to men's involvement. David Duriesmith's chapter explores the relationship between colonialism and gender politics through the lives of twelve Acehnese men. The respondent's perceptions of gender equality were influenced by their engagement with colonial resistance. For some of the men interviewed their commitment to resisting colonialism in Aceh opened trajectories towards egalitarian practices. The perception that outside cultural forces had corrupted Aceh provided a justification for greater equality. For others their opposition to equality was justified by appealing to 'authentic' Acehnese culture. This chapter suggests that using

existing political momentum to forward the cause of gender equality provides significant opportunities and substantial risks in context of Aceh.

Part III of the book addresses a second important domain for efforts to engage men, that of health, with three chapters focused on sexual and reproductive health, the risky consumption of alcohol, and interpersonal public violence.

Rachmad Hidayat examines men's absence from reproductive responsibility among Muslim families in Indonesia. He describes a research project carried out in the predominantly Muslim city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, addressing the absence of men's involvement in reproductive roles, this absence's impact on women's health, its contributing factors, and its theological grounding in Islamic teaching. The study further explored cultural strategies in promoting men's involvement in reproductive health in communities. This chapter highlights some of the findings by proposing strategies and practices by which men can be involved in reproductive responsibility and reproductive health matters. The chapter further highlights how these strategies and practices can be employed in three phases of women's reproductive experience including pre-reproductive activities, reproductive activity and post-natal life. Hidayat emphasises the necessity of introducing these reproductive roles by men as part of men's day to day practice.

The problem of risk-taking amongst young men has been recognised as a significant issue within the contemporary social order. Young men's engagement in a wide range of risky practices, including risky drinking, illicit drug use, dangerous driving, unsafe sexual practices, and acts of violence, has been identified as having substantial negative impacts not only upon young men themselves, but also on other individuals and across wider society. Drawing on a series of focus groups and interviews conducted with young Australian men, Adam Rogan examines the ways in which young men use two specific risky practices, risky drinking and public violence, to establish and maintain gendered identities that align with a dominant hegemonic ideal and distance them from subordinate and marginalised masculinities. The chapter focuses on the ways in which young men's engagement in risky drinking and public violence contributes to reinforcing and maintaining gender inequalities within existing gender systems. This critical examination of the relationship between risky practices and hegemonic masculinity may shed some light on how gender-based inequalities are enacted among young men, and across the gender system as a whole.

Part IV of the book *Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality* moves to another domain, the workplace. The first chapter in this section

highlights discursive resistance to gender equality among male managers. The second considers the limits of common approaches to gender in the highly male-dominated field of mining, while the third explores practical strategies through which men and women can come to a greater understanding of the dynamics of gender in the policies and practices of the workplace.

Drawing on interviews conducted with a group of intersectionally privileged male managers, Kadri Aavik's chapter explores discursive resistance towards gender equality in Estonia. It locates these men's reluctance to embrace gender equality in a neoliberal post-socialist context characterised by large gender inequalities, especially in the labour market, and where men's initiatives to work towards decreasing these disparities are yet to emerge. Three main ways in which the interviewed managers frame gender and gender equality in the context of work were identified: 1) essentialising gender and gender equality; 2) emphasising differences on the individual level as a way of avoiding addressing structural inequalities in the labour market; and 3) declaring gender equality as unimportant and distancing oneself from the issue. Significantly, being positioned as unmarked in terms of gender and ethnicity, and speaking from an intersectionally privileged position, enables these men to construct others as marked and deviating from the norm, at the same time consolidating their own unmarked status in the labour market and dismissing gender equality as a valid concern in the context of work. Aavik argues that these particular ways of framing of gender and gender equality can be understood as ways of practicing and perpetuating strategic ignorance (Sullivan and Tuana 2007) with the aim of supporting privilege. The cultivation of strategic ignorance is actively supported by the neoliberal agenda prevalent in contemporary Estonia. Simultaneously, dismissing gender equality as a legitimate concern serves as a way of displaying complicity with the ideal of hegemonic masculinity.

Explorations of how gender impacts on the mining industry are limited and ill-informed, according to Dean Laplonge's chapter. The mining industry pays attention to "women in mining" and seeks to encourage more women to enter into the industry. However, it fails to consider how gender already alienates the feminine from its mine sites. The knowledge and experience to investigate the relationship between gender and mining outside essentialising ideas about gender are lacking. The current debate about women in mining fails to take into account many ideas about gender that have emerged in the field of Gender Studies. In particular, we see in mining that "gender" is still understood as a natural difference between men and women, rather than as something that is produced within

organisations and something that we — as gendered people — do. This approach to gender is damaging the industry. Laplonge's chapter argues that workplace cultures are affected by the dominance of hyper-masculinity, resulting in unsafe behaviours and employee harassment, while mining companies are stifled by ideas and practices which emerge out of a singular and dominant form of masculinity that is pervasive in the industry. The chapter stresses that mining requires a new vision of how gender works to affect its industry, its business practices, and its workplace cultures.

Conservative, incremental and modest approaches to redressing gendered workplace cultures have had limited success in challenging the demographic profile of densely masculinist workplaces. Susan Harwood's chapter emphasises that combating highly institutionalised, entrenched masculinist practices calls for a more complex theoretical and practical landscape to support, define and enhance an examination of gendered workplace cultures. One of several critical acts in the author's PhD research was the collaborative engagement of men with women. The case study that follows demonstrates the practical elements of this approach that included training for men and women in how to apply a "gender lens" to the policies and practices of their workplace. This enables both men and women to see from a different viewpoint, moving from the familiar position of seeing women as "the problem", and needing to change, to one where the problem is seen as belonging to the organisation (the organisation needs to change).

The next two sections of the book focus on overlapping fields, the first regarding fathers, mothers, and parenting and the second regarding boys and the care of boys in early childhood education.

While one significant domain or set of practices through which men have been engaged in building gender equality is work and workplaces, another is parenting and families. Part V of the book focuses on fathers, mothers, and families.

Little is known about the reasons why so many fathers disengage from their children's lives in South Africa. Drawing from research conducted in four townships, Mazembo Mavungu's chapter presents key findings regarding the causes and consequences of the phenomenon of absent fathers in South Africa. Father absence in South Africa is intricately connected to historical, social, economic and cultural contexts. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, widespread father absence is often influenced by ideological factors such as materialist constructions of fatherhood and masculinity; socio-economic factors such as poverty and unemployment of fathers; cultural factors such as the cost of customary

practices like *"ilobolo"* (dowry) and "damages" (fines); and relationship issues of various kinds. Programs seeking to promote the caring and gender-equal involvement of fathers need to consider ways in which to challenge dominant conceptions of fatherhood and harmful norms of masculinity which heavily influence fathers' behaviour. In addition, the circumstances of poverty and unemployment among fathers require adequate social policy responses aiming at enabling fathers to be involved in the care of their children. Mavungu concludes that positive and greater father involvement constitutes a key pathway for promoting gender equality, particularly in the domestic sphere.

Linda Haas and Graeme Russell review research into fatherhood, work and gender equality, examining how findings from this research can inform the promotion of gender equality, particularly in the workplace. Their chapter begins with the proposition that fatherhood is socially constructed rather than biologically driven. They note that studies on working parents and gender equality policies typically ignore differences in societal expectations for wage-earning and caring. However, government policies designed to promote men's involvement in care are increasingly being enacted around the world, especially in Europe, and policy makers find the "economic case" for gender equality in work and care to be an increasingly attractive proposition. Haas and Russell point out that policies such as paid parental leave have a positive impact on fathers' participation in childcare. At the workplace, fathers are more likely to negotiate informal access to time for caregiving rather than rely on formal programs designed to promote active fatherhood. Traditional gendered company cultures and the lack of managerial support for men as caring fathers are important obstacles that need more research and policy attention. The chapter concludes that to achieve gender equality in paid work and caring, men need to be more involved in caregiving than they currently are, and that this change needs to be facilitated by: government legislation to support fathers' involvement in childcare; changes in workplace cultures and systems to provide greater support to active fatherhood; and a focus on men themselves both in terms of their capacity to change and in taking responsibility for advocating change.

Drawing on her research into feminist mothers' experiences of raising boys, Sarah Epstein indicates that the mother and son relationship is an important location for feminist activism. Feminist mothers work to make women's lived experiences visible to their sons as a precursor for engaging boys in building gender equality. The qualitative research study described in this chapter utilised in-depth interviews with twenty self-identified feminist mothers and placed a specific focus on how feminism's

engagement with ideas of gender and masculinity intersect with the mother and son relationship. These feminist mothers enact a conscious and specific maternal practice that aims to bring women back from the margins. By making women's lives both visible and known to their sons, an immediate relational identity is established for boys. Their masculine subjectivities are ongoingly constructed in and through their relationship with their mother. Making women's lives visible is a direct rejection of the patriarchal narrative about mothers and sons. The patriarchal narrative positions women as other and marginalises the mother. The chapter argues that feminist maternal practice with boys constructs an alternative narrative about mothers and sons. In so doing, feminist mothers work towards overall change in gender relations.

PART VI of the book focuses on boys and the care of boys. Clare Bartholomaeus's chapter notes that young boys are often lost in discussions about gender equality, which tend to be focused on men, teenage boys, or "men and boys". Her chapter contributes to addressing this gap by examining 6-7 and 11-13 year-old boys' understandings of gender equality, drawing from research in two Australian primary schools. Her chapter centres on the views and practices of boys which could be seen as beneficial to building gender equality. This includes an examination of how some boys were already aware of gender (in)equality and the ways in which boys supported gender equality, such as by opposing violence against women. Her research also involved students in designing posters about what they had learnt during the research activities, therefore suggesting ways that classroom activities can be used for working with ideas of gender equality. However, Bartholomaeus argues that there are key barriers to being able to engage boys in building gender equality which relate to broader discourses such as individualism and the Australian education context.

Focusing on men in childcare, Leif Askland argues that the discourses that have dominated the early childhood education domain have traditionally been guided by a female-male dichotomy, which marginalises men through a so-called 'misery rationale' focused on stories of men's marginalisation. What do male caring practices look like when male kindergarten workers describe them in their own words?This chapter aims to trigger discussions about strategies to enhance vocational training, through which male kindergarten teacher assistants may be given an opportunity to reflect upon their own practices and, subsequently, develop more advanced and nuanced caring practices. Through an analysis of how a group of male kindergarten teacher assistants perceive themselves as caring persons, this chapter explores issues of gender equality in childcare

education. The joy of experiencing close contact with children, the connecting and reciprocity are factors expressed as vital for the satisfaction that the assistants experience in their work. They all express a wide understanding of care. Care is more than the physical, of wiping noses and changing nappies, and also to wish the best for the child in its future.

The final section of the book brings together three very different articulations of the workings of gender and sexuality and their reconceptualisation and reconstruction. The first examines women's experiences as the intimate partners of bisexual men. The second draws on a body of theory and practice regarding men and gender associated with 'men's liberation' and personal growth rather than strongly pro-feminist perspectives, but seeks to integrate this with a strand of feminism, ecofeminism. The final chapter returns to this book's central concern, men's involvement in challenging patriarchal gender inequalities.

Drawing from a larger Australian qualitative project with 78 culturally, geographically and sexually diverse women aged 19 to 65 who are in monogamous and non-monogamous relationships with bisexual-identifying and/or bisexual-behaving men, Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli presents an overview of women's perspectives, experiences and analyses of masculinity, misogyny, privilege and power in relation to their partners and their relationships. From the most misogynist masculinity displayed by abusive bisexual male partners to the most pro-feminist masculinity displayed by other bisexual male partners, women's perspectives range from never wanting to be in another relationship with a bisexual male to never wanting to be in another relationship with a heterosexual male. For most women, it is ultimately the way men perform their masculinity, rather than their bisexuality, that becomes a determining factor as to whether the women stay with them and are satisfied with their relationships. Many women discussed their own femininity in relation to their partner's masculinity, and how either bi-misogyny constrained their own gender and sexual expressions, or bi-masculinity encouraged and enhanced their own resistances to normative femininity and passive sexuality.

Paul Pulé's chapter offers an ecofeminist-informed approach to men and masculinities. It emphasizes that men are oppressed by the same social structures that advantage them. Drawing on the notion of "men's liberation" from Re-evaluation Co-counseling (RC), the chapter argues that all men are born good and possess an infinite capacity to care for others and themselves. However, this innate care is concealed by an internalized sense of superiority that robs men of their humanity in

exchange for economic power and privileges, fracturing their relationships and making it difficult for them to be caring towards others and themselves. In response, the chapter proposes an ecologically inspired masculinities theory, termed ecological masculinism. Building on this, Pulé introduces five practical steps designed to help men re-awaken their care for others and themselves and support them to join in creating a socially just, environmentally healthy and sustainable future for all of life.

Wrestling with masculinity often seems to be a way for men to avoid some of the harder questions that confront them in the struggle against a resurgent "neo- patriarchy," characterized by neoliberal retrenchments in welfare provision, the increasing double shift of productive and socially reproductive labour performed by women combined with persistent gender inequalities in pay, the growth of (para)militarised masculinities and continuing high rates of violence against women and lamentably low rates of conviction for the mostly male perpetrators. Alan Greig, Gaurav Jashnani and R.J. Maccani came together in the Challenging Male Supremacy Project (CMS) in 2008 out of a desire to confront their own gender practices, and the ways in which they did and did not challenge the legitimacy of this new patriarchy. The final chapter of the book focuses on this work. As members of an all-volunteer collective in New York City, Greig and his colleagues since that time have created spaces and developed tools for working with men and masculine-identified people to challenge male supremacist practices and cultures as part of a broader movement for collective liberation. The authors emphasise that all of us, at different times, have been called upon by women, whether in our intimate relationships or political communities, to do more not only to change our own sexist attitudes and behaviours but also to work more actively on supporting liberatory practices and spaces within our communities. They emphasise that it is the everyday practices of male supremacy which are the hardest to acknowledge, let alone address, because they are so thoroughly normalised. The chapter highlights the importance of necessarily linking projects working for racial and gender justice because of the interlocking nature of white supremacy and male supremacy in history and contemporary society. The chapter also questions the binary assumptions that still inform so much work on gender justice, which erase from view the experiences of transgender and gender non-conforming people.

The last chapter is a fitting way to end this book, as it underscores the themes which are, or which should be, central to engaging men in this work. We must integrate theory and practice, bringing contemporary scholarship on men, masculinities and gender to bear in our efforts to

engage and change men, and in turn, drawing on the experience and
insight accumulated through this work to extend scholarship. We must
recognise the diversities of gender and sexuality and the complex
intersections of privilege and oppression which structure men's lives. We
must consider the links between struggles for gender justice and struggles
against other forms of social injustice and oppression. Men who seek to
support feminism must transform their individual and collective practice
and interrogate their complicity with institutionalised inequalities.

Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality is intended to contribute to
the positive impact of efforts to engage men in progress towards gender
equality. Some chapters' contributions are practical, highlighting valuable
or innovative programs and initiatives and the lessons learned from these.
Other chapters' contributions are more conceptual, inviting more
thoughtful and critical understandings of men, masculinities, and the
question of men's involvements in feminism. There is a breadth of work
taking place around the world addressing men's roles in gender relations
and, for better or worse, 'engaging men' is firmly on the public agenda.
Our hope is that this book will inform the programs, policies, and research
which increase our progress towards a world of gender equality.

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PART I:

ENGAGING MEN IN BUILDING GENDER EQUALITY: CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

CHAPTER TWO

THE USES AND ABUSES OF THE POLITICAL CATEGORY OF "MEN": ACTIVISM, POLICY AND THEORISING

JEFF HEARN

The question of "men" is still usually taken-for-granted. Yet, for a long time I have been concerned more with the critical question of men than with the adjustment of new forms of masculinities. So I should begin by making clear that when I refer to men, I do not use this as a biological or essential(ised) category, but rather as a social and political category, that is just as provisional as the very concepts and categories of "gender", "sex", "sexual difference", "manhood" or "manliness".

I would argue that "men" is a political issue. When I say, or write, that I mean that "men" is a political question, both materially and discursively, indeed simultaneously, so that it may be more accurate to say materialdiscursively (Hearn 2012b). I wish to deconstruct, problematise and even abolish the category of men, not preserve it or place it as a fixed part of the gender system. Moreover, in attempting to do this, a key challenge is how to speak on men, personally, politically, and theoretically, without recentering men.

But before going any further, I wish to acknowledge the importance of collaboration in this political project. This is not a footnote, but a central aspect of researching men and masculinities critically. I would not be writing about this question in this way were it not for a mass of collaborative researches, researchers and interventions, especially, but not only, in the European context. These include: the 14-country EU FP5 "Thematic Research Network on Men in Europe (CROME)" (2000-2003); "Men, Gender Relations and Transnational Organisations and Management", Academy of Finland (2000-2005); EU FP6 "Coordination Action on Human Rights Violation (CAHRV)" (2004-2007); GEXcel Centre of Gender Excellence, Swedish Research Council (2006-), themes on men

and masculinities; Swedish and South African Research Councils Research Network on Men and Masculinities (2009-2012); and the EU FP7 project, "The Role of Men in Gender Equality" (2010-2013).

So, the category of men is gendered, is a gendered category, a category of gender, that is intersectionally gendered and gendered intersectionally, not essentialised. I say this with the presumption that while nothing is entirely what it seems; the category of men is simply a cultural fact, albeit in vastly different ways, and nothing more. This certainly still often goes unnoticed–whether in mainstream or critical gender commentaries, though for different reasons. Seen this way, the "man question" has always been part of feminism: feminism has many explicit and implicit analyses and politics on what to do with men. Compare, for example, Christabel Pankhurst writing from 1913: "What a man … really means is that women are created primarily for sex gratification of men and secondly for the bearing of children if he happens to want them," and Amananda Sebestyen from 1982, "I see men as my political enemies. I don't want to kill them, that's too conservative a solution. I want them to stop being men anymore."

As one final word of introduction, I want to go back to the classic feminist slogan, "the personal is political". This can have several different interpretations, but I would like to extend it to "the personal is political is theoretical" (Hearn 1983;2008b) Each of these realms tends to apply most obviously in and around certain social institutions, but all are relevant all the time (Hearn 2008b). Here, I outline three different political arenas where the category of men is deployed, with quite different outcomes and implications: personal and activist politics, policy politics, and theoretical politics. As will become apparent, there are both clear parallels and some clear differences in how men, that is, the social category of "men", is represented politically in these three arenas.

Personal and activist politics

Much of what men do, men's personal actions and everyday activity and "activism", is not seen as gendered or indeed as political activity at all. Much of men's practices, in public and in private, in work, negotiations, persuasion, networking, lobbying, pressurising and so on is not seen as gendered. They are generally done, perceived and felt as (if they were) "normal". It is not usually gender-conscious activity: they "just happen"!

Meanwhile and in contrast, there has been a significant growth of men's more explicitly gender-conscious activities, often in relation to feminism, gender and gender equality. There are many reasons for this–

even though men's relations to gender equality and feminism are often, perhaps almost always, problematic, and especially so in relation to sexuality and violence. Men's personal politics and activist politics, that is men's gender-conscious activism, take many forms. It has involved an array of different men's movements, ranging across anti-sexist, profeminist, gay, queer, mythopoetic, fathers' rights, men's rights, and anti-feminist,, as well as various composite, ambiguous or unnamed interventions. Interestingly, in Finland, where I live, the largest gender-conscious gatherings of men as men are religious in orientation, in this case, Lutheran Christian.

There have also been long debates on positive reasons for men to engage in gender change. For example, in 1987 Raewyn Connell began the book, *Gender and Power*, by identifying five "… reasons for change [that] have enough weight, against this entrenched interest, … broadly to maintain the existing system … to detach heterosexual men from the defence of patriarchy …": the oppressiveness and injustice of gender systems; the wish for better life for women, girls and other men around them. They can be summarised as: the social justice motive, commitment to particular women, feeling the backwash, being "modern", and humanism. In the same year in the book The Gender of Oppression (Hearn 1987) I concluded with six "material reasons for men to change against patriarchy": love and care for and from men, the "power" of children, better health, anti-capitalism, avoiding violence from other men, and reduction of likelihood of nuclear annihilation.

More generally, there are many reasons why men can become interested in gender, gender equality, and indeed feminism. A useful and important clarification of different positions on men's personal and activist politics has been drawn up some years ago by Michael Messner (1997) in his analysis of US men's movements. In this, he points to three key reasons why men can become more explicitly motivated to become interested in acting personally in support of feminism.

In some cases here the category of men is sacrosanct. A recent example from the Men's Network in Brighton and Hove, UK, dated December 2010. Their website reads, at first, positively and inclusively, that it is:

> committed to helping every man and boy fulfil his greatest potential … we take action to improve men's health, support dads, help boys do better in school. When local communities include men and boys it makes it easier for everyone to work together to help men and boys live longer, happier, healthier lives; help boys to do better at school and support every dad to make a difference in his children's lives.

Fig. 2-1: Messner's (1997) triangle

Stopping men's privileges

Highlighting costs of masculinity   Prioritising men's differences
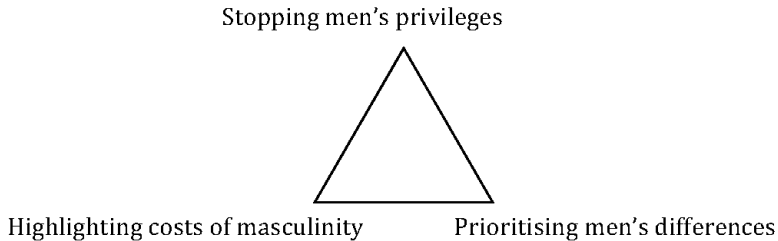
But then reading swiftly on one finds:

> Hi, would like to say how refreshing it is to visit a sight (*sic*.) actually standing up for men's rights. For far too long the feminist brand of 'equality' has coerced politicians into discrimination against the male gender at large.

This is not so different from the rhetoric of the more explicitly and sometimes virulently anti-feminist sites.

Now, contrast profeminism. Profeminism describes men's solidarity and support for feminist struggles and issues. Moreover, just as there are various feminisms, so there are various forms of profeminism. However, amongst all the different viewpoints, profeminists share a conviction to listen to and learn from feminism and women, and to rethink and deconstruct male gender as the dominant and hegemonic gender. This involves actively changing both men themselves or ourselves and other men–personally, politically, at home, at work, in the media, campaigns, law, and so on (see Hearn 2008a).

Both anti-feminists and profeminists invoke the category of men as fundamentally important, but in apparently very different ways. However, I think there is more going on here than asserting the fundamental importance of the category of men. The clue lies in my statement, "Just as there are various feminisms so there are various forms of profeminism." What this means in effect is that the variety of feminists and feminisms constitutes a variety of profeminisms, or if you prefer, diverse "male feminists".

To understand this diversity entails elaborating on Messner's framework, as noted above, and here I have found the work of Judith Lorber (2005) on three broad versions of feminism, that respectively address gender imbalance (reform feminism), gender systems (resistance

feminism), and gender categories (rebellion feminism). These then give a more nuanced, and in some ways quite different picture at the top apex of Messner's triangle.

Fig. 2-2: Reasons for profeminism

rebellion: abolish gender categories including "men"

reform: abolish gender imbalance   resistance: abolish patriarchy
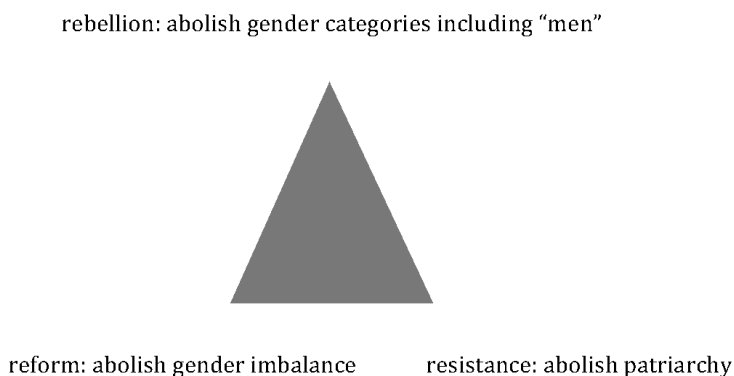
But this diversity of broadly profeminist positions also raises some difficulties for some men's personal politics, for example, how to "pass" as a "feminist". As one of Egeberg Holmgren's interviewees in her study of (pro)feminist men in Sweden put it,

> It feels as if I've been… welcomed into [laughs] the circle so to speak. You know, I've been feministing myself for such a long time that… it seems as if there is a belief in me even though there certainly always is a particular scepticism since I am a man. But I think that's good. I think it ought to be like that(Egeberg, Holmgren and Hearn 2009).

There are a number of difficult issues in developing a personal political invocation of men by men within activist politics. First, the movement of the category across personal identity and experience and public action is not always seamless. The way this appears is shifting historically and generationally, and variable in terms of social and national contexts. Moreover, for profeminists there are major problems in identifying and organising as men, as recognised by John Stoltenberg (1989), and accentuated within some queer activism and critiques. Indeed a particular complication is in how personal/activist reflexivity is constructed that reflects on these personal/activist politics themselves–this involves a kind of "double-take" that may be addressed through, for example, autoethnography

or memory work over time, in which the identity of man/men is deconstructed. For me, this has for a long time raised the ambiguity and reflexivity of studying what is a rather small social movement that I have been and am myself part of.

Policy politics

The second broad arena of politics is policy–that is formal organisational, corporate, governmental, national and international policy politics that is more or less explicitly on and around men. What is interesting here is how the very notion of policy can easily appear at first as a neutral and moreover gender-neutral term. Yet not only is much policy and policy development constructed by and through assumptions about gender, and other social divisions, but also much policy and policy development can be understood as policy on and about gender and gender relations, and indeed other social divisions (Hearn and McKie 2008). National and international governmental policy initiatives typically have an ambiguous relation to explicit gender analysis, sometimes in keeping with a legal or quasi-legal and deliberately "gender-neutral" style, language and politics, reinforced by bureaucratic, institutional and oligarchical processes. There is still an elusiveness of an explicit analysis of "men" in much policy debate and development in and between government bodies, a relative lack of gendered policy interventions with men, and a lack of direct orientation of officials to men and policy. More specifically, there is often a lack of research orientation in some anti-violence policy (Hearn and McKie 2008; Pease 2008; Wright and Cowburn 2011). However, there are long-established initiatives which take a different line.

Following the world conferences on women that began in 1975, there has been an increasing global and governmental debate on the implications of gender issues for men. These issues are increasingly taken up in the United Nations (UN), its various agencies, and other transgovernmental organizations and policy discussions. The Platform for Action adopted at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women said: "The advancement of women and the achievement of equality between women and men are a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and should not be seen in isolation as a women's issue." It continues, "The Platform for Action emphasises that women share common concerns that can be addressed only by working together and in partnership with men towards the common goal of gender equality around the world." (United Nations 2001, paragraph 3, 17). The 23rd special session UN General Assembly

2000 (Beijing +5) affirmed that men must take joint responsibility with women in promoting gender equality. Following this, the UN's Division for the Advancement of Women (2003) organised an online discussion forum and expert group meeting on "the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality" as part of its preparation for the 48th session of the Commission on the Status of Women, with the following comments:

> Over the last decade, there has been a growing interest in the role of men in promoting gender equality, in particular as the achievement of gender equality is now clearly seen as a societal responsibility that concerns and should fully engage men as well as women. The global commitment to gender equality in the Beijing Platform for Action and other major international conferences and summits, and in the existing international legal framework, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and ILO Conventions, have encouraged and accelerated efforts in this regard. To further develop efforts in this area, the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) will consider the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality at its forty-eighth session in March 2004.

A number of very informative documents on the challenges facing men in different parts of the world that were part of this preparation are available online (Division for the Advancement of Women 2003b). These should be read along with the subsequent Report to the Secretary-General on "the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality" (Division for the Advancement of Women 2003c).

At the national level the longest continuous government apparatus on men and gender equality is the Subcommittee on Men's Issues within Finnish Council for Equality between Women and Men, established in 1988, after a more informal working group a few years earlier. Other Nordic initiatives include the Nordic Council of Ministers Men and Gender Equality programme 1995-2000. There has been extensive European Union activity since 1995. For example, in 1995 the Arianne project on boy pupils was funded, and within the European Union Framework 4 Programme there was support for the European Profeminist Men's Network from 1997 to 1999. In the next phase of EU research funding, the European Research Network on Men in Europe was initially funded from 2000 to 2003 for the project, Social Problem and Societal Problematisation of Men and Masculinities. The Network (of which I was part) in turn led to the creation of the collective, Critical Research on Men in Europe (CROME) (www.cromenet.org). This was an important step forward for researchers and policy-makers in Europe. The Network comprises researchers with backgrounds in a range of academic disciplines

and from a number of European countries–initially Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Russian Federation, and the UK, and subsequently Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark and Sweden became affiliated member countries.

The development of studies of men and masculinities cannot easily be separated from that of politics and policy-making around men and masculinities. Indeed, this has been a major connection in the European and European Union contexts. For example, both the 2001 Swedish and the 2006 Finnish EU Presidency included conferences on men and gender equality (see Varanka *et al*. 2006). In 2011 the EU European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), formed in Vilnius, Lithuania, established in 2004, funded a study of the involvement of men in gender equality (Ruxton and van der Gaag 2012), which also includes a database of over 300 relevant organisations in the then 27 EU member states (http://www.eige.europa.eu/internal/csr/search).

During 2010-2013, another larger policy-orientated study contracted to NGOs and university researchers by the European Commission, 'The Role of Men in Gender Equality', has been completed in 2011 and 2012. The report preparation was made by a core group of over 20 researchers, of which I was part, working with about 40 further national experts producing extensive national reports from all EU countries along with Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. This large and complex project was formally controlled by a European Commission steering committee, and as such the project brought together many different policy and research interests and knowledges. These included the diverse needs for policies that were well informed, promoted gender equality, but were also cost-effective, inexpensive, and not offending of national subsidiarity. From the start, it appeared to me that some of the key stakeholders held very different perceptions of what the project should be about, including what "men and gender equality" might mean, as well as very different knowledges of the area. Even well into the project the project consortium coordinator informed about and passed onto the consortium members, including myself, information from the steering committee chair and head of the gender equality unit indicating that (at that time at least) the European Commission was interested in differences between women and men, and where and when men are disadvantaged compared to women, rather than different masculinities, different types of men or sociological and political science based theories. This points to how different positions in Messner's triangle can be found even within a single project.

The final report to the Commission, completed in 2012, covering such policy areas as education, care, family and households, health, political

representation, violence and work, went through various redrafts and was thus the result of a complex transnational political and policy process. It was also in due course published in 2013 (Scambor *et al*. 2013). This means that, even if progress is slow, the question of men's involvement in gender equality is no longer a concern restricted to a few countries or groups of individuals but is being raised and put on European local, national and international policy agendas much more widely.

Most recently, on 22nd October 2013 the EU European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) launched a one day online discussion on three broad sets of sub-topics: first, "Men's policies as part of Gender Equality policies", with the following discussion questions:

1. What role should men and men's policies play in achieving gender equality?
2. How have European governments incorporated men's policies into their gender equality frameworks?
3. What steps should the European Commission and national governments take in future to encourage men to take a positive role in gender equality policies?

The second sub-topic was "Different men, different realities":

1. What similarities or differences unite or divide men in the EU?
2. How should policies be adapted to accommodate these differences?
3. Are cultural differences more significant than gender differences?
4. What techniques can be used to address/reach different groups of men?
5. How can men be encouraged to feel a sense of responsibility for gender equality?

And the third set concerned "Men and their roles in contemporary societies":

1. What rules define masculinity and how are they imposed?
2. Does the concept of masculinity limit men's life choices?
3. How can traditional masculine norms be challenged?
4. How should a 'contemporary masculinity' be defined?
5. What role can women play in broadening men's options?

These questions, and their framing, give some indication of the dominant flavour of debate at the level of policy politics, and point to both its degree of progressivism and its limitations within what might be seen

as a liberal, reform (pro)feminist agenda.

In summarising the online debate, Kate Holman, the Moderator of the online discussion on Men and Gender Equality, made some very interesting observations shortly after its completion:

> It was a great pleasure to have you taking part and helping to make this exchange of views a real success. We believe the debate broke new ground in switching the emphasis of gender equality from women to men, and underlining how greater equality is good for both. We hope you gleaned new ideas and inspiration that will be a stimulus for further action in this key area.
>
> It has become increasingly obvious in recent years that strategies for mainstreaming and implementing gender equality policies cannot be totally successful without the support of one half of the population: men. But what is also apparent is that traditional masculine roles do not satisfy the needs of men themselves, and that men have a great deal to gain from exploring new and less inhibiting social roles, free of the need to impose a spurious superiority. We hope that you found the debate stimulated fresh thought around these issues.
>
> Yesterday's discussion covered an enormous amount of ground and came up with some really concrete examples and proposals for change. These ranged from what governments can do through legislation and by setting up equality focal points, to the importance of campaigns at different levels, and of education from an early age. Fatherhood was widely regarded as a very significant factor, although there was disagreement about whether focusing on this aspect excludes men who are not–or do not wish to be–parents.
>
> The *differences between men were emphasised*, and the fact that some men benefit less than others–if at all–from patriarchal structures. To address different realities, we need to encourage men themselves to set an agenda that is locally and culturally relevant. Class, poverty and race all have a profound influence. One concrete request was the collection of good practices in [EU] Member States. It was really good to see so many men taking part in the discussion–and especially men already involved in policy-making and with broad experience in this area.
>
> The overwhelming consensus was that men's involvement in gender equality is crucial, and that to bring this about, *gender needs to move into the centre of policy-making*. Once men realise they will benefit, they will address the issue of women and equality willingly, but this is a long process. Ideally, we need to move public discourse away from money and profit to "love and equality" (Holman 2013, emphases added).

In addition, a draft report on the discussion, with resources and recommendations, will be available for comment before publication. I would like to highlight, first, just two parts of this summary above:

"differences between men were emphasized" and *"gender needs to move into the centre of policy-making"*. This combination points to the importance of both the centrality of gender, and difference within gendering. Seen in relation to Messner's triangle, this can be understood as a key tension that can be either positive or negative. It could be seen as either leaving open how gender intersects with age, class, disability, ethnicity, racialisation, sexuality and other social divisions and differences amongst men, or as a much broader and productive relation between gender and other social divisions and differences and source of a dynamic politics and policy.

Two other significant extracts read, *"the debate broke new ground in switching the emphasis of gender equality from women to men"* and *"we need to encourage men themselves to set an agenda that is locally and culturally relevant"*. These are especially interesting. They suggest that the debate is new. The "switching" of emphasis to men may appeal to some men, and perhaps some women, across the political spectrum (or triangle); for some, this may, however, be a vehicle for opening up a space for a non- or even an anti-feminist agenda, whatever the good intentions of the majority involved. This can be one of the unintended consequences of such innovative public interventions, however welcome in broad terms they are. Thus I should add that these comments are in no way whatsoever a criticism of this EIGE initiative or the summary above, but rather a reflection of the complexity and challenges of the policy field around men and gender equality.

More specifically, these various studies, interventions and debates also point to areas where there are already or in process, in some countries at least, explicit policies on men and masculinities. These include policies on: men as workers/breadwinners/heads of family/household; fatherhood and paternity; family statuses in immigration and nationality; gay and transgender issues; crimes of sexual violence; programmes on men violent to women and children; conscription; men's health education; reproductive technology and reproductive rights. There are some starkly different variations in how men are framed between different policy politics and policy fields, for example, between anti-violence policy, in which violent men are presented typically negatively, and fatherhood policy, in which fathers as men are typically presented very positively. Thus there are many reasons for policy development on men, just as there many reasons for men to be involved in activism. In many ways these policy positionings parallel those in personal politics.

Fig. 2-3: Reasons for policies on "men"

Highlighting men's power and control (e.g. anti-violence policy)
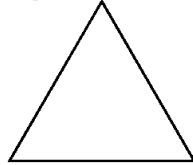
Highlighting positive of men Prioritising men's differences
(e.g fatherhood policy)   (e.g. gay and transgender policy)

Having said that, there is now in some countries, at least, a second phase of policy development on men, that is more critical and reflective than earlier interventions (Ruspini *et al.* 2011). Yet, there is still an avoidance of some major policy arenas, as in foreign policy, business and trade, transport policy, security, defence, militarism and war. These are very much all about men, yet usually not articulated as such. This is clear from the development of the UK report, *Man Made*, produced by the Coalition on Men and Boys (2009) policy report. In this, I was one of four external expert advisers. The process of producing the report was in general rather smooth and broadly consensual. However, a very significant dispute arose between the authors of the report, the Coalition, and three of the external experts, including myself, around whether militarism should be included in the chapter on violence. There was very great resistance to this from the Coalition, as if militarism was not part of the discussion of violence.

A somewhat similar lack of recognition of the topic of men in policy debate is to be seen in the field of economic and fiscal policy. In such policy debates there are times when the negative effects of policy on women are highlighted, but rarely are the advantages accruing to men noted. In terms of the recent economic crisis, a wide range of gender biases can be identified in policy development. As had been expressed by Birgitte Young, Isabel Bakker and Diane Elson (2011) in the book, Questioning Financial Governance from a Feminist Perspective, "Finance ministers, financial boards, economists, banks all maintain a "strategic silence" on gender …". To be more precise, deflationary policy, male breadwinner policy, and policy based on commodification and state cuts (rather than higher taxes) all tend to have less effect on men than women

(Elson and Cagatay 2000). These are areas that are rather rarely brought to the centre in policy debate on men and masculinities, whether in policy or theoretical debates.

Theoretical Politics

Finally, I turn to what I will call theoretical politics. Within studies on men and masculinities there are a large number of different theoretical positionings and different ways of framing the sub-field. One might say there as many epistemological and ontological positions as there are in the social sciences, the humanities and beyond. Chris Beasley (2005) has helpfully identified the following main frames: anti-feminist men's rights, essentialist mythopoetic, gender identity liberal pro-feminism, gender identity radical pro-feminism, social constructionism, socialist pro-feminism, differences (REI: race/ethnicity/imperialism masculinities), gay masculinities, and postmodernism. These are broad frames, with many overlaps and also many debates within each. A focus on, for example, gay masculinity can also be from any of the other frames, as substantive focus (on gay men or whomever else) does not easily coincide with epistemological or ontological positioning. Additionally, these various more or less critical frames (that is, excluding anti-feminist men's rights and the essentialist mythopoetic), along with their overlaps, can be seen part of a broader, diverse and contested critical studies on men and masculinities (CSMM). For these reasons, as well as the limits of space, I will not go through all of these positions. But it is clear there are indeed many reasons for theorising "men".

In recent years, in the US at least the academic wing of the anti-feminist men's rights positioning has coalesced around "Male Studies". However, I think it is important to make some contrasts, most obviously between critical studies on men and masculinities, which have a broad (pro)feminist approach and which include substantial activities and research by women, and male studies. To illustrate the positioning of male studies, I cite Edward M. Stephens, the Founder of the Foundation for Male Studies. He wrote on their website to begin the year 2012:

> I would like to wish you all a healthy, happy and prosperous 2012. The noble dream of gender equality appears to have fallen victim to an ever-expanding gender divide … in our educational foundations, employment, our legal system, health care and the virtues of friendship

Other contributors included Christina Hoff Sommers, author of *The War Against Boys: How Misguided Feminism Is Harming Our Young*

Men, who wrote, "How can we start turning things around? "I am concerned that male-averse attitudes are widespread in the US and that masculinity is becoming politically incorrect", and Lionel Tiger, who adds that the culprit is feminism, "a well-meaning, highly successful, very colorful denigration of maleness as a force, as a phenomenon."

Here we see a clear link between studies on men, or males, and hostility to feminism. There are again here some parallels with the previous adaptations of Messner's triangle in terms of how men figure, but there are also some contradictions. In a rather simplified way one can set out these positions.

Fig. 2-4: Reasons for theorising "men"

Critical studies on men and masculinities (CSMM)
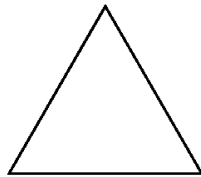
Male Studies   Gay/REI studies

However, it would be more accurate to recognise that CSMM include work at all three apexes of Messner's triangle. The focus on privilege is clear; attention to difference, diversity and indeed intersectionality has been present from the start (Larsen and Christensen 2008; Hearn 2011); and the relation of costs of masculinity to privilege and difference is also a well-developed theme within much critical work, for example, in terms of the dispensability of certain men (Hearn, 1987).

There are also important further complications in the framing of CSMM in relation to other disciplines and different formulations of studies on sex and gender, whether women's studies, gender studies, feminist studies or queer studies. Thus within CSMM and masculinities theory there is a dynamic set of positionings, reflecting diversity within feminisms and profeminisms.

Fig. 2-5: Reasons for critical theorising on "men"

CSMM (focus on privilege)

(C)SMM (focus on costs)   CSMM (focus on difference)
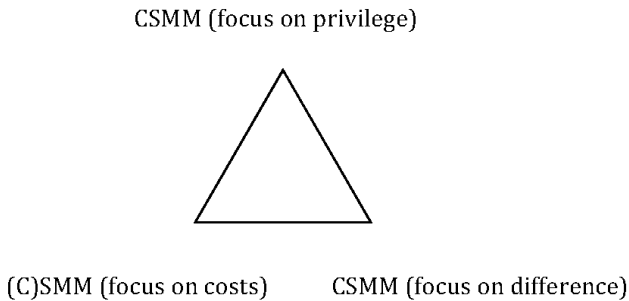
Undoubtedly, the most influential set of ideas and theories in the development of critical studies on men and masculinities, and specifically masculinities theory, have been that of Raewyn Connell–initially from the late 1970s, and continuing and changing to the present day. This work has been an inspiration for me and many others. Importantly, the influences on masculinities theory from the very first (Connell 1983) have been very diverse. They include: patriarchy theory, Gramscian Marxism, gay politics, critiques of categorical theory, practice theory, psychoanalysis, body theory, intersectionality, pluralism, and structuration theory. This range may explain both the appeal of masculinities theory and how it can mean almost anything to different people: its strength and its weakness. Through this, terms like masculinities and hegemonic masculinity have become what might be called a 'fetish' (Forsberg 2010) or an 'empty signifier' (Howson 2009).

Over the last 20 years or so, a wide array of problems and challenges with the concepts of masculinity, masculinities and hegemonic masculinity have been spelt out (for example, McMahon 1993; Jefferson 2005; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Hearn 1996, 2004; Clatterbaugh 1998; Wetherell and Edley 1999; Whitehead 2002; Robinson 2003; Howson 2006; McCarry 2007; Aboim 2010). More particularly, these include: historical specificity, ethnocentrism, false causality, psychologism, tendency to philosophical idealism, the reinforcement of heterosexual dichotomies, conceptual vagueness, and the interrelations of various forms of dominance. Especially significant have been uncertainties around the relation of masculinities and men–are masculinities linked to males and men, or discontinuous from males and men, or needing to be transcended as a move beyond binary gender?

Looking at theoretical politics across a broad time scale, a number of

growing influences in CSMM can be discerned: greater emphasis and engagement with sexuality, the body, and queer theory; increased development (or at least recognition) of non-Anglophone theorising and thus some countering of Anglophone domination; and much more attention to international, global and transnational perspectives more generally. This last point highlights the importance of such transnational processes and institutions as: migration, multinational business corporations, global finance, war, militarism and the arms trade, the sex trade, and sexualisation in global mass media, information and communication technologies, transportation, water, environment, energy and land ownership–not just as substantive arenas, but importantly as prompts to theory and theorising. The hegemony of a single societal patriarchy and its "fundamental outlook" (Bocock 1986) that arguably underlies most masculinities theory is gradually being displaced by transnational patriarchies or transpatriarchies for short, and in turn their own problematising (Hearn *et al*. 2013).

In my own work I have sought to develop a version of CSMM that adopts an historical, cultural, relational, materialist, deconstructive, anti-essentialist, de-reifying approach to the social category of men (Hearn 1997; Hearn and Pringle 2006/2009; Pringle *et al*. 2006/2013). I have argued that much of what is written on masculinities is both not materialist enough in relation to the materiality of the body, and indeed the materiality of discourse, and not discursive enough in terms of the discursive construction of the material, and the intimate relation of materiality and discourse (Hearn 2012a; 2013). My own specific concerns in recent years have included: deconstructing the dominant and the decentring of men; the development of materialist-discursive analysis, across the supposed modernist-postmodernist boundary; the importance of transnational patriarchal relations and transpatriarchies; the hegemony of men, and the abolition of "men". To return to Lorber's (2005) three broad versions of feminism: this represents a move from reform (pro)feminism, that works for the abolition of gender inequality, and resistance (pro)feminism and the abolition of patriarchy, towards rebellion (pro)feminism and the abolition of "men" as a social category of power.

Concluding comments

To sum up, there are a number of key similarities, overlaps and linkages that can be seen between how the political category of "men" is used and abused within activist politics, policy politics and theoretical politics around men and masculinities. But there are also some key

differences. Activist politics are very various in orientation and positioning, dispersed and usually small-scale, generally local in flavour and very contested. Policy politics tend to be framed within supposedly 'gender-neutral', institutional(ised) and indeed national contexts, yet are becoming increasingly international; they are also often at best ambiguous in relation to feminism, in a zone of negotiation, or even floating signification, between many different forces and interests. Theoretical politics are typically embedded in social science and other specific disciplinary traditions, even with limited moves to transdisciplinarity. In recent years they have tended to become more concerned with questions of multiplicity, for example, in relation to languages and locations, movements beyond methodological nationalism, as in transnational studies of men and masculinities, and of bodies and sexuality, as with the problematising of gender categories, including that of "men" as category of social power.

Moreover, the nature of this field is such that many people, individuals, groups and wider networks move and span between these three main arenas; many are involved in at least two and sometimes all three, to a greater or lesser extent. This means that a certain amount of reflexivity is encouraged, facilitated and necessary, for both individuals and collectivities: put simply, they are part of what they themselves are experiencing, influencing or studying in activism, policy development or theorising respectively. Finally, it should be noted that while in most cases, and even in critical and (pro)feminist work on men and masculinities, the concept of "men" appears to be taken-for-granted or at least not the prime site of critique, there are increasing signs of engagements with the problematising and deconstruction of that category.

Note

1. This information was in an email subsequently described as "an internal mail" between the European Commission and the project coordinator, and thus cannot be quoted verbatim.

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CHAPTER THREE

DISENGAGING MEN FROM PATRIARCHY:
RETHINKING THE MAN QUESTION
IN MASCULINITY STUDIES

BOB PEASE

The premise of this chapter is that to engage men in building gender equality, we have to disengage them from the structures and processes of patriarchy[1]. The chapter arises out of a concern I have had for some years now that our language in masculinity studies and in policy forums concerned with gender equality and violence against women has shifted away from accurately naming and theorising men's responsibility for the perpetuation of violence and the reproduction of patriarchy.

Feminists and profeminists, like all political actors, have to operate within concrete historical and socio-political contexts which places limits on what can be said and done. Having a heightened awareness of how language categories serve political purposes allows us to recognize and resist when we are being co-opted into patriarchal social relations.

The Gender Equality Trap?

Bacchi (1996) foreshadowed some of the concerns of this chapter in the 1990s when she outlined the dangers of "category politics", by which she meant "the deployment of categories for political purposes". The terms "women" and "men", she argues, are premised on biological differences

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[1] In this chapter, I am using the concept of patriarchy to describe various forms of male domination and men's systemic exploitation of women. See Pease (2010) for a defense of the concept of patriarchy against its critics and an argument for a nuanced articulation of plural forms of patriarchy that acknowledge cultural differences and intersections in a transnational gender order.

between the two population groups. If we take for granted the conceptual categories of existing gender relations, we will be unaware of how these terms reinforce particular ways of viewing the world.

Shepherd (2008) has pointed out that the language we use to speak about gender and violence not only describes these phenomena but is also constitutive of it. Even within feminism, different conceptions of feminist theory are embedded in different ways of framing men's violence. She links the language of "violence against women" with radical feminism, while the language of "gender violence" is seen to reflect liberal feminism. She contrasts both approaches with a post-structural framing of the "violent reproduction of gender." The latter approach focuses on how gender is performed through the practices of violence.

Irrespective of whether one accepts the post-structural framing of violence advocated by Shepherd (2008), her work alerts us to the ways in which specific discourses produce particular understandings of violence and gender. Flowing from such discourses, specific epistemological and methodological approaches determine the courses of action taken to address violence against women and gender inequality.

Robinson (2003), for example, argues that masculinity scholars rarely acknowledge the debates within feminism when discussing violence against women and also that they tend to only draw upon those feminists who are sympathetic to men's issues. Hence, reconstructing masculinity has become a focus of much anti-violence activism. By focusing on masculinity as the cause of men's violence, there is a shift away from the men who perpetrate violence. A critique of men and men's practices in the context of patriarchy is replaced by a critique of dominant forms of masculinity.

McLellan (2012), similarly argues that the framing men's violence against women in terms of 'gender-based violence' depoliticises the power relations involved in men's violence against women. Gender-based violence, she argues, is another way of refusing to talk about men's violence against women. In her view, nothing will change unless the perpetrators of violence against women are explicitly named.

There are similar problems in the language of gender equality. The argument for gender equality has been the basis of equal opportunity legislation and anti-discrimination policies since the 1970s. The problem is that in many policy forums gender equality has come to mean treating men and women the same. However, to do so in a context of structural gender inequality is to perpetuate unequal gender relations.

For many years now, there have been ongoing debates about whether there is gender symmetry or asymmetry in relation to "domestic violence"

(Flood 1999; Kimmel 2002; DeKeseredy and Dragiewicz 2007; Johnson 2011). Men's rights proponents continue to argue that women are as violent as men in relation to violence in the home. Feminist and profeminist responses go to great lengths to challenge the gender symmetry arguments by reference to statistics about levels of physical violence in the home and framing the context in which violence occurs; that is, exploring the extent to which women's violence against men is a defensive response to violence enacted by men. However, notwithstanding the importance of challenging the claims of men's rights advocates on the statistics of violence in the home, the wider argument about the structurally-based gender inequality within which the violence occurs is often neglected. While most feminist and profeminist commentators place men's violence against women in the context of structural gender inequalities, the argument often focuses on who hits whom how often, This seems to imply that violence against women in the family is a conflict between people who are equals. If relationships between men and women are viewed as equal, then arguments against gender symmetry in domestic violence may have already conceded too much to the backlash argument.

Almost twenty years ago, Foster (1994) raised a similar set of concerns in relation to the debate about the education of boys in Australia. She introduced the term "presumptive equality" as a means to frame the discursive context in which the debates about the schooling of boys and girls took place. For Foster, presumptive equality means: 1) the presumption that equality for girls and women has already been achieved; 2) the presumption that women and men are population groups who are symmetrical and equivalent and whose problems are equal; 3) the presumption that men and boys experience equal levels of disadvantage in society to women and girls. Foster points out how such presumptions about equality frame the policy debate about the issues facing boys and girls in schools and how such framing obfuscates the reality of ongoing unequal gender relations in schooling. While most advocates for gender equality reject these assumptions, twenty years later, I observe the existence of presumptive equality in many government discussion papers and policies on men's health, domestic violence and gender equality.

Such presumptions are present in attempts to promote men as a disadvantaged group. One of the unintended consequences of naming men as a gender too, has been the impetus it has provided for men to position themselves as a special interest group who are disadvantaged and warranting special attention and consideration (Lingard 2003; Pease 2008). Whenever men's needs and concerns are discussed in relation to gender equality and anti-violence policies, there has often been a shift to a

presumptive equality framing of the issues.

Even many men's rights activists claim that they support gender equality these days. When this occurs, McLellan (2012) argues that feminists (and profeminists)) need to be wary about using this concept. She reminds us that the language of gender and equality can be used to support existing unequal gender relations.

"What's in it For Men?"

When the engagement of men is sought in anti-violence and gender equality campaigns, the question is often asked: 'What's in it for men?' (Bryson 2000; Katz 2006; Doepke and Tertilt 2008; Holter 2013). Attempts to engage men in such work are often at pains to argue that men have much to gain from their involvement (Kaufman 2004; Ruxton 2004; Flood 2005). I have argued elsewhere (Pease 2008), however, that emphasizing the positive outcomes for men of their involvement in gender equality and anti-violence work can fail to address the resistances that men have to relinquishing their privilege and acknowledging their complicity in the reproduction of gender inequality.

Men often experience discussions about men's violence and men's abuse of women as a form of "male bashing" and as denigrating all men as essentially bad. Thus it is experienced by men as having to be resisted. Certainly, many men feel defensive when the language of patriarchy is used to describe institutionalized male power. They often experience it as attributing oppressiveness to all men in some form of essentialist way. They rarely see patriarchy as a set of socially constructed power relations that all men participate in.

Katz (2006) has emphasised that he is careful not to adopt an accusatory tone in working with men about violence against women. Flood (2009, 17) adopts a similar invitational approach when he comments: "Most men are not violent and most men treat women in their lives with respect and care." Flood (2009) has argued that the claim that most men are not violent is compatible with the point that violence is primarily perpetrated by men. He argues that to link all men with violence infers that "men's involvements in violence, coercion and control are homogenous and uniform" (Flood 2009, 42). I argue here that, while all are men are linked to violence, these links vary in their character and intensity.

We have to be careful not to position men as being either violent or non-violent. Non-violent men are encouraged to challenge the violence of other men. Such men are framed as "good men" who will protect "weak

women" from "bad men". These "good men" are often promoted as the 'real men' who treat women respectfully and as equals, constructing what Seymour (2012) calls a "chivalrous masculinity."

I recognise that men vary in their propensity for and their use of violence against women. However, to note this diversity does not require the construction of a dichotomy of violent men against a majority of men are who non-violent and respectful of women. DeKeseredy and Schwartz (2005) argue that while there is a kernel of truth to the argument that most men are not violent, it does not follow that men who are violent are deviant or substantially different from other men. It may be more apt to argue that men who do not engage in violence or abuse of women are deviant.

Hearn (1998) has also noted that while men vary in their relationship to violence, it does not follow that there are clearly distinguishable separate types of men. Hearn (1998) rejects those attempts to create typologies of men who are violent towards women (see, for example, Johnson 1995). There are both differences and commonalities in men in relation to their potential and actual use of violence against women. Thus when discussing differences between men, we should always do so in a context of acknowledging the relations of power and dominance over women which all men are enmeshed in.

While Poon (1995) says that not all men consciously engage in violence and abuse of women and that some men who engage in such behaviour are unconscious about what they gain by such violence, she argues that all men are socialized to believe that they are entitled to make claims upon women for services. Each man will, however, respond to this socialization pressure in different ways.

Engaging men without holding them responsible

May (1990) has pointed out that individuals feel no personal sense of responsibility for problems that need to be resolved by collective action. Most men do not regard men's violence against women as something that they should do something about. If they are not physically violent, then they do not see it as their problem. Flood (2009, 17) has also noted that most have done little to challenge the violence perpetrated by a minority of men'. In his words: "While some men are part of the problem, all men are part of the solution" (Flood 2009, 43). However, if only some men are part of the problem, what is the moral responsibility for other men to be part of the solution? (Pease 2011).

Berkowitz (2004) argues that putting men on the defensive is not

effective in working with men. In this view, one should encourage men to be partners in violence prevention without blaming them or criticising them in any way. Marchese (2008) refers to this as a 'reassurance discourse' that creates positive roles for men in violence prevention, as bystanders, as role models, as supporters and as advocates.

In recent years, bystander intervention programs have become a popular way to engage men in violence prevention. Katz (2006), one of the key proponents of the application of bystander theory to violence against women, regards this approach as a way of engaging men in prevention beyond that of framing them as perpetrators or potential perpetrators. While Katz (2006, 115) notes that the common definition of a bystander is a "description of someone who stands by while bad things happen", he extends the use to include "someone who is not directly involved as a perpetrator or victim of an act of sexual harassment or violence but is indirectly involved as a friend, or family member" (116). This can also include someone who is in a group, workplace or team.

When bystander intervention is understood in this way, does it address the concerns of this chapter to implicate men in the reproduction of patriarchy? While men are encouraged to speak out or to encourage others to challenge the practices, attitudes and policies that contribute to violence (Powell 2011), they are not seen as having any special responsibility to do so because they are men or because of their structural location within patriarchy. When bystander violence prevention programs state that: "Everyone in the community has a role to play in ending sexual violence" and "Intimate partner abuse is everyone's problem" (cited in Powell 2011, 37), such programs avoid implicating men.

Katz *et al*. (2011) emphasise that their bystander intervention approach has a social justice focus and they seek to distance themselves from those bystander programs that have a gender neutral orientation. However, Katz *et al*. also discuss the constructive role of female bystanders in interventions to prevent violence. In fact, most bystander intervention programs include both women and men as potential bystanders. Tabachnick (2009) says that the value of bystander intervention is that it regards both men and women as equal partners in prevention.

For Marchese (2008), enlisting men's aid without acknowledging responsibility and complicity, creates a false dichotomy of good and bad men, as mentioned earlier. If violent men are seen as aberrant and deviant, we cannot examine the links of these men to the wider culture of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy which all men are a part.

In ensuring that men do not get defensive, we avoid the opportunity to challenge men about their responsibility and complicity. To focus too

much on men's needs and opinions in anti-violence work, contributes to the sidelining of women's concerns and views (Marchese 2008). While it is understandable that in a climate that is hostile to feminism, there will be efforts to promote a feminist analysis without appearing to be feminist, the retreat from feminist language means that a gendered analysis is often deradicalised.

Castellino (2010) has developed a feminist audit tool for assessing the consequences of involving men in violence against women prevention work. She is particularly interested in how the role of the women's sector changes when men get involved in violence prevention. She notes that when men are involved, women speak differently about the issue so as not to offend men. Men involved in this work often expect to be seen as good men and they expect women to be grateful that they are involved. Women are thus careful not to blame men or to implicate all men in the issue of men's violence against women. For example, the language in the men's sector is to talk about "men who use violence" rather than "men who assault their partners", as the latter is seen to be too confronting and blaming of men. However, Castellino (2010) ponders whether feminists are diluting the message and compromising their perspective in this attentiveness to men's concerns. She asks what the costs to women are in attempts to not alienate men. As Atherton-Zeman (2009) notes, many women report that men involved in violence prevention work continue to be part of the problem and refuse to make their involvement accountable to women.

Casey and Smith (2010) suggest that engaging men in campaigns to stop men's violence against women can be usefully seen as a form of "ally" development as in other areas such as white people working against racism and heterosexual people working against homophobia. Becoming an ally against men's violence is not a finite journey, however. All male allies must accept that their ally status expires at the end of each day and that they must work to renew it on a daily basis (Atherton-Zeman 2009).

Thus, if we are to engage men in violence prevention work, we must also encourage them to reflect on their privilege as part of that involvement. Casey and Smith (2010) argue that most often the engagement of men in anti-violence work does not challenge men to reflect on their own complicity in relation to the wider culture that supports men's violence. Most anti-violence advocates, they argue, believe that they are "OK" because they have not themselves been physically violent towards women. In interviews with 27 anti-violence advocates, they found that a common theme among the men was their ignorance of the role that they may have played in reproducing and perpetuating a

culture of violence. If well-meaning men refuse to examine their own complicity in reproducing a violence-prone culture, the changes required to bring about an end to men's violence against women will be much slower to develop.

While research shows that patriarchal attitudes are a consistent predictor of men's rape of women (Murnen *et al*. 2002), research also shows that many men who do not perpetrate violence share the attitudes and values of those who do (Flood and Pease 2006). However, such men are rarely held to have any accountability for such violence. This is most apparent when the espoused hate speech of radio "shock jocks" are defended as having no influence on racially motivated and gender-based violence. However, such hate speech contributes to a climate in which such violence is more likely to occur.

To address this issue, in 2001 the New South Wales Government developed a public education campaign to address men's violence against women by challenging the acceptability in the community of such violence. The aim of the campaign was to encourage men who were not physically violent to become more involved in violence prevention. When an evaluation was conducted on the effectiveness of the campaign, it was discovered that 91% of the 600 target group respondents (men aged between 21 and 29 years) said that they would not talk to their male peers about violence against women. This was rather surprising, given that the vast majority of them had heard the message that violence against women was not acceptable. The reason given for their reluctance to talk to their mates about the issue was that it would make them feel uncomfortable.

Towns and Terry (2012) in the New Zealand context undertook focus groups with men to explore the extent to which men would challenge their mate if they knew he was being violent to his female partner. All of the men spoke about the difficulty they experienced in challenging their male friends within the context of their mateship. As one man commented, it would "wreck the system of male bonding" (Towns and Terry 2012, 13). The discomfort the men talked about in potentially challenging their mate was seen as a sufficient reason to discourage them from interfering in what they regarded as a private matter. Thus the requirements and expectations of mateship discouraged the men from challenging their male friends and the consequences of this inaction was collusion with the violence their friends were perpetrating.

The expectations of mateship not only functions in relation to particular relationships between individual men but also in relation to the expectation of men being loyal to men in general. In this formulation, men's interests are pitted against women's interests and men are expected

to serve the interests of men (Towns and Terry 2012). This is consistent with my own experience of being called a "traitor" to my gender when I have advocated the need for greater involvement of men in anti-violence and gender equality work.

Reassuring non-violent men that they are not part of the problem diminishes men's sense of personal responsibility to act. While many men will not want to consider that they are implicated in the oppression of women, if they do not accept this responsibility, it is difficult to see why they would want to get involved in anti-violence and gender equality work unless they are motivated by some notion of what's in it for them, as discussed earlier. In this chapter, I argue that all men are part of the problem because they are all involved in patriarchy.

"No participation without implication"

In public health circles there is a parable of residents in a village discovering a baby floating down the river. Villagers jump into the river and rescue the baby. As more babies come floating down the river, they too are rescued. Eventually, a significant amount of time is taken up rescuing babies and caring for them. The parable usually ends with the decision by some villages to go upstream to find out who is throwing the babies into the river (Curry-Stevens 2005). The question that is rarely asked, however, is: "What if your practices are contributing to the babies being thrown in the river?"

Iris Marion Young (2011) made a very important contribution to understanding the role of men in the reproduction of gender inequality. She argues that we need to face the contribution we each make to causal influences that perpetuate injustice and to develop a notion of shared responsibility for the continuation of that injustice. In her view, while we all bear responsibility for addressing injustice, the degree of responsibility to act will be shaped by various factors. Thus one who has most privilege,, most power to influence and membership of powerful groups will bear greater responsibility to act against injustice. While Young does not address the issue of men's violence against women explicitly, her guidelines for shared responsibility have much to contribute to the current debates about engaging men in action against men's violence and gender inequality.

Young (2011) advocates a social connection model of responsibility that challenges the individual notion of responsibility that currently prevails. Men have a responsibility to get involved in challenging men's violence against women if they are causally embedded in processes that

produce such violence. That is, as men's actions contribute to the social-structural dimensions of men's violence against women, as moral agents, they should take responsibility for changing the social processes that produce the conditions that allow the continuation of the violence. One's responsibility thus lies in their complicity in the processes that lead to unjust outcomes. Failure by men, who are not themselves physically violent towards women, to act against men's violence and abuse of women will lead to the continuation of that violence.

Kutz (2000) also explores the ramifications of individual moral responsibility for collective actions that are mediated by institutional structures. He is concerned with the issue of how individuals can be morally responsible for the practices of others through what he calls "moral complicity". In his view, if individuals contribute to a collective project, then their participation in that project should hold them accountable to the consequences of that project. In his words: "No participation without implication" (Klutz 2000: 122). Thus, for my purposes here, men's participation in patriarchy implies that all men are implicated in the harms of patriarchy.

Similarly, May (1992) argues that all men have an underlying moral responsibility to challenge patriarchy because they participate in it. In his view, when women are harmed by men's practices, men who did not participate in those practices should feel tainted by them. Furthermore, men who share sexist attitudes share responsibility for the harms that result from those attitudes. Thus, May (1992) believes that men should feel some shame in, for example, men's complicity in the prevalence of rape, through not speaking out against it.

In agreement with Young, May (1992) also advocates a conception of shared responsibility in relation to men's sexual violence against women. If one is a member of a community in which harms are enacted, then one should examine whether one's own attitudes and practices may have contributed to a greater likelihood of those harms occurring. This means that members of a community share responsibility for the enactment of those harms even if they did not participate directly in them. Even if one cannot interrupt the practices that cause the harm, one must distance oneself from it and be careful to not be seen as condoning it.

May and Strikwerder (1994) argue that rape is not only a private act and it is not only the responsibility of individual rapists. In their view, in patriarchal societies most if not all men contribute to the culture of rape and consequently they should all share some responsibility for the prevalence of rape. The vast majority of men do little to actively oppose rape and thus their silence makes them complicit with the perpetuation of

rape. If that is so, all men should feel some responsibility and motivation to challenge rape and violence.

Feminists have been endeavouring to make this point for many years about how all men are implicated in patriarchy. When individual men oppress or abuse women, they are doing so in the context of the wider institutional structures of male power. In this way, it can be argued that men's violence against women is a consequence of patriarchy. Given that all or most men receive benefits from patriarchy and if all men are collectively responsible for the harms caused by patriarchy, then each and every individual man is partially responsible for the reproduction of that structure that distributes benefits and harms inequitably (May and Strikwerder 1994).

Thus, while not all men are physical violent, it is argued that all men contribute to the prevalence of violence. Each time an incident of men's violence against women is enacted, men could have made it less likely that this would have happened. It is thus important for men to become aware of how they are implicated in both the wider culture of violence and in particular acts of violence against women. When men develop this awareness, as moral agents, they have responsibility to reconstruct themselves and transform the subjectivities of other men (May and Strikwerder 1994).

Within masculinity theory, the concept of complicity is addressed by Connell (1995) in her articulation of the notion of complicit masculinities. In contrast to hegemonic masculinities, which directly legitimates patriarchy, and subordinated and marginalized masculinities which compensate for lack of power, complicit masculinities are seen as condoning patriarchy. Connell (1995) defines complicit masculinities as those men who do not meet the normative standard of hegemonic masculinity but nevertheless benefit from it in various ways. In relation to violence against women, Mills (1998) says that complicit masculinities maintain the structures and ideologies that reproduce men's violence. The implication of this notion for change is that it is not only violent men that need to be targeted but also those men who link violence with masculinity. Complicit masculinity "is typified by the majority of men who whilst not meeting the criteria of hegemonic status of demonstrating the worst excesses of hegemonic masculinity, do little to challenge the patriarchal gender order" (Mills 1998,138). One might refer to these men as "perpetuators of violence" (Pease 2008) rather than as bystanders to that violence.

Such complicity of men in the reproduction of patriarchy can be understood in terms of Bourdieu's (2001) concept of habitus, as it offers

an explanation of how the values of hegemonic masculinity become internalized and embedded within men. Further, Bourdieu's concept reminds us is how difficult it is for men to change their attitudes and practices towards gender equality and nonviolence. It is not simply a matter of will to transform dominant gender norms and to reshape masculine subjectivities (Chambers 2005).

Conclusion

Johnson (1999) argues that the more men participate in patriarchy, the more that they feel disconnected from the experiences of others. All men who are raised within a patriarchal society will be exposed to pressures about what it means to be a man and how men are expected to behave. Invariably, these pressures will be internalized and will shape men's attitudes and practices in relation to women. While some men may come to resist such pressures and seek to establish respectful and equal relationships with women, this will involve them going against the grain. For many men, however, they may not be conscious of the extent to which the expectations of patriarchy have been internalized within their psyches. It is thus necessary for men to understand patriarchy and its influence on their lives if they are to find a way of challenging it.

Johnson (1999) argues that part of the process of understanding patriarchy is to become more aware of the consequences for women and to become conscious of the significance of our own involvement in those processes by virtue of our structural location within it. The challenge for men is to work out what it means to be involved in patriarchy. First, we have to decide whether we believe patriarchy exists or not. Most men do not realize that patriarchy is a reality. So men have to acknowledge that patriarchy exists. Then they need to find out how it works and their own participation in it (Johnson 1999).

Notwithstanding the deeply embedded internalized domination, men do have some agency to act differently against both external structural relations and internalised dominance (Hearn 1987). As Hearn (1987) observes, patriarchy is not just external to men, it exists in men's practices. That being so, men can act differently and against patriarchy at both a personal level of individual behaviour and collectively at the level of public engagement in the state and the wider society. The argument of this chapter is that learning how to participate in patriarchy differently, so that we are less likely to reproduce it, is a precursor to developing respectful and equal relationships with women.

Note

In this chapter, I am using the concept of patriarchy to describe various forms of male domination and men's systemic exploitation of women. See Pease (2010) for a defense of the concept of patriarchy against its critics and an argument for a nuanced articulation of plural forms of patriarchy that acknowledge cultural differences and intersections in a transnational gender order.

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Chapter Four

Undressing Patriarchy in the Male Order Development Encounter

Jerker Edström

If the metaphor is that patriarchy is a prison–who are the prisoners and who are the prison wardens?

It will be good to reclaim… [the word 'patriarchy'] from the analysis of all men as patriarchs… It will also allow us to look at sites of power.

It is about power and power can be seductive–we all embrace it in our daily lives and it can reproduce structures of inequality in our own work

These questions, ambitions and reflections were raised by colleagues at a recent international symposium on 'undressing patriarchy' (Hawkins *et al.* 2013) and centre on the problem of understanding patriarchy in systems of power. My proposition for that event was–and in this chapter is–that if we are to move the field of working with men and boys forward within gender and development, we must get beyond the notion of merely 'engendering nicer men', or even 'reforming social norms of masculinities', to instead dig far deeper into the patriarchal structures of constraint to gender equality. This, however, begs a few questions, like 'Who?', 'What?' and 'Why?'

As a white, northern, heterosexual, middle class, middle aged and still fairly able-bodied male, I realise that I am compromised by multiple unearned structural privileges and resulting blind-spots. A number of years back at an earlier event on 'politicising masculinities' in Senegal (Esplen and Greig 2008), I concluded that further progress will require moving beyond individualistic, essentialist and homogenised binary framings of men and women in gender and development, and rather see men and masculinities more politically, in structural and dynamic ways. I also realise that such efforts have been most clearly advanced by feminist

thinkers, by exploring ideas like the *marginalisation* of women's voices, *discrimination* against and the *subordination* of women, or the very idea of deep *structures of constraint* to gender equality.

Drawing on these core feminist insights and others emerging from work on masculinities as well as on power, I framed an approach in a recent article (Edström 2014), which I am building on in this chapter. Below, I am suggesting a four-dimensional framework for undressing patriarchy, followed by briefly considering how each dimension has started to become addressed, or not, in development discourse on the role of men and boys. Finally, I touch on some possible implications and challenges ahead.

Theoretical tributaries for framing a disrobing approach

As individuals' gender and other identities are constructed through social and other relations, the separation of 'people' from 'the system' or 'structure' is in a sense artificial. Nevertheless, it is still useful to shift the focus in analysing change beyond the individual or inter-personal levels. In exploring patriarchy, it may be useful to see structure as evolving dynamic systems, developing through interactions of powers, resistance and coco-option or resolution. Rather than seeing patriarchy in any deterministic way, it should be recognised as historically evolving and adapting through indeterminate processes and structured logics of domination, resistance, contestation, coco-option, reorganisation and legitimisation. This works across generations, at multiple scales of aggregation, variably legible in multiple *dimensions*, across multiple disciplinary *domains*, or 'sectors' (e.g. law, medicine, economics, defence, religions, art and culture).

Fundamental to thinking differently about our relationship to context was Butler's (1990) inversion of the sex/gender problem, clarifying the role of performativity or habitual and structured practices in the social constructions of gender (rather than biological sex explaining the patterns of our habits and performances). This has also been essential to breaking away from a strict binary view of gender, which is problematic both in terms of homogenising people into two 'kinds', and reinforcing the Western tendency of reading the world in binaries. Interestingly, Butler (1990) draws on Derrida's (e.g. 1980) combining the two concepts 'logocentrism' and 'phallocentrism' into 'phallogocentrism', to deconstruct a positivistic and dualistic logic to this reading the world in binaries, whilst applying it to the problem of that world being mainly identified through a male gaze.

The field of masculinities has itself helped to expand some of these

ideas in terms of multiple 'masculinities', as socially performed and collective, diverse, yet interlinked in hierarchical relationships, contradictory and contesting, thus dynamic and changing, all of which was most influentially presented by Connell (1995). A broad range of ethnographic work in the 80s and 90s demonstrated that 'men' must be dislocated from any unified notion of 'masculinity' and that different forms of masculinity can disempower both women and men (e.g. Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994). Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) updated concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' may be particularly helpful to explore patriarchy as evolving dynamic systems, as it combines hierarchical power relations amongst men and masculinities with Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony'. Hegemonic masculinity, they argue, is made up of multiple, interlinking masculinities in a dominant 'hegemonic masculine bloc' and they explain that hegemony here "embeds certain notions of consent and participation by the subaltern groups*" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 841). This bloc is described as a form of hybridisation actively appropriating diverse opposing elements, transforming itself in the process.

In her article on feminisms' 'dangerous liaisons' with neoliberal capitalism, Fraser (2009) describes how many current strands of feminism, whilst meeting with several opportunities, have nevertheless become co-opted under global capitalism. Although she slightly ducks the question of patriarchy, three particular aspects to Fraser's analysis seem important for understanding its historical resilience and complex manifestations: One, she points to resilient power structures essentially 'co-opting' progressive agendas; two, she appeals to 'deep structures' to explain the resilience of gendered injustice and; three, she sees gender justice in multiple dimensions (in her case; economic, cultural and political). In a piece exploring 'states of anxiety' in contemporary gendered orders, Greig (2011) considers the resilience of gender inequality at a deep level and appears to reverse 'hegemonic masculinity', arguing that hegemony itself appears deeply masculinised and that "[i]t is this masculinity of hegemony that changes in the gender order threaten to undermine" (Greig 2011, 220). He then argues that the field of work on men and masculinities "must be understood not only in the context of, but also as complicit with, these crisis management efforts of anxious states" (Greig 2011, 220).

As patriarchy is about gendered power embedded and acting in evolving hegemonic power orders, further reflection on power itself may be needed to go deeper. Rather than seeing power simply in reductive behaviourist terms, I prefer to look at a range of writers, such as VeneKlasen and Miller (2002), who propose different kinds of power: 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within'. Greig also

suggests a framing to focus on levels for analysing gendered power in a gender system, "*the 4I's Framework*" (2012, 46); internal (personal), inter-personal, institutional and ideological levels. The ideological level becomes crucial in patriarchy, for naturalising male supremacy and affecting how we internalise gender. Aside from dimensions of gendered power, kinds of power and systemic levels, other writers point to various 'spaces' for influence and 'forms' which power takes, such as Gaventa's (2006) analysis of power taking visible, hidden and invisible forms in open, invited and closed spaces for influence. Rather than Greig's levels, Gaventa also considers geographic levels of aggregation (which could also be thought of as 'scales' of aggregation) in his three faces of a 'power cube'. Figure 4-1, below, complements a version of three faces of Gaventa's cube (adapted) with faces of kinds, levels and dimensions appealed to above.

Fig. 4-1: Six faces of the power dice
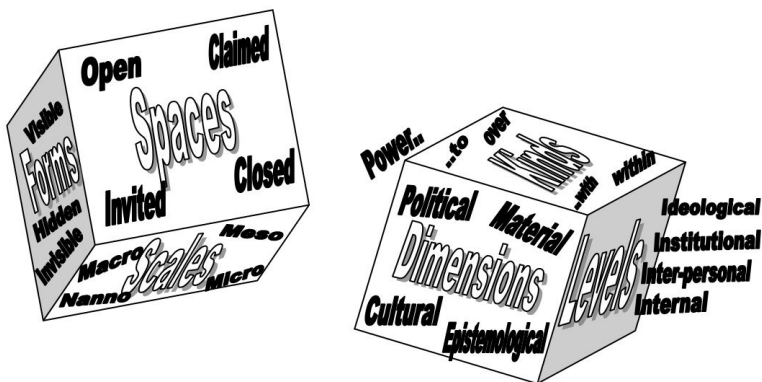
The aim of illustrating these different faces in the shape of dice is merely to highlight the different 'planes of analysis' needed for a fuller exploration of a particular contextualised and evolving situation or patriarchal order. The choices of numbers of levels, kinds, dimensions etc. are somewhat arbitrary, but–as a pedagogical device–the dice can illustrate a way of seeing power as non-deterministic, with multiple possible outcomes, whilst also illustrating how the dice can often be 'loaded'. In particular, I am interested in how invisible and hidden powers operate in patriarchy, beyond the representational and institutional and down to sub-structural drivers of visibility at all, rooted in constructions of meaning and knowledge. Foucault's (1978) notions of knowledge-power as diffuse

networks of disciplinary micro-technologies giving expression, visibility and currency to new concepts and constructs, such as the very idea of sexuality, become relevant here. In terms of the patriarchal dimensions to such knowledge-power, I would recall Derrida's and Butler's focus on 'phallogocentrism' as a particularly gendering form of reductive binary thinking starting with the male.

Also in search of an evolutionary account, the American sociologist Alan Johnson (1997) likens our patriarchal gender order to an organic life-form, through the metaphor of a tree, with four deep roots feeding and shaping the formation of systems, communities, and individuals etc. These roots are described as male dominance, male centeredness, male identification and an 'obsession with control and order'. I connect the latter with Connell's and Messerschmidt's ideas of a hegemonic masculinities bloc struggling to maintain dominance, and with Greig's notion that hegemony is itself deeply masculinised, at the level of Foucault's knowledge-power, with Derrida's pointing to our Western reductive binary logic and the standard of male supremacy and power, automatically occluding other possibilities. I call this 'male order', simply borrowing a term used variably by a few writers on masculinities (Chapman and Rutherford 1988; Seidler 1994).

Set against this background of multiple planes/faces of power analysis of patriarchy as evolving systems, I focus in on dimensions and propose an adapted version of Johnson's four roots of patriarchy–seen as four dimensions–with clear reference to key feminist insights into gender injustice:

- 'Male centeredness' (in a representational or cultural dimension) needs to be exposed, highlighting the *marginalisation* of women and marginalised groups perspectives.
- 'Male privilege', must be mapped, measured and abolished (in a material and institutional dimension), with its multiple forms of *discrimination* against women.
- 'Male supremacy' must be acknowledged honestly (in an ideological and political dimension), if our long and chequered history of *subordination* of women and lesser males, marked by misogyny and related supremacist ideologies is to be overcome.
- 'Male order' (in an epistemological dimension) needs to be deciphered and disrupted, as it provides the underlying binary operating-code and deep-level syntax of patriarchal knowledge-power, with its *obfuscation* of alternative constructions of meaning and sense as nonsense.

Exploring patriarchy in engaging men and boys for gender equality

Male centeredness

Let us start by taking seriously feminists' call to reveal the 'male centeredness' of society, with its pervasive effect of *women's marginalisation*. Feminism as an intellectual and cultural force has begun to reverse this effect, with women demanding recognition and visibility. Early analyses of women's roles in economic and social development were linked to the popularisation of the idea of Women in Development (WID), which focused on women in a fairly instrumental and economistic ways, later critiqued for the stereotyping effects of its abstract and often essentialist narratives (e.g. Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead 2007). The female subject became the main 'object' of social interventions and policies and became essentially constructed through a broadly gender-blind 'male gaze', focused on economic, administrative and technological change. Men remained all but invisible as 'gendered' at all, until research on masculinities gradually connected to more relational understandings of gender in development from the mid 1990s1990s on (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Whitehead 2000; Chant and Gutmann 2002).

Men then started to become seen as potential *partners* in gender work at the international development policy level at Cairo and Beijing (e.g. UN 1994; UN 1995) and the notion that they have important '*roles and responsibilities'* started to become highlighted, for example in responding to the HIV epidemic (UN 2001). Much has happened in this field since the millennium, particularly in the areas of addressing violence and to some extent men as fathers and carers, but much discourse on men and boys still homogenises them into idealised 'types', often trading on core patriarchal ideas of men's assumed power and natural responsibility, stumbling clumsily over women's struggles for empowerment and recognition. Unless tempered by a strong focus on equality and including marginalised groups' perspectives, the field of men and boys remains vulnerable to falling back on male centeredness. As many arguments for male engagement also speak to men's own (indeed often overlooked) vulnerabilities or lack of services, this understandably meets with charges of dis-proportionality or 'false equivalences', which takes us to a more material and institutional dimension.

Male privilege

If we agree that *discrimination against women* is unacceptable, we must also recognise and oppose male privilege and hear the clear feminist call for *redistribution* in resources, rights and access. Whilst patriarchy does not privilege all men equally and indeed harms many, if not most, the prevailing inequities generally privileging men over women are deeply entrenched institutionally.

This area has seen little significant progress in men's engagement. On the one hand, it has sadly become compromised by unproductive debates over the benefits or drawbacks of a positive discrimination focusing specifically on women's empowerment or access and, on the other, confounded by challenges of intersectionality (e.g. when class, racial or other privileges override male privilege). Development has increasingly proffered instrumental and charitable approaches to economically empower individual poor women in the South, whist poor men as a gendered group have been largely ignored. That is, when development agencies are not simply down-streaming of the problem of women's exploitation in the global economy to a problem of dysfunctional masculinities amongst southern men, suggesting remedies of re-educating men for greater responsibility and a more gender-equal sharing of (unpaid) care at the household level (e.g. Bedford 2007).

The re-emergence of 'structural drivers' as a topic in development may turn out to be an opportunity, although it has hardly begun to seriously address the structural dimensions of men's roles, or patriarchal power at all. The way out should point towards a focus on gender-just and inclusive economic empowerment in communities, along with different groups engaging men and boys beginning to develop clear approaches to anti-discrimination and redistribution of productive assets, entitlements and political voice as well as caring roles. At national and international levels, such struggles need to also connect with other forms of social justice to forge stronger alliances addressing both the state and international structures. Jeff Hearn's (2011) sees men as both the products of reforms and as agents of change in Europe, which may be useful for thinking about both why and how to engage men in more structural change. More fundamentally, we must start to fully value social reproduction as mutually interdependent with the productive economy and as the key to sustainable development, which remains a tall order in this era of global financial capitalism. In engaging men and boys, it becomes necessary to challenge each other to see ourselves as being 'part of' the structures and institutions which need to change (at all levels). This involves ideology, demanding that the personal becomes political and vice versa.

Male supremacy

The ideological dimension calls into question 'male supremacy' itself, with its ideology of *subordination of women*. In acknowledging feminists' claims for *redress* against patriarchy, we should recognise that this male supremacy is about far more than male domination and more deeply about patriarchies' fundamental ideology of supremacy. To appreciate how systemic and legitimising aspects to male supremacy are far more than an issue of men's behaviours and attitudes, we should also revisit key feminists' sophisticated understandings of subordination as systemic (e.g. Whitehead 1979; Elson and Pearson 1981; Kabeer 1994).

After years of feminist and sexual rights mobilisation framed around human rights in the 90s into the 00s, issues of violence against women (VAW) and Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) have become increasingly visible and highlighted in policy on gender, along with an increased focus on conflict and security in international relations and development discourse, since the turn of the millennium. Echoing simpler rhetorical slogans from early radical feminist narratives, contradictory trends have emerged in these debates. From framing SGBV as a systemic–almost monolithic–subordination of women, such narratives became readily co-opted within an individualistic neoliberal deployment of gender stereotypes of female victimhood versus male perpetration. Focusing down on inter-personal violence against women and girls, particularly, solutions tend to get down-streamed to an issue of poor and vulnerable women of colour in the south needing protection from dark and evil southern men, with some help from a few enlightened and heroic local male activists and/or charitable white northern friends. This framing not only conveniently down-streams the problem (as seen by the powerful) to 'them, down there', but it also homogenises gender at a local level, disconnected from both deeper power structures and any global order, let alone from the conflicted internal dynamic in that encounter.

On the other hand, a second and countervailing trend has begun to shine a light on the complexities of oppression, victimisation and survival at the receiving end, often at the margins of societies, or in conflict situations. Linking sexual violence with militaristic patriarchal power dynamics, some have begun documenting SGBV as significantly also affecting men as well as women, if not to the same extent. Recent writing and policy debates on sexual violence in conflict and refugee settings suggest some shifting towards a more inclusive recognition of the reality of men's vulnerability and victimisation in conflicts (Dolan 2014).

It may not be surprising that the issue of gender violence easily becomes political at a personal level, as it speaks to ideology. Yet, efforts

to mobilise men on this have fallen back on essentialist notions of male power and responsibility and often shied away from taking a clear stand on homophobic violence for fear of turning off 'straight men', although more connections are being made in recent times. Whilst the 00s era of securitised development narratives may have opened new avenues for politicising masculinities around gendered violence, we may not be keeping an eye on the elephant in this room: How does patriarchal ideologies get reinvented through the battles of competing orders between and within East and West, with their new and resurging forms of nationalism and monotheism (including those deployed in some faith-based development programmes), or in the shifts between the old hegemonic bloc centred in the global North and the diverse rising powers across the South?

Male order

The fourth dimension is an epistemological dimension of 'male order', where I see patriarchal logics as deeply channelling the most likely routes of adaptation and regeneration of gender orders in different spaces and forms as well as levels. In essence, I argue that male order provides the syntax of patriarchal systems of knowledge and power in ways that are deeply 'masculine', whilst recognising that appealing to such knowledge-power as a form of epistemological hegemony is an exploratory proposition.

The original Greek term 'patriarch', meant both head of the family and head of the 'race' and syncretised one vertical organising principle with a horizontal one, which encapsulates the core of the logic of patriarchy itself: The vertical logic is an exclusive, linear, masculine descent of attribution, legitimacy, power and meaning; its horizontal corollary delineates the connected and legitimate group, excluding and devaluing all 'others' in the process. The current globalised hegemonic forms of male order are the result of millennia of mythological, philosophical, scientific, political, socio-economic, legal and linguistic evolution though a Euro-centric sphere, diffused through colonisation, globalisation and 'development'. Male order can be characterised as: reductive and discriminating (controlling for exceptions), homogenising, categorising, abstract and binary (fundamentally gender-binary and phallogocentric), focused on control, order, linear progress, target-driven results, expansion, growth and so on.

Being abstract and based on a rigid binary logic imposed on the world seen as 'external' and 'objective', male order is essentially positivistic,

taking the observer outside of the controlled setting, also depersonalising and depoliticising his/her/our relationship to the subject(s) under investigation or control and objectifying them. As a result, it is perfectly suited for tracking and ensuring expansion, growth and control, which could explain why it has become dominant in the current securitised neoliberal era. Could 'men-streaming' in gender policy become the Trojan horse for penetrating work on gender and co-opting it into new patriarchal orders? Let me give a few examples.

In terms of what counts as evidence in donors' recent obsession with and reification of 'evidence-based policy making', a good illustration is the positivistic tyranny of the Randomized Controlled Trial (RCT) promoted as the 'gold standard' for all sorts of interventions, although taken directly from bio-medical research. Overlooking the more common actual practice of 'policy-based evidence making', the key question in terms of how gender dynamics might work is surely that these are not typically amenable to methodological individualism, to controlled conditions, nor to the kind of positivistic view of objective truth about an implied 'external' World.

This male order knowledge-power in the development and aid business seems to have a certain 'governmentality' of managing southern developmental subjects, made visible through categorising, labelling and various technological 'approaches' for reaching ever higher numbers at lowest cost. Rosalind Eyben (2013) charts the historical trajectory of the 'results agenda' in donor agencies, describing the *'disciplining effects of artefacts'* (Eyben 2013, 8) and locating the drivers of these micro-technologies of knowledge-power as rooted in *'the need to be seen to be in control'* (Eyben 2013, 22), in the idea of *'value for money and the politics of accountability'* (Eyben 2013, 23), and in the public-opinion anxious (yet depoliticised) dynamics of the aid sector. This need to be seen to be in control is characteristic of this male order, whilst mixing up a focus on value for money with accountability co-opts the notion of accountability in the development encounter away from accountability to the beneficiaries and towards the donor instead, reducing it to 'countability' in the process.

Male order also tends to divide and rule, as debates around funding for gender work with men readily gets stuck in arguments about men diverting 'women's funding' on the one hand, against critiques of some women's groups resting their claims as rights-based on essentialised notions of vulnerability, on the other. Men's organisations may need to more vocally join critiques of the male ordered development industry's box-ticking and ally more effectively with progressive wings of other movements to advocate together for raising the bar on resourcing work on human rights

and gender justice in general. Given that men tend to be socialised for competition, measuring up and showing off success, it may be particularly important to reflexively recognise the sector's internalised vulnerability to collusion in male-ordered rules and performances.

Another effect of male order in development is the occlusion of intersectionality between gender and other axes of inequality. The reductive logic of simplified abstraction and controlling for or excluding 'confounding factors', actively hides the complex realities of intersectionality, from a deep level of knowledge-power. The familiar policy assumption of 'other things being equal' undermines the potentials for bridging alliances between movements. In real life, other things are rarely equal and groups of women, men and transgenders in different social justice movements do have shared aims and grievances, whilst those become obscured and movements divided through the very male order of hegemonic policy discourses, with their associated registers for permissible–thus visible–evidence.

Concluding Discussion

Understanding patriarchy in three dimensions (e.g. representation, materiality and ideology) provides for giving it an imposing solid shape. Yet, such a shape looks 'dead' and brittle however elaborate the construction. To explain patriarchy's resilience–how it survives and evolves through time and against opposition–a fourth dimension gives it a logic, direction and 'power'. I argue that this dimension is *male order* and it must be deciphered. Through networks of diffuse micro-technologies it fuels patriarchal power orders with gendered knowledge-power, running on its phallogocentric binary operating code in a deep-level syntax (being linear, reductive and positivistic) with an inbuilt directionality (aiming at expansion, domination and control).

So is this framework hopelessly pessimistic? I would argue not, as it is not totalising or deterministic in any sense. Diverse patriarchal orders coexist and compete, variously co-dependent, and different systems of gendered power are patriarchal to different degrees. Many societies have become considerably less unequal, in part thanks to the advance of feminism in recent centuries, but also aided by external and interacting events such as shifts in labour-market participation linked to World Wars and other factors. Yet, continuous progress is by no means a given, as we have also seen resurgent patriarchal trends across the globe lately. A key issue for the sector should be whether patriarchal logics provide any basis for sustainable development at all, as they not only favour 'growth' but

also conflict, indebtedness, inequality and oppression.

So, where to go next? A more productive direction for exploring gender injustice needs to build more strongly on key feminist insights and develop new approaches to explore how different patriarchal power structures are operating and are male ordered in mutually supportive– and/or competing–ways, across sectors or spheres. Collaborative research on 'people in power' should be developed for exploring the ways in which male centeredness, male privilege, male supremacy and male order might operate across the upper echelons of financial, health, security, religious, legal, governmental and development sectors. This might involve exploring how disciplinary knowledge systems, policies, practices and incentives, or ideologies and cultures inter-link across these sectors through 'old boys' networks' and other means. This could both help to better undress the workings of patriarchy and to identify opportunities and strategies for reform and alternative pathways, if carried out in honest conversation with contesting 'subalterns', such as various women's, sexual rights and social justice movements.

For the field of engaging men and boys in gender equality work, what may be most important is to make the work more explicitly political as well as personal. This means getting more reflective about our own various privileges; as men of all kinds, or as whites (including women, gay, bi, working class etc.), as able-bodied or as middle class etc. We are guarding, running and rebuilding our patriarchal prisons together, playing different roles. Those reaping multiple benefits and types of dividends must make even greater efforts for reflective awareness and to make a positive difference. Creative consciousness-raising is clearly called for, as we will need new ways of making the personal political, but this can be deeply uncomfortable and revealing for the privileged, if hopefully also liberating. We may need to move beyond Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed to some interactive pedagogy of the undressed.

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PART II:

ENGAGING MEN IN ENDING MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

CHAPTER FIVE

INVOLVING MEN IN GENDER EQUALITY: CHARTING DANGEROUS WATERS

STEPHEN FISHER

This chapter surveys the broad area of how to effectively involve men in responding to violence and specifically explores the strategy of informing and training men. The idea of 'engaging men' has developed international prominence (DeKeseredy 2011b; Fabiano *et al.* 2003; Flood 2003; Connell 1996; Pease 2012) and according to Gidycz, Orchowski, and Berkowitz (2011) become institutionalised into the philosophies and programs of many organisations. The following will critically discuss the range of ways that this project has been conceptualised as programs attempt to involve men in support for gender equality.

Models for social change

Many programs directed at engaging men implicitly suggest a model for change that will lead to the reduction or elimination of men's violence against women. Increasingly, there are two dominant and competing discourses that explain men's violence against women and provide change frameworks: human rights (Howe 2008) and public health (Krug *et al.* 2002; McDonald 2000). While the development of human rights legal instruments have been an important strategy of the women's movement, there remains an ambivalence among many feminists on their progressive potential (Cornwall and Molyneux 2006) due to an over reliance on the (patriarchal) State, a tendency to employ gender neutral terms and an unhelpful "public/ private dichotomy that underpins liberal conceptions of human rights" (Libal and Parekh 2009, 1477). Similarly, while some public health models claim a feminist sensitivity, Pease (2011) claims that feminist analysis more commonly is marginalised in these. Lastly, an explicitly feminist approach, which explains men's violence against

women in terms of gender power relations becomes a third, and subordinate explanation (Hunnicutt 2009). While the former two perspectives have encouraged a variety of approaches and policies that are designed to directly address men's violence against women, the latter implies that eradicating gender inequality per se is foundational. Thus, according to a feminist analysis, broader changes in areas not commonly understood as directly related to preventing are also required. According to Connell (1987, 160) the State may engage in a range of activities that include changing taxation and property laws, or education funding that indirectly undermine patriarchy and offer women more freedom.

However very few programs targeted at men address this area of indirect strategies and few recognize the importance of pressuring government to implement direct gender equality policies. For example in my own state, Victoria, while one arm of government was developing a family violence prevention strategic plan, another arm was drastically cutting funding to the TAFE sector which disproportionately impacted on women and their ability to seek greater independence. Such violence promotion activities by the State are rarely the focus of institutional programs designed to reduce men's violence against women.

It is important to identify the framing discourses, whether or not they are explicitly presented in programmatic material, not simply as 'ideas', as they act as rationales and an impetus for action (Bacchi 2010, 6). For example, Phillips (2006, 195) notes in the Australian context that policy has moved away from a discussion of structural power relations to viewing violence against women as a private or relational issue. Such ideological discourses have been named by MacLeod (1985, 374) as 'policies of chivalry' as:

> wife battering may be providing governments with a convenient, safe and popular way to respond to the demands for greater equality for women without seriously tampering with the institutions which perpetuate inequality. The high visibility of wife battering policy may be providing a smokescreen for the lack of progress in establishing effective programs to guarantee women an equal place in our societies.

Thus paradoxically, violence prevention initiatives may have the unintended consequence of perpetuating men's privilege and power which is foundational to men's violence against women. Indicating the dominance of the public health discourse, Flood (2011, 360) states that in the last decade there has been "a profound shift toward primary prevention, aimed at preventing violence before it occurs". This statement runs the risk of abrogating the decades of work undertaken by a global

women's movement to eradicate men's violence against women and perhaps demonstrates a disjuncture between this approach and feminist analyses.

The ambiguity with which the competing discourses are presented is not uncommon. In a report by Ellsberg *et al*. (2008, vii), the authors recognize that violence "has significant human rights dimensions" and praises efforts of women's rights activists that have ensured all "partner governments have made a public commitment to ending violence against women" (xi). Further on, they provide an overarching recommendation to: "Ensure all interventions are grounded in a human rights and gender transformative approach" (28). However, this sits in the context of an earlier chapter where the ecological model is provided as the framework for understanding violence against women and girls and the initial discussion is based on health and prevention measures (5-6). However, this model, based on a public health framework, is in contradiction with a human rights framework.

By framing violence against women as a disease or analogous to a disease, the public health model requires an identification of the range of risk factors that can inform the implementation of primary prevention measures. The construction of primary prevention interventions is assisted by Heise's (1998) adaptation of Belsky's (2011) 'ecological model' that took into account personal, situational and sociocultural factors in explaining family violence. These factors are now commonly presented in a Venn diagram as the fourfold individual, relationship, community and societal level (Bott, Morrison, and World Bank 2005). There are a range of significant shortcomings with this model that lead to the conclusion that the model results more in the production of a political discourse than in guaranteeing women's rights or stopping men's violence against women. First, while broader 'factors' are acknowledged, Winett's (1998, 499) review of papers discussing violence as a public health issue found that "while authors tended to identify social and structural causes for violence, they suggested interventions that targeted individuals' attitudes or behaviors".

Second, the suggestion that primary prevention is superior to a reactive approach may be effective in rallying support and resources, although the actual impact on men's violence against women is hard to determine. Moore (1993, 37) argues that prevention measures are by definition required to work on a broad range of underlying issues which means "the need to be in so many places where violence might occur stretches resources so thinly that preventive interventions become too superficial to produce much of a preventive impact at all" While it is important that

work to address this rights issue must be multi-faceted, the ecological model tends to be operationalized as discrete sites and individually funded projects rather than a cohesive political strategy. A third criticism is the internal incoherence of the ecological model. Pease (2011) points out the contradictions entailed in having individual psychological risk factors sitting alongside social structural dimensions. It is further confusing that the feminist explanation of unequal gendered power relations is considered important but only part of any causal explanations (Webster and Victorian Health Promotion Foundation 2007), thus unequal power is one factor among many to be dealt with. This is equivalent to suggesting capitalist relations of exploitation is one factor along with a lack of budgeting skills that can be used to explain poverty. Pease (2011, 184) explains that:

> causal theories of men's violence that are inconsistent with gendered analyses and an understanding of the role of social structure in perpetuating inequality cannot be integrated with feminist analyses, as the proponents of the ecological model argue.

Lastly, it can be argued that the public health approach in general, and the ecological model specifically, are examples of a neo-liberal politics designed to individualise social issues, deflect attention away from challenges to structural inequalities and reduce the burden on the State to take action on broader structural issues. The ideological nature of this paradigm is occluded by a mask of scientific or technocratic 'evidence-based' practice. Viveros Vigoya (2011, 139) notes that:

> social risk management is a predominant idea in the current neoliberal context in the field of public health, which releases the state from its social obligations for financial motives and delegates these responsibilities of health care on the individuals.

So treating men's violence against women as a public health issue is similar to the British government's response to obesity which Share and Strain (2008, 241) observe is framed by "an individualistic health promotion agenda founded in a medical model of health underpinned by epidemiological evidence".

While it is important to test the validity of programs to eliminate violence against women, we should be wary of accepting claims of objective scientific evidence. Pease (2011, 186) is critical of "the use of evidence-based practice approaches in ignoring the role of social and political forces in shaping social problems and for failing to recognize competing epistemological assumptions about knowledge and the contested nature of social reality".

Petersen and Bunton (1997) explain that the linking of new public health discourses to neo-liberalism leads to the regulatory effects of the management techniques which focus on risk and prevention (Castel 1991). Having critically surveyed broad frameworks for addressing violence the next section explores the meaning of 'engaging men' in such work.

The meaning of 'engaging men'

Many organisations and training manuals use the phrase 'engaging men' to describe their purpose (MenEngage; Barker, Ricardo and Nascimento 2007; Belbase and Heiberg 2010; Crooks *et al*. 2007; EngenderHealth and LifeLine/ChildLine 2011; Esplen 2006; International 2009; Promundo 2008; Ricardo and Veran 2010; Rozan 2011). However, Crooks *et al*. (2007, 22) point out that 'engaging men' is often ill-defined and tends to revert to the position of individual men being asked to be non-violent and show respect in their interactions with women. She argues that

> at the individual level, it is much harder to identify the end state toward which we hope men and boys will progress. Are we simply looking for all men to commit to nonviolence? Are we looking for all men to renounce male privilege and commit to gender equality? Are we looking for men to organize rallies and marches? Without this clear end goal in mind, prevention initiatives are often constrained to the absence of violence perpetration. The expanded notion of violence prevention in terms of advocacy and personal commitment to being part of the solution is relegated.

A number of different meanings of engaging men in supporting gender equality can be identified as follows:

a) as a style or approach that will most likely capture male audiences' interest and support for example, Kaufman (2004, 25) "language that leaves men feeling blamed for things they have not done or for things they were taught to do… will alienate men and boys"
b) as bystanders
c) as awareness raising
d) as effective messengers: men will have a positive impact as they are in positions of authority or are more likely to be influential on other men
e) as learners in programs: designed to reduce individual men's violence in their relationships for example many programs focus on developing skills on "how to express feelings without becoming violent" (Ricardo and Veran 2010, 83)
f) and as advocates for gender equality.

While the focus of my own work is on training men as advocates for gender equality, what follows is a critical exploration of the first three approaches: as a style, as bystanders and as awareness raising.

Engaging men as a style or approach

As noted above, many program designers are concerned not to alienate men by presenting too negative a message about men's violence against women. One easy way to do this is to remove the perpetrator from the naming of the social problem and refer only to violence against women. This issue is echoed by Howe (2008, 2) who explains that "calling men's violence 'men's violence' incites outrage, … One is met immediately with qualifying 'buts': but not all men are violent". She notes there is also a tendency "to find an unselfconscious agent-deleting manoeuvre that presents the violence as a weird kind of disembodied abstraction".

Using positive messages that address men's concerns is the practical advice given by a number of programs (Ataya 2010; Belbase and Heiberg 2010; Bhandari 2008; Centerwall and Laack 2008; Drezin and Lloyd-Laney 2003; Promundo 2008; EngenderHealth and PPASA 2001; Texas Council on Family Violence 2010). Esplen (2006, 11) endorses this positive approach giving the example from a White Ribbon poster–"You have the power to end violence against women in your community". Thus men's power becomes the solution rather than the problem as feminists have argued.

Another 'positive' approach is to reassure the male audience that 'most men are not violent'. While Flood (2011, 372) might claim that whereas some men are part of the problem, all men are part of the solution, on the other hand Pease (2011, 181) argues that this takes attention away from broader gender structures of power and "wider patterns of coercion and control that involves all men". The shift from focusing on problems to solutions is also part of the move to maintain a positive stance. Eriksson and Pringle (2011, 105) claim that such a shift "sometimes also means that instead of pointing out men as dominant, prevention workers choose to focus upon how the gender order is oppressive to both women and men. The focus is thus sometimes shifted from men's responsibility for violence to men as victims of the gender order". An illustration of this is found in Belbase's (2010, 1) 'Step by Step guide' to engaging boys which claims that violence is "part of our daily lives, where all of us are victims as well as perpetrators". While it is true that men and boys are often subject to abuse, this is almost exclusively at the hands of other men and boys. It is important that attempts to lessen the feared negative responses of male

participants do not create confusion about the dynamics of male privilege and power within patriarchal societies.

Some programs may even go to great lengths to exclude women's voices for fear of upsetting men. Marchese (2008, 65) cites Katz (2006) who suggests using video clips of men talking about violence to disarm potential criticism that might occur if women were presenting. Marchese makes the point that many male-focused anti-violence organisations spend too much time placating a perceived injury and too little time explaining the complicated and multifaceted nature of violence. Comparing anti-drink driving campaigns that are never criticized by drinkers, Marchese sees such approaches to engaging men more appropriately "as part of the feminist backlash that hinders all anti-rape work, but effusive reassurances to men can erase accountability and responsibility" (2008, 66). She goes on to suggest that a range of special roles for men are promoted–as bystanders, as role models, as supporters/advocates, as powerful leaders and as 'active participants'–in a way that avoids accountability.

Jackon Katz's program, 'Mentors in Violence Prevention' is widely recognised as a successful male involvement program. So it is of concern that a form of backlash against feminism is seen in Katz's (2003, 5) 'Big Tent' approach. He recognizes that men and women may have different views on the causes of gender violence, but preventing of men's violence needs range of approaches, thus in order to 'fit the diversity of opinion under the same tent' he argues that people should compromise and focus on where there is common ground" The problem here is that men are much less likely to hold feminist views on men's violence against women which implicate dominant masculinity and the hegemonic gender order, instead preferring explanations that downplay structural gender inequality. Paradoxically, this minimization of disputes or disputed claims to naming an issue could be likened to the form of power play employed by most direct perpetrators of violence against women who may also demand that their victims compromise in their understanding of the violent situation.

The bystander intervention strategy

Men intervening as bystanders to prevent violence against women is an increasingly supported approach (Ataya 2010; Baruah, Karkara and Karlsson 2006; Ricardo and Veran 2010; Greig and Edstrom 2012; Victorian Women's Trust 2009; Sonke Gender 2006; Promundo 2008). It is based on the theory of social norms devised by Berkowitz (2002) that suggests people will act according to their perception of the social norms of behaviour in relation to a particular social issue. It is similar to the use

of positive messages with men, as it highlights latent positive norms in a non-confrontational tone and reassures both the men it targets and policy administrators (Wechsler *et al.* 2003). Originally conceived to challenge college student problem drinking behaviour, Berkowitz (2003a, 260) explains that:

> individuals who underestimate the extent of peer discomfort with problem behavior may act as "bystanders" by refraining from expressing their own discomfort with that behavior. However, if the actual discomfort level of peers is revealed, these individuals may be more willing to express their own discomfort to the perpetrator(s) of the behavior.

The non-challenging premise of the approach is perhaps an indicator of the unlikelihood of it being an effective response to gender power inequalities. While there is a growing consensus on the value of attempting to shift dominant social structures, most studies evaluating effectiveness of bystander interventions on sexual assault perpetration usually only report on changed attitudes or 'self-reported willingness to help as a bystander' (Langhinrichsen-Rohling *et al.* 2011) rather than actual behaviour. One often cited study by Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante (2007) that did measure change in bystander actions found a negligible increase of one extra type of intervention (from a list of fifty) that the experimental group reported undertaking compared to the control group two months after their training.

Actually, Wechsler *et al.* (2003) note very little empirical support for a social norms approach and found in their own study that those colleges that undertook a social norms program to reduce alcohol consumption actually experienced an increase in consumption compared to those without the intervention. They conclude that their study does not provide evidence to support the effectiveness of social norms marketing programs. While some studies (Gidycz, Orchowski and Berkowitz 2011) indicate success their measurement tends to centre on attitudes such as employing the rape myth acceptance scale. Indeed, the very concept of individual attitudes has been subject to critical interrogation. Flood and Pease (2006) explain that the idea is based on a number of erroneous assumptions including that: a) individuals hold stable and internally coherent attitudes (individuals' views are much more contingent on specific social contexts); b) attitudes directly influence behaviour when actually there is a complex and partial relationship between them; and c) openly espoused attitudes are the same as implicit beliefs whereas they are often contradictory. Vandello and Cohen (2003, 1003) highlight this complexity by explaining that there can be an "important disjunction between consciously articulated, explicit

condemnation of domestic violence and a more implicit approval of the scripts, norms, and roles that lead to such violence". Where there is an attempt to capture changes in actual perpetration behaviour, studies such as Gidycz, Orchowski, and Berkowitz (2011, 735) found that men "did not indicate a greater tendency to intervene (as bystanders) as a function of program participation".

Most bystander programs addressing violence tend to focus only on sexual assault in relation to college campuses and may understate the complex power dynamics at play. For example, Berkowitz (2003b, 1) claims that "men who engage in verbal and physical violence against women incorrectly interpret other men's silence as approval, thus feeling emboldened to express and act violently towards women" and thus teaching male peers to 'speak out' will "serve to inhibit violence by other men". In contrast, according to research by Clark and Quadara (2010), it is much more typical that sexual assault will occur by isolating the victim away from potential detection by bystanders, thus rendering the intervention unhelpful. While there might well be some value in training college students to identify and disrupt situational pre-cursors to sexual assault–the drunken party–according to Quadara and Clark (2010) it is more likely that perpetrators will disguise their intentions to both the victim and bystanders until the point of the surprise attack.

Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1993, 396) are critical of peer norms approaches that focus only on individual behaviour and argue that any explanation for men's abuse of women must recognize that "male actions, values, and beliefs are microsocial expressions of broader patriarchal forces". They are also explicit in their definition of patriarchy as a hierarchical organization of social institutions and social relations that allow men to hold positions of power and maintain privilege. In bystander approaches, an understanding of patriarchy is largely absent. Even those approaches that do recognise structural gender inequalities simplify this understanding by maintaining that "the enactment of abuses … are often micro manifestations of macro systems of power and control." (Katz, Heisterkamp, and Fleming 2011, 689). However, regardless of whether or not such interruptions are effective at the micro level, broader structures are left untouched.

Thus Cornwall, Edström, and Greig (2011, 6) argue that "engaging men in the project of gender equality has come to be about addressing the need to transform masculinity by changing cultural or social norms that guide men's behaviour, rather than addressing the structural basis of gender inequalities". This reluctance to address broader structural issues can be seen in another popular strategy: raising awareness.

Awareness raising to promote gender equality

Awareness raising is cited as a key strategy in many international training programs directed at men (Ataya 2010; Belbase and Heiberg 2010; Esplen 2006; Haas 2009; Instituto 2004; International 2009; AusAID 2009; Sitawa and Now 2007; de Vries 2010) although it is rather vague (and perhaps leaves unanswered the question of awareness for what purpose. Often programs are focused on awareness raising through social marketing campaigns, and while it is largely accepted as an important aspect of any approach to engaging men, Drezin and Lloyd-Laney (2003, 6) point out that even well planned communications can backfire. For example, Eves (2006, 88) reports on the case of a national campaign in a Papua New Guinean newspaper where the

> message, 'Real men don't hit women' was superimposed on a photo of a young woman with a thick bandage on her right eye and her arm in a sling. The newspaper had used the same photograph previously on a poster distributed with the printed version, but bearing the words, 'This could be your sister … wife bashing is wrong!' On seeing this poster, a senior police officer at a meeting with others working in the Law and Justice sector in Buka, remarked, 'It is good to see that men are still in control'.

One of the best known example of men's anti-violence interventions is the White Ribbon Campaign, which spans at least four continents. However rather than a campaign that challenges gender power structures, White Ribbon focuses on awareness raising by calling on individual men to improve their behaviour or to 'speak out', or it makes non-specific demands such as a newspaper advertisement placed by the Men's Resource Centrein November 1999 which proclaimed "We call on all men to reject the masculine culture of violence and to work with us to create a culture of connection, of cooperation and of safety for women, for men and for children" (Flood 2001, 43).

Both Moore (2010) and Goldrick-Jones (2004) argue that actions, such as ribbon wearing by men, are primarily gestures of fashion designed to enhance personal identity, and wearers have little concern that such action has any real world impact on the social issue. Moore (2010, 142) explains that in a nihilist and individualistic consumer society 'showing compassion' "has come to signify emotional authenticity, 'realness' … as a means of affirming one's self-identity". It is not surprising then that her research found most ribbon wearers had very little knowledge or understanding about the particular social issue the statement was representing; nor the finding that none of those interviewed were interested in any form of political protest or expressed any clear expectations on the State to act.

'Showing awareness' is also a symptom of the heightened sense of anxiety people experience in a 'risk society'. Thus ribbon wearing arises from a widespread lack of certainty that is "likely to produce a desire to find something that will provide a sense of conviction, especially for the purposes of forging and asserting an identity" (Moore 2010, 30).

Some men's activism as described by Flood (2001, 43) such as "purchasing and wearing a white ribbon" or providing "presentations to high schools, posters for schools and buses" could be seen as acts of maintaining privilege or re-privileging as little is lost in terms of status, while men's status as leaders, as 'brave voices', as protectors of women or simply as 'good guys' is measurably enhanced., Notwithstanding Crooks *et al.*'s (2007, 7) implicit support for micro-interactional interventions, which I have argued do not sufficiently address structural issues, they make the important point that for men to organise and attend a rally

> may seem indicative of a highly committed stance… yet it is the innocuous, personal daily challenges that are more difficult for most men to undertake (e.g., confronting a sexist co-worker by the water cooler). Going to a rally may simply require the public role of sitting on a blanket surrounded by supportive, like-minded individuals. In contrast, confronting a co-worker (or even harder, a supervisor) by the water cooler involves a huge personal commitment to counter deeply ingrained social interaction norms.

A further problem with awareness raising campaigns, however, is that they are unreliable in terms of changing people's behaviour (Smith 2003). McKenzie-Mohr (2011, 4), among others (Costanzo *et al*. 1986; Aronson 1990), explains that "information campaigns that emphasize enhancing knowledge or altering attitudes frequently have little or no effect upon behaviour". This has important implications for both the goal of work with men generally, and for training programs specifically.

Conclusion

The range of forms of engagement outlined here tend to lack recognition of the broader structural and cultural supports for men's violence against women. Whaley (2001, 531), for example, found in her analysis of the structural changes in gender equality between 1970–1990, that the short-term effect of improved gender equality is increased levels of rape due to increased threats to the status quo, whereas over a longer period gender equality results in reduced rape rates due to an improved social climate toward women. More specifically in her analysis, Whaley noted that the percentage of male executives, administrators, and managers

was significantly associated with levels of rape. However, few violence prevention programs recommend strategies to challenge men's power at senior executive levels.

DeKeseredy (2011a, 300) explains that:

> people tend to locate the solution in the same place where they locate the problem. Thus, if the problem of male-to-female violence is one of the mental health of men or lack of respect for the law, then the broader social system presumably does not have a problem. The solution, then, is to treat, "fix," or punish the men so that they will work within the dominant social order.

As can be seen from the preceding, in many programs 'engaging men' is rarely aimed to challenge broad social structures, but is about individualistic interventions that tend to reinforce the idea that most men are ethical towards women, with only a minority engaging in violence against women (Pease 2008). Thus much more work must be done on actively engaging with feminist insights and organising to inform a more critical and rigorous approach to the project of engaging men in reducing men's violence towards women.

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CHAPTER SIX

ENGAGING MEN AND BOYS TO REDUCE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN BANGLADESH: A TOOLKIT FOR ACTION

ABU SUFIAN

CARE's long history of programming in Bangladesh has resulted in an in-depth understanding of the underlying causes of poverty. CARE's work has shown that poverty and gender discrimination are inextricably linked and as a result women's empowerment is at the heart of CARE's work. To reduce gender-based violence and increase the empowerment of women requires involving both men and boys in the development process. In 2010 CARE Norway provided funding to develop the Engaging Men Initiative (EMI) to work with men and boys as well as women to challenge conventional norms and promote more equitable relationships among men and women.

CARE has developed and implemented programming tools in the north east region of Bangladesh along with its three partners: Assistance for Slum Dwellers (ASD), People's Oriented Program (POPI) and Sabalamby Unnayan Samity (SUS). These tools are intended to be more effective in mobilising young men and boys and also in sensitising populations at the community level. CARE Bangladesh's process of developing the Engaging Men Initiative involves learning, doing, and improvisation, with input from national and international experts. The Engaging Men Initiative is intended to develop a range of valuable tools for working with men and boys, tools which will enhance efforts to engage men and boys and empower women.

Engaging Men and Boys Program: tools

Through strategic planning and a participatory method for inception and planning, CARE Bangladesh developed a range of tools and activities

to encourage and engage boys and men from the target communities. The tools are designed to work independently as well as in combination to achieve the objectives of the program. For example, Men's Forum (EVEM) is primarily focused on ending violence against women (VAW) at different societal levels–starting from intimate partner violence in domestic or private spaces to sexual harassment of girls and women in public spaces. This forum was supported by the activities of "Male Role Models"–compassionate, understanding and respectful husbands, sons or brothers in front of the same community, and through whose presence and voice other men can also be convinced or encouraged to transform some of their 'hegemonically masculine' prescribed behaviours. (These activities are described in more detail below.) The Theatre Forum, on the other hand supplemented in the campaign and advocacy of promoting gender equality issues, awareness to stop VAW etc. in public forums, with the participation from the EVEM members and/or Male Role Models–and the interactive nature of the theatre forums contributed to the target population's more active participation in dialogue issues of gender and women's empowerment.

Men's Forum (EVEM)

Ending Violence through Engaging Men (EVEM) is a men's forum consisting of 15-20 young men who participate in interactive dialogue. Every community formed an EVEM forum. These young men came from the ultra-poor families who are also the beneficiaries of the FSUP (Food Security for Ultra Poor) project. Community facilitators formed the EVEM forum in consultation with the women members of FSUP programs. In the community there is a Village development organization where the forum takes place twice a month. In the project period community facilitators provided the training and facilitated the sessions. After formation EVEM members received two days of basic training on Engaging Men and Boys for Women's Empowerment. The module of the training and Flash card set for facilitating the process was specifically developed for this purpose and used in the training. EVEM forum helped to create a space for men where they discussed their masculinity issues, practices, and social norms of gender and shared their experiences of socialization and practice in the household and society. Through these discussions, men and boys were able to identify the oppressive practices that promote gender discrimination and violence against women in families and society. They also discussed ways through which members can collectively and individually take active roles in preventing violence and discrimination against women.

Male positive role models

After the establishment of the EVEM forums, group members from the EVEMs and two other groups came together to select positive male role models in their respective communities. The other groups comprised the Village Development Committees (VDCs), an informal village development organization consisting of 9 to 13 members of executive committee and around 120 general members), and the Empower, Knowledge, Attitude and Transformative Action (EKATA) groups, consisting of 20 women and 10 adolescents).The groups discussed what makes a good male role model and with guidance from the trained project staff, they identified a list of the criteria for or characteristics of a good male role model and a list of potentially good role models from the community. Possible role models were then approached and asked to play this role in the community. To encourage these role models, the project promoted them in the community and in some VDC annual general meetings they were presented as good men in front of the whole community. This helps them to be recognized more formally as male focal points of good behaviour and attitudes towards women. Some also received small gifts such as t-shirts, caps, crests, or other materials as recognition for their work and were also invited to speak during campaign events or during local government workshops. In addition, the Male Positive Role Models act as informal leaders and spokespersons for the EVEM groups. They attend the bi-weekly EVEM sessions and are encouraged to share their own practices and beliefs. In some communities, these men have attended EKATA group sessions to listen to and learn from the female members and share their own thoughts.

Capacity-building initiative

The EMI had a total of 270 project staff working across three partner organizations and three Northeast Haor districts. During the initial stage of EMI, a three-day basic training on concepts associated with engaging men and boys was provided to all staff. This training helped to provide conceptual clarity on a variety of issues including gender, gender socialization, men and masculinity, patriarchy, women's and girls' empowerment, gender-based violence (GBV), leadership, and sexual and reproductive health rights. Taking learning from the basic training, a community level training module was designed for a one day orientation which was provided to all staff, to allow them to take the 'engaging men and boys' (EBM)concepts to the community level. The community level

module covered five interactive sessions: a) gender socialization, b) gender-based violence, c) masculinity, d) power dynamics, and e) sexual and reproductive health. During the project, all staff also received follow-up refresher training and the opportunity to give feedback to senior staff about their experiences with EMB and EMI activities. In this way, staff capacity and understanding of engaging men and boys for women's empowerment has been improved.

Couple workshop

Since violence against women (VAW) is highly prevalent in Bangladesh, especially domestic violence and particularly intimate partner violence, addressing this problem was crucial for the Engaging Men Initiative (EMI)project. Couples form the locus of households, and their partnerships based on gender equality, sensitivity and respect are an absolute crucial point for the effectiveness of the program. Therefore, couple counselling workshops were designed as activities. Each couple counselling workshop consisted of 10 couples. The couples counselling workshops are designed to bring husbands and wives together in the same community platform, something which is not often practised on other projects. The sessions are conducted as open dialogue covering topics such as household caring and sharing (caring for children and the equitable share of chores), intimate partner violence and sexuality, and reproductive health (birth planning and informed choice). The discussions of birth planning and reproductive health are used as a way to enter into deeper conversations on the behaviour of men and women in relation to the dominance of men in sexual behaviour. The couple counselling is a very private space where couples can reflect on personal issues affecting them. Couple counselling sessions take place each month for two and half hours. Each session is facilitated by the project's community facilitator using a variety of tools including specially designed Behaviour Change Communication materials and a relevant manual. One of the important aspects of having a fairly long 2.5 hour session is that it gives time for participants to feel more relaxed about sharing feelings regarding some of the sensitive issues which are discussed. In addition, as the couples meet each month they become more open within the group.

Campaign

During certain national or international days the Engaging Men Initiative (EMI) project arranges a variety of activities to involve all

stakeholders across the working area. These campaigns took place throughout the year and special attention was given to engage men and boys in the activities. The project facilitated a wide variety of activities in 94 unions (17 Upazilas–a secondary tier of government administration at sub district level–across the three districts of Netrokona, Sunamganj and Kishoreganj). The day's activities included participants from the local community, government officials, civil society representatives and representatives from the district and Upazila levels. Significantly, members from the Ending Violence through Engaging Men (EVEM) forum set up under the EMI as well as Sada Moner Manus (male role models) played a key part in activities during campaign the day.

Men's Movement Rallies: Men's rallies specifically encouraged the involvement of men and included participants from the EVEM groups. Over 5,000 people including local leaders, government officials, teachers and project participants took part in these events in 2013. The aim of the rally was to encourage men to publicly speak out and show their opposition to violence against women. During the recent 16 days of activism held over 25 November to 10 December 2013, a large rally was held in a selected Upazila where more than 2,000 young men and women gathered under the slogan "Protect Violence against Women, Fight for Gender Equality".

Men's Gathering Open Discussion: Following the rallies an open discussion was held in the community on the theme of International Women's Day. The discussions were led by local government officials, political leaders and supported by project staff. In many areas the male role models spoke at the discussions to call on men to act against violence.

Men's Gathering –Signature Campaign: At the end of the discussion people, particularly men, were encouraged to come forward and openly commit to stopping gender-based violence by signing a banner to be displayed in the community.

Men's Gathering –Cultural Activities: Drama presentations, poetry, speeches and debates around the day's theme all took place across the region. EKATA groups and EVEM forums took a lead role in these cultural activities and took the opportunity to share their learning from the groups.

Men's Gathering –Wall Magazine Exhibition: During this event, each EVEM forum prepared a wall magazine covering stories, poems, slogans, comments, and art related to positive male practices and attitudes towards women. In one union (the primary/first tier of government administration), each EVEM forum took part in a wall magazine competition and the champion EVEM forum took part at the Upazila (a secondary tier of

government administration at sub district level) level in a men's gathering event. The role models from the EVEM forum led the events.

Men's Gathering –Art Competition: Adolescent boys took part in a school-based art competition in Kishoreganj. More than 30 boys participated in the art competition with the theme "Violence in Our Daily Life and How I See This Theme". A large art competition was then held across three districts where college and school going students participated.

Men's gathering–Sports: The sports ground, across many cultures, is a place where boys and men learn to celebrate masculinities, male bodies and physicality, especially in communities where they lack in other aspects of life. It is a venue where many boys learn self-discipline and the value of hard work. Sport can also be a stage where boys or young men rehearse and learn negative, stereotypical male qualities. Sport is one of the world's primary venues for the contradictory processes that make up the construction of masculinities. Can sport socialize boys and men, and make a positive contribution to transforming manhood and promoting gender equality? Countries such as India, Brazil, South Africa, and Zimbabwe have used sports to inculcate gender equality, sensitivity and awareness against discrimination and violence against women through different sports, targeting boys and young men. In the EMI project, football (soccer), the most commonly played popular sport, was used as a strategy to bring boys and men together in a public place and organize an advocacy campaign through celebrating an entertaining 'masculine' event. During these events, participants in football matches gather in a popular public sport venue (usually a school playground or an open field that is used for playing football). They wear jerseys or t-shirts with gender equality slogans, which make public their standing against gender-based violence and discrimination. Brief discussions on gender equality issues are held before and after the match, a celebration of the day is completed with promises to end gender inequality and violence against women. The events usually attract large audience, including girls and women and local influential stakeholders, which allows campaign activity to reach a wider target group. EMI's football campaign matches have been deemed as successful and impactful (Majoor, Harma; Engaging Men Initiative Evaluation report 2013).

Youth convention: Another area of campaign activity is a youth convention. Its consolidated events organized by the EVEM forum member and led by the Positive Male Role Model had made the program's agenda more publicly visible, participatory at multiple levels and induced a positive-celebrating aspect to promoting women's empowerment through male support and engagement to the community. These conventions

arranged activities for wall magazine exhibition, dialogue with local government (UP-Union Parishad), forum theatre, sports, a signature campaign, and so on.

Forum Theatre: The project wanted to use Forum Theatre as a way of delivering messages directly through community members for their own communities. The EMI project facilitated the establishment of Forum Theatre groups, and identified particularly pro-active members of the community to take part in these activities. The project provided seven days training for the group members on EMI and various topics. During the training, participants prepared a script of a skit titled *Ami Ja Bolbo Tai Hobe* (Must Be What I Say). After perfecting the performance, the groups performed in 40 events at different locations across the working area. Following this, the project provided refresher training and the groups drafted a second script related to Early Marriage (Eki Holo, Keno Holo, or "What is happened, why happened").

Forum theatre is more than a performance as it has an interactive component. During performances, the Forum Theatre groups engage their audience, that is, community members, with their own thoughts about the messages that they try to convey. During these performances, both men and women get the opportunity to directly express their opinions on the theme, issues or even specific part of the skit about gender equality, violence against women or gender relations. It has been observed that the forum theatre not only provides edutainment to the target audience, but appeals to them the most as a medium of instruction because of its engagement with the audience. Given its mixed gender composition, the events allow and encouraged women to voice their opinion and protest and resist gender-discriminatory and violent practices against them, before a male audience.

These forums also have an impact on men. Men later admit that watching forum theatres actually made them more aware of the gender inequality and discrimination that they actually observe, practice or encourage in their everyday lives. Seeing these same practices enacted in public by fellow community members actually helped them realize their ill effects, and subsequently made them more committed to preventing these practices in real life. In other words, forum theatres have been one of the more effective and successful tools to bring changes in gender norms and behaviours among men in the work areas. A total of 70 performances have now taken place reaching an estimated 30,000 people.

Advocacy as tools for engaging men for gender equality

In rural Bangladesh is it clear that women are disempowered through social norms and institutions that do not value their contribution and actively marginalize their voices. Whilst many of our community based platforms, such as EKATA and the VDCs, seek to empower women to raise their voices in their homes and communities, these interventions are now complimented by EVEM platforms which incorporate men and boys in the process of gender equality. These platforms have been successful in acting as a catalyst for change in households and communities. However, they could not be utilized so successfully to effect change to institutional processes. As the mid-term review highlighted, this remained a key challenge for the project and progress was made solely on the issues of equitable access to services rather than addressing the inequitable social norms and institutional practice particularly at the Union Parishad (UP) level. To bring more impact on institutional and public bodies, the Engaging Men Initiative also adopted an advocacy strategy targeting various government stakeholders.

Workshop with Union Parishad (last tier of local government): Discussion and dialogue was held with 94 Unions in three districts on gender, women's empowerment and men's role to reduce gender based violence. Union-level elected representatives, influential people, members of different standing committees and members of the EVEM forum and EKATA participated in the advocacy workshop. In line with the advocacy strategy, the discussion focused on the effective implementation of the Domestic Violence Act 2010, the inclusion of women from EKATA indifferent standing committees, and better access to social safety net programs.

Workshop with Upazila Administration (2nd tier of local government): The project facilitated a day-long workshop focusing on women's access to services and the masculine structure of local administration. The workshop was organized with the Women Affairs, Social Welfare, Health and Family Planning Department, Agriculture and Livestock Department. In the workshop the project gave a brief presentation on men's role in empowering women and an action plan was developed on how the local government department can cooperate to empower women and reduce violence through changing the masculine structure of the local government.

Workshop with District Administration (1st tier of local government): The project held workshops at the district level with private sector representatives, government officials and service providers. The focus of

the workshops was on the economic empowerment of women, market accessibility for women, women's representation on decision-making bodies, and the role of men in women's access to services. The workshop aimed to sensitise the district administration and make a plan of action to provide support to women for their economic and social empowerment.

Challenges and recommendations

The Engaging Men Initiative has adopted a range of strategies to engage men and boys in reducing violence against women in Bangladesh. A household-centered approach, working with the household as an entity instead of with men (or women) as participants, may help encouraging men in taking up a more significant role in the household. When women are encouraged to work outside the household, men need to be encouraged to work in the household on a parallel trail, in order not to overburden the women

In terms of activities and effectiveness, some were more successful than others. For example, the EMI forums were very relevant but suffered from a number of shortcomings. The participants were frequently very young and the participants did not seem to always take the issues seriously, which was reflected in the minute books. Also, the couple counsellor education as counsellors has to be improved on since "counselling" as a skill needs specific training and education.

EMI's lesser success in engaging public offices in its program has to do with the fact that the staff of government mostly are male and often endorse patriarchal values and practices. Additional time is needed to build up rapport with them and fully engage them in activities in the project and especially after-project support. They need to be involved practically in setting up and implementing project activities and training. This has to do closely with staff and activists' capacity-building process as well. Capacity-building of ground level workers and staff should take priority. For example, couple counsellors need to be trained more extensively and their background and personal characteristics need to be taken into consideration.

Two further recommendations are important. For difficult issues such as gender-based violence and dowry, it is important to make an effort to assess the baseline situation and the intervention's full impact rather than focusing only on measuring increased awareness. Finally, if EMI aspires to be scaled up in an effective way throughout the country, and achieve long lasting impact, projects should work more closely with the Ministry of Women's Affairs. This Ministry may play a pivotal role in coordination

with other government bodies and development actors as well as at strategic level. EMI as a pilot project, therefore, can act as a learning process, an opportunity to assess the possibilities for new approaches to gender programs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ENDLESS JOURNEY TO ENGAGE MEN IN ENDING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN NUSA TENGARRA, INDONESIA

NUR HASYIM

This paper presents an initiative to raise awareness on gender equality and violence against women among men in Nusa Tenggara Timur and Nusa Tenggara Barat, Indonesia. This initial work was carried out through various strategies, such as discussions, workshops, trainings, and building men's network. A self-reflection approach was applied in this process which allowed men to understand their own thinking, attitudes and behaviours related to gender and violence against women from their daily life practices. The ultimate goal of this process is to transform men's patriarchal attitudes and behaviours into gender responsive and anti-violence practice.

Nusa Tenggara is located in the eastern part of Indonesia and it comprises many small islands with five biggest islands, namely Timor, Flores, Sumba, Sumbawa, and Lombok. The region consists of two provinces, Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) and Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB). The two provinces differ in many respects, including their religion, cultural practices and traditions, but they share the same value regarding the status of men and women in society where in general, men have more power and privileges than women (Bennett, Andajani-Sutjahjo *et al.* 2011; Hayon 2013) In terms of population, NTT is more populated with 4,899,260 people live in the province in 2013 (Biro Pusat Statistik Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur 2013) compare to NTB with 4,630,302 people in the same year (Biro Pusat Statistik Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat 2013). The two provinces have slightly similar rates of violence against women. As reported by Rumah Perempuan, a well-known women's crisis center in NTT, between 2010 and 2012 568 women accessed its service due to men's violence against women (The Indonesian Way 2012). Meanwhile, LBH APIK (Association of Legal Aid Societies

for Women), an NTB-based NGO, reported that in 2010 657 victims of violence against women sought legal aid from its center (Kias 2012)

Many efforts have been made to tackle the problem of violence against women in the region. However, the efforts focus on girls and women as primary beneficiaries while boys and men are not considered as a crucial part of the struggle to end the problem (Hasyim 2009). Similarly, at national level, the issue of men's involvement in anti-violence against women advocacy is rarely discussed. The idea of engaging men in this advocacy emerged in 2000 when a group of men in Jakarta declared a movement called "CANTIK" (cowok-cowok anti kekerasan) or "men against violence"(Subono 2001). This men's group was noticeable as the pioneer of a pro-feminist men's movement in Indonesia.

The discourse of men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement also became visible in Yogyakarta in the late 1990s when Rifka Media, a newsletter of the Rifka Annisa women's crisis centre, released the headline "Melibatkan Laki-laki, Mengapa Tidak?" (Involving Men, Why Not?). In this edition, Rifka media discussed the rationale for involving men in ending violence against women in Yogyakarta as well as the debate around the issue (Rifka Media 1999). From that time on, some activities were undertaken by a group of men in the city, such as public discussions, a long march of men who oppose violence, and some other campaigns focusing on young boys.

Another important project related to men and violence is research that was conducted by Rifka Annisa in 2009. The research investigated Javanese men's views of masculinity and domestic violence in Yogyakarta and Purworejo (Hasyim 2009). This study is considered as a pioneer of studies on men, masculinities and violence in Indonesia.

The growing discussion on men and violence against women in Indonesia has influenced some non-government organizations (NGOs) to initiate programs that aim to involve men in building gender equality and ending violence against women. The programs ranging from establishing behavioural change services for male perpetrators of domestic violence to advocacy work. One of those organizations is Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre in Yogyakarta. The same initiatives have been also carried out by other women's organizations in Indonesia, such as Rumah Perempuan in Kupang, NTT, and Cahaya Perempuan in Bengkulu, Sumatera.

Filling the gap

As noted in the introduction, men are often ignored in most of the gender equality and anti-violence against women programs in Indonesia.

This is likely to intensify men's perception that gender issues are exclusively women's issues.

When a men's involvement approach was introduced among activists in Nusa Tenggara in 2007, they felt that this was a missing approach from their efforts to stop violence against women and to achieve gender equality. Within the following years, a series of public seminars about men and gender were held in Kupang, the capital city of NTT as well as in Mataram, the capital city of NTB, by some local NGOs such as Rumah Perempuan Kupang, LBH APIK Mataram and CIS (Centre for Internally Displaced People's Service) Timor. Most of those discussions were supported by Oxfam Australia.

In 2010, Rifka Annisa in collaboration with another eight organizations in Nusa Tenggara developed an initiative to engage men in ending violence against women. Those organizations are Rumah Perempuan Kupang, Yabiku Kefa, CIS Timor, Sanggar Suara Perempuan Soe, LBH APIK Mataram, ADBMI Lombok Timur, SANTAI Mataram and GEMA ALAM Lombok Timur. The collaboration–which was also supported by Oxfam Australia–has two main objectives;

- To raise awareness of men in Nusa Tenggara of men's involvement in achieving gender equality and eliminating gender-based violence against women.
- To form a group of male facilitators as well as a group of males at community level and build a network with Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru, a national alliance of men to support gender equality and the elimination of gender-based violence against women in Indonesia.

Strategies

Although there is a general agreement among feminists that violence against women is deeply rooted in the unequal power relations between men and women in society (DeKeseredy 2011), the WHO study on women's health and domestic violence against women revealed that violence against women is a complex problem (Moreno 2005). The study maintained that there is no single factor triggering violence against women. It is a multifaceted phenomenon. Therefore, to eliminate the violence requires multiple levels of intervention.

Lori Heise (1998) is a scholar who introduced the ecological framework, a comprehensive analytical framework to understand violence against women. The framework explains different factors that make violence against women occur. Those factors are; personal history,

microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem. According to the framework, a male who witnesses marital violence when he was a child, is abused, or grows up without a consistent or available father is more likely to become violent than other males. At the microsystem level (regarding the immediate context in which abuse takes place such as a family or other intimate or acquaintance relationships), violence against women is more likely to occur within the family where males are dominant, take control of family wealth and use alcohol. The violence also tends to happen in families where verbal conflict is frequent. The last two factors are beyond individual history and family history, related to the social and economic status of men and women (exosystem) and to beliefs and norms with regard to men and women in society (macrosystem). For instance, violence against women is more likely to happen in communities where men are considered as the owner of women, manhood is defined by aggression and dominance, and interpersonal violence is accepted (Heise 1998).

By considering the multi-layered factors shaping violence against women, the initiative to engage men in violence against women prevention in Nusa Tenggara developed strategies which tried to cover multiple dimensions of violence against women. This can be seen from the strategies employed which addressed both individual and broader aspects of the violence.

There are four main strategies which have been applied: capacity building for male facilitators, two hours of discussion at community level, a public campaign using various media, and building a network of men to support gender equality and to end violence against women.

Capacity building for facilitators

This strategy consists of four activities: training for facilitators, community discussions, module development, and reflection workshop for male facilitators. The workshop was conducted to create a space for facilitators to reflect on their own gender-related knowledge, attitudes and behaviours, as well as to gain lesson learned from the activities they have done at the community level, especially to identify challenges in engaging men in the issue of gender equality and appropriate approaches for future development of the programs.

The aim of this capacity development for male facilitators is to form a group of male facilitators in the region who are expected to be leaders, resource persons, and role models for other men on the issues of gender equality and violence prevention. The group is also projected to play an important role in establishing men's networks to end violence against

women in the region as well as at the national level. Moreover, the facilitators assist new male facilitators to develop their capacity to promote gender equality and violence prevention in their own communities.

Community discussion

This activity is done based on the module that had been developed by facilitators as described above. The module consists of several topics which address daily life, such as engaging fatherhood, being a responsible husband, sharing household task, and domestic violence. The module incorporates videos and other creative arts to enhance the learning process, including traditional theatre, storytelling, and traditional songs.

The specific topics related to men's daily life were chosen to help participants who are mostly from rural areas to comprehend the concept of gender as well as to avoid any resistance among males due to the existing stereotype that gender issues are a western issue. Each discussion takes about two hours. The discussions were conducted in 34 communities, and carried out by eight main facilitators who held three to four sessions in each community.

Public campaign

The strategy aims to increase community awareness of the importance of male engagement in building gender equality and ending violence against women. The public campaign also is designed to reach a wider audience in order to get more people, especially men, to support the movement.

Various media such as radio, newspapers, and traditional arts are employed to promote new norms of being men and invite men actively to get involved in anti-violence against women activism. For example, facilitators in NTB used a popular traditional theatre called *Rudat* as a media campaign. The theatre usually involves a single standard story but for the campaign's purpose, the story was modified and the issue of violence against women was included. Moreover, to measure the audience's understanding toward the issue, the facilitators held quizzes at the end of every performance.

Another campaign was conducted by giving a community-level award for the husband who has best shown a set of attitudes and behaviours that support gender equality in his family. The selection of candidates is based on the recommendations of community members who interact with the candidates in their day-to-day lives. Furthermore, the awarded candidate

was required to be a role model for other men in his community. Although it is considered to be a creative strategy, this campaign was criticised for having the possible risk of providing men with new privilege and therefore sustaining and strengthening male domination over women.

The criticism of the strategy has raised once again an existing debate on the risks and dilemmas of men's involvement in preventing violence against women. Pease (2008) warns that there are some dangers in engaging men in anti-violence advocacy. Among those dangers is that men may gain more praise for their efforts than women. They may also receive more positive acknowledgements and gain more media coverage, often out of proportion to their involvement. This is because the involvement of men in the anti-violence against women movement is influenced by their privileged position in patriarchal society (Flood 2001).

This criticism was very important to make facilitators and participants of the programs aware of those possible risks and to help them develop principles to ensure that the engagement of men is to support women to be free from violence and to achieve gender equality and not to sustain and strengthen women's oppression.

Establishing a nationwide network of men to support gender equality in Indonesia

Feminist theory argues that violence against women is not merely an individual matter but also a structural issue. This violence occurs because of broader social structures which make women more vulnerable to violence then men. Therefore, individual intervention is considered inadequate to abolish the problem without the addition of strategies addressing structural dimensions of the problem.

The fourth strategy, of building a men's network to end violence against women, is based on this understanding. Male facilitators of and participants in the programs need to create a political alliance among themselves and other pro-feminist men in the country. The network is intended to enable men to support each other and to ensure their accountability to women's groups. In doing so, they can have a strong influence among men's groups outside the network and possibly can advocate for policy change in regard to preventing violence against women in the region and in country.

Besides strengthening the network among facilitators and participants in Nusa Tenggara, the programs enabled the facilitators and participants to join and contribute to the existing national men's network in Indonesia. The national men's network is called Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru (New Men

Alliance). The alliance was established in 2009 in Bandung West Java by male and female activists from Jakarta and Yogyakarta and followed by activists from Aceh, Bengkulu, and Kupang.

By being a member of the national men's network, the facilitators and participants of the programs in Nusa Tenggara were able to participate in the network's national consultation, to access its resources regarding men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement, to share their experiences with other members of the network, and to gain input from other members of the network to develop further programs to engage men in Nusa Tenggara.

Self-reflection approach

Elimination of violence against women requires transformation of individual men and women as well as structural change that reorganises the pattern of relationships between them. As part of promoting individual transformation, the initiative in Nusa Tenggara to engage men in building gender equality and preventing violence against women adopted a personal reflection approach for the entirety of its programs. Self-reflection according to Carver and Scheier (cited in Grant, Franklin *et al.* 2002) is a process of inspection and evaluation of one's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours to enable oneself to understand one's own thoughts, feelings and behaviours. This understanding is a central factor for a person to change.

In applying a self-reflection approach, the programs used personal experience as a starting point for discussion and analysis of the problem of violence against women. The approach also requires participants of the programs always to evaluate and examine their own perceptions, attitudes and behaviours related to gender and violence against women in their daily lives. Moreover, participants are encouraged to be critical about the broader social forces on which their attitudes and behaviours are based.

The approach was used during training for male facilitators, reflection workshops, and discussions at community level. The common challenge was how to encourage men to open up and reflect on themselves. To overcome the challenge, the facilitators found that it is crucial to create a safe and comfortable space for men to talk about themselves. To encourage men to disclose, facilitators of the programs disclosed first before male members of the community. Therefore, the programs showed that facilitators are a means to apply the self-reflection approach among men and they are also role models for other men.

Meaningful changes

To evaluate the outcomes of the programs, a reflection workshop was conducted in Yogyakarta in the middle of 2012, with all facilitators from eight organizations attending. Each facilitator conducted a focus group discussion in his community prior to the workshop to gain information about changes among men at his community.

The main objective of the reflection workshop was to reflect on facilitators' knowledge, attitudes and behaviours related to gender, masculinity, and violence, before and after getting involved in the programs. The workshop also aimed to provide a space for facilitators to share their findings about changes among men at their community to enable them to map the outcomes of the programs at community level.

During the workshop, participants shared their own personal changes after participating in the programs for more than a year. The workshop revealed that there are significant personal changes among facilitators and participants which were manifested in men's roles and men's relationships with women in their households and communities, such as sharing household tasks and negotiation on the use of contraception. As one facilitator said, "Now I start doing domestic chore." Another said, "When I do not find any food on the table I will manage it by myself" (Rifka Annisa 2012). Regarding the use of contraception, one facilitator said that previously he did not agree that a man should use contraception. After his involvement in the programs he realized that using contraception is part of his responsibility as a husband. Therefore, he took an initiative to use condom, stating "Now I volunteer myself to use condom" (Rifka Annisa 2012).

The programs also changed men's perceptions about sexuality. Generally, sexuality is considered a taboo topic in Indonesia. As a consequence, it is rarely discussed and people are reluctant to talk about their sexual lives. This is true even among married couples. One facilitator felt that after participating the program he could communicate about sex with his wife more easily. He also felt that he had a better and more enjoyable sexual relationship with her: "Now I can build an effective communication when I have sex with my wife and I feel my sexual life is more enjoyable" (Rifka Annisa 2012).

Another facilitator shared personal changes that he has made and his opposition to the use of violence in solving marital conflict. He said that previously he smoked a lot of cigarettes and also often drank alcohol, and he preferred to spend the night with his friends outside and come back home the morning after. He said that after the program however, "Now I

quit smoking and I stay at home during the night, even though most of my friends away from me". He also said, "I do believe that violence is not the right way to solve the problem at home" (Rifka Annisa 2012).

Similarly, facilitators found changes among men's roles at their community, such as men's willingness to share household tasks, even though some of them still feel ashamed when they did the household chores in public space. Although the programs created some important changes among male facilitators and participants, long term assessment is still needed to evaluate the sustainability of the changes and to investigate whether the individual change is followed by transformation of relation between men and women.

Conclusion

Men's involvement in activism aimed at achieving gender equality and ending violence against women is becoming an emerging issue among activists, practitioners and policy makers in Indonesia. The initiatives which have been taken in Nusa Tenggara are examples of this trend. Although men and boys increasingly are considered to be an inevitable part of the project to achieve feminists' agenda, engaging them in the project carries some dangers that can create negative effects for the achievement of the agenda. Therefore, it is necessary to develop feminist principles to guide activists, practitioners and policy makers in engaging men and boys in gender equality and violence against women prevention programs.

To create meaningful impact, men's involvement strategies should be applied in many levels of activities since violence against women is caused by social factors at multiple levels. Moreover, as the men's engagement programs in Nusa Tenggara showed, self-reflection is an important component of the project because it allows participants to transform patriarchal attitudes and behaviours as well as patriarchal norms which maintain men's oppression over women in society.

As an initial effort, the engagement of men in achieving gender equality and participating in anti-violence against women activism in Nusa Tenggara encountered some challenges. Those challenges should be considered by activists, practitioners and policy makers in order to make better programs which can generate positive impact for the lives of women and girls as well as men and boys in the country.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

AT THE BORDER OF THE GENDER ABYSS:
DISCUSSING MASCULINITY AND FEMINICIDE
IN CIUDAD JUAREZ

VERONICA OXMAN

Back in 2009, a small group of Australian women responded to an international call from Mexican feminist women's groups (La Convocatoria) to highlight the fact that since 1993, more than 1200 women have been kidnapped, sexually abused and then killed in Ciudad Juarez, located at the Mexican-US border (Cornejo Hernández 2013).[1] This chapter is partly a result of my participation (since 2010) in the Sydney Action for Juarez Group (SAFJ) meetings where we have discussed the crucial importance of struggling against *femicide* and/or *feminicide* in Central America and other countries of the world.[2] Feminist groups in South America use the term *femicide,* others, such as Mexico use the term *feminicide*. I personally distinguish between *femicide* to refer to the killing of one woman by their partner or ex-partner; and, I use the term *feminicide* to refer to the killing of large numbers of women assimilating it to female genocide. Here I am using the term *feminicide* to refer to the

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[1] The United Nations states that, in 2012, the Mexican Bureau of Statistics and Geographic Information (INEGI in Spanish) was not able to provide exact numbers of women homicides that can be classified as femicide nor feminicide. See: (Notimex 2012)

[2] Also from my data collection on policies towards gender-based violence, including femicide for my PhD Candidature at the School of Political SciencesPolitics and International Relations, College of Arts and Social Sciences, Australian National University (ANU); I want to thank Raewyn Connell, who has shared her thoughts with us as part of the group. For further information on SAFJ refer to https://www.facebook.com/sydneyactionforjuarezwww.facebook.com/sydneyactionforjuarez

case of Ciudad Juarez. Some of the issues that we continually discussed were: Why do men kill women? Moreover why do they kill women they know intimately? And, why men kill women in large numbers in certain specific regions of the world? There are no straight answers to these questions; but we strongly believe that we need to keep open the debate on how we can act in order to change this horror situation and how to improve government responses to ensure women's basic human right to life, in other terms I want to contribute in the discussion on how it is possible to exercise Article 3 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 which states: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person".

Introduction

The social conditions and changes in Ciudad Juarez and in Mexico more broadly provide the context for men's violence against women in Ciudad Juarez. In the context of globalization at the end of the twentieth century, in 1994, Mexico entered the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). After twenty years, this agreement has failed to increase economic equality. Moreover, due to its complex political character, it seems to have brought about more difficulties to the already conflict-ridden social situation of women and men living at the border between Mexico and the United States (US).

During the last forty years, Ciudad Juarez in northern Mexico has quadrupled its population. This dynamic demographic change is partly due to the introduction of new economic activities in the Chihuahua region. But settlement in the city has not been accompanied by the development of necessary basic public infrastructure and services to cover the needs of its rapidly increasing population. In the 1990s, half a million people settled in Ciudad Juarez and it continues to grow.[3] The installation of the 'maquila' (manufacturing sector) brought an important increase in employment opportunities, especially for women. The main sectors developed under the 'maquila' have been agro-industrial exports, manufacturing, personal services and domestic labour, all of which can be considered within the ranks of the cultural definition of the "*feminine"* and therefore it is mainly women who are employed in these types of occupations. Men are not employed in the same numbers by the 'maquila' disrupting the traditional

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[3] Mexico's 2010 census data show that in Chihuahua there were 3 406 465 inhabitants, 1 7139 20 women and 1 692 545 men. See: www.inegi.org.mx

gender order of men as breadwinners with women remaining at home with their children (Cervera 2005). High rates of men's unemployment and sub-employment, in a generally impoverished context, mean that young men are living with largely unfulfilled consumption expectations, which on the other hand young women seem to be accessing. The Economically Active Population by sex in Chihuahua shows that male employment has diminished from 74% in 1990, to 65.7% in 2000 and to 64.4% in 2010; while female employment has increased from 26% in 1990, to 34.2% in the year 2000, reaching 35.6% in 2010.[4]

Working conditions in the maquila tend to be informal, characterized by no job-contract, no health care, no social protection, precarious workplaces and low wages.[5] Nevertheless, for women, access to an income generates the minimum grounds for acquiring "economic empowerment" and breaks their dependence upon a man's income. Population growth in the region has acquired an 'explosive character', generating many other consequences (Rubio Salas 2005). Continuous migration flows also account for a number of people who move to border cities with the further intention to access the labour market in the US. Most of these migrants consider Ciudad Juarez as a 'temporary home'. But more women than men have stayed to live permanently in the city. The transit, border situation has also given space for the settlement of criminal gangs, mainly involved in drug traffic in both sides of the border (OAS and CIDH 2002).

Ciudad Juarez sadly has become known as the '*emblematic city of feminicide*'. Marcela Lagarde (as cited in Fregoso and Bejarano 2010) has broadly analysed the gendered nature of the murders in the city and has defined *feminicide* as "genocide against women (that occurs) when the historical conditions generate social practices that allow for violent attempts against the integrity, health, liberties, and lives of girls and women."

How have the socio-economic conditions of being a "border city" affected gender relations to the extent that there has been an extreme manifestation of a violent misogynist type of masculinity? Some feminist scholars in Latin America argue that these types of masculinities are mostly constructed by men in reference to other men (Berlanga Gayón

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[4] Source: INEGI Mexico Employment Surveys: 1994; 2000; 2010.
[5] The ILO states "Informal employment is a job-based concept and encompasses those persons whose main jobs lack basic social or legal protections or employment benefits and may be found in the formal sector, informal sector or households.

2010). This brings consequences for women's equality and the exercise of their human right to live safely; male-dominated institutions continue to be blind in the face of an extreme social problem such as *feminicide,* while national and state governments continue to be inefficient in controlling or at least diminishing the killing of women simply because of their gender in Ciudad Juarez.

Femicide and feminicide: The killing of women

At a global level, the total number of deaths attributable to homicide defined by the United Nations as the "unlawful death purposefully inflicted on a person by another person", in 2010 was estimated at 468,000; almost a third (31 per cent) of these occurred in the Americas (UNODC 2011). In Central America, these increases also have a strong territorial connotation, often being concentrated in specific areas of the countries concerned. In Mexico, for example, homicides are concentrated in a small number of states: Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Guerrero and Baja California, which account for some 11 per cent of the population but recorded 41 per cent of the country's total intentional homicides in 2010. Moreover, within those states there are further concentrations: two thirds of murders in Chihuahua State occurred in Ciudad Juarez, which is home to 40 per cent of the state population, while almost three quarters of murders recorded in Baja California took place in Tijuana, both of which are located close to the US border. More than 25 per cent of homicides in the region were related to organized crime and the activities of criminal gangs, and the majority were perpetrated by men using a firearm (74%). In 2008, Mexico recorded 89.8% of homicide victims were male and 10.2% were female, and more than ninety five per cent of perpetrators were men (UNODC 2011).

The concept 'femicide' was used, in English, for the first time in 1801 referring to the murder of a woman. Later, in 1976 Diana Russell (2006), one of the first feminist scholars to use it in its current meaning and defined it as "the murder of women by men just for being women". Jill Radford (1992) defined femicide as "the misogynist murder of women committed by men". She states that femicide is at the extreme of the "continuum" of terror against women, which also includes a variety of forms of verbal, physical and sexual abuse, such as rape, torture, sexual slavery (prostitution), incest and child sexual assault".". The concept *femicide* became important in the 1980s as an expression of the feminist movements of the western countries to politicize and respond to extreme male violence against women.

In Latin America, the concept of *feminicide* was introduced in the late 1990s. This was mainly due to the need to find an appropriate term for the increasing gender-based violence in the form of women murders occurring in Ciudad Juarez and other places of Central America. Feminist groups in South America use the term *femicide,* others, such as in Mexico use the term *feminicide*. Data on feminicide in Ciudad Juarez shows that between 1993 and 2011 1,021 women were murdered in circumstances related directly to their gender. Most cases described in the Juarez' gutter press qualified as feminicides, as defined by Lagarde (2010). Since 1996, bodies of dead young women including girls, strangled, naked or half-naked, some with their hands tied, beatings, mutilation or torture marks were found in desert or semi desert landscapes of the outskirts of Ciudad Juarez.

Men and boys are also targeted in gender violence, but in different ways. Public violence among men often springs from masculinity challenges or fears. So does homophobic violence. Drug cartels, like armies, use masculine solidarity for business purposes (Berlanga Gayón 2010).

Masculinities and violence

The study of masculinities is broad and diverse, what is clear is that "masculinities are not the same as men" and to understand masculinities we need to look at gender relations and the gender order in a given socio-economic context. Masculinities are embedded not just in the norms of conduct within a civil society but also at the institutional level, including patterns of conduct of the authorities, including the police and politicians. Connell (2012) argues that violence against women in Ciudad Juarez needs to be understood as related to the social patterns that shape masculinity in a context of social (and criminal) violence. She indicates that social contempt for women is present throughout the *patriarchal culture,* which defines men as more important than women and teaches stereotyped views of what women are meant to be and how they should behave. There are deep historical roots to misogyny in Spanish colonialism and Catholic religion, both of which have defined a certain form of masculinity that emphasises power and dominance and a sense of entitlement among men to exercise power without restraint–inside the family and outside. Ciudad Juarez, with its multidimensional complexities of being 'at the border', has become an environment which supports gender violence as exemplified by a media saturated with violence, peer-group support for violence among men, and impunity for violent actions (Connell 2012,; Lagarde y de los Ríos 2010).

At the border of the gender abyss

Fictional representations of real cases of violence against women can tell us about social norms and conduct. The film Backyard ('El Traspatio' 2009) by Carlos Carrera, based on a real case that occurred in Ciudad Juarez, exemplifies the building up of a certain type of violent masculinity which can lead to feminicide. The film shows events prior to the murder of a young migrant woman in Ciudad Juarez by a young man that she initially met as a friend. They go out a couple of times but when she refuses his sexual approaches–by proudly responding: 'mi cuerpo es mío' (my body is mine)–the young man reacts with extreme anger and a need to seek revenge. The male's emotions portrayed in the film are built-up primarily in response to the other men around him. It is this peer group who pressures him to act in order to obtain sexual satisfaction against the girl's will. It is this same masculine pressure that leads the young man to his initiation into crime by kidnaping, raping and finally murdering the girl who he had once liked. At the end there is only loss; the loss of a young woman's life and the loss of a young's man life into criminality, sealing the distance between genders. This testimony exemplifies the extreme conditions in which many of the girls and women have been, and continue to be, killed by men they once trusted. Men who choose to follow violent rules set by other men and not by themselves even though they might understand the consequences of their acts.

Feminicide in Ciudad Juarez continues despite Mexican federal and state governments' larger allocation of resources into services to support the victims' families; international pressures including recommendations from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and Amnesty International amongst others including social networking through the internet; and media coverage on feminicide occurring in Ciudad Juarez (Largarde 2010). Lagarde's statement shows how feminicide counts with an institutionalised acceptancy within the current violent gender order:

> in the extreme, the victim's gender is treated with bias and, if gender is taken into consideration, it is to point to the victim's evident culpability. The impact is that there is no recognition or investigation of the gender status of the girls and women who have been the victims and or the assailants who, in the immense majority of cases, are men.

The reality of this inappropriate government response to feminicide, is expressed clearly by feminist leader Esther Chavez Cano (2010): "When institutions do not respond, it is institutional violence", referring to local government silencing of truth and unspoken knowledge of corruption

involved in the judicial processes in an important number of cases of women murdered in this city, which have never been cleared. The reality of inappropriate government response led Esther Chavez Cano (2010) to say, "When institutions do not respond, it is institutional violence".

Masculinity built up on the basis of a certain social and political acceptance of physical and sexual violence against women implies a deep and complex conflict within the social norms of a society. It generates and maintains an enormous gap between men and women based on the idea that men have the right to exercise violence against women, as if intersexual relations have reached an irreconcilable position, a *gender abyss*, whose most clear expression is the inhumane gender violence still occurring in Ciudad Juarez. The real account is not just of the number of women and girls murdered at the border but also the ways they were sexually abused, mutilated and assassinated before being dropped as 'garbage', reinforces a need to address gender equality right down to the deepest roots of society. In this context, Ciudad Juarez is an international political arena and will continue to be so as long as feminicide continues. Moreover, homicides of women with the characteristics of feminicide have spread fast not just within the Central and South America, but also to other regions of the world. [6] Adequate and continuous social gendered policy-making, not just 'security measures' based on policing and armaments, needs to be permanently reinforced in order to assure the existence of alternative models of masculinity that are not based on misogyny and violence. Women's groups outside Mexico will continue to express their solidarity with the horror suffered by the girls and women in Ciudad Juarez not only to defend their human rights but also to make sure that a woman's perspective on this form of violence is present at all levels of political debates and policy decision-making.

Large efforts by the feminist women's movement have achieved some important changes in specific countries such as the introduction of legislative measures to typify *femicide* (Mexico, Argentina and Chile have already introduced specific legal measures) (Toledo Vásquez 2008, Franceschet 2010), defining the homicides of women by a partner or ex-partner as a specific type of crime which due to the intimate character of the sexual/affective relation between the murderer and his victim occurs mainly in the private realm, and requires specific treatment at the level of

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[6] In the case of Argentina for example, the disappearance of girls and women show how this phenomena can also be linked to human trafficking for prostitution. See: (Indeso-Mujer 2011)

interpersonal sexual relations (in most cases it occurs within marriage or in other de facto sexual affective couples or ex-couples with children, who are the main losers in these acts of violence).[7] On the other hand, *feminicide* is a social problem where large numbers of women are murdered in a particular place or locality which generally occurs in the public realm, the murderer or murderers are mostly unknown to the victims, and nowadays these phenomena can affect any girl or women in most regions of the world. *Feminicide* is a deeper and broader socio-economic, cultural and political phenomenon that moves from end to end from the public to the private realm, therefore requires systemic gendered changes at all levels of society in Mexico and the world. Changes that can only be achieved by empowering women but also through policy-making to free boys and men from the burden of this particular type of violent masculinity.

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CHAPTER NINE

'NOTHING IS CLEAR NOW':
NEGOTIATING EQUALITY AND COLONIALISM
THROUGH THE LIVES OF TWELVE
ACEHNESE MEN

DAVID DURIESMITH

Attempts to achieve gender equality are deeply enmeshed with other political commitments.[1] Men's existing attachments to other political objectives, such as national liberation, may provide the basis for

cooperation with feminism or establish barriers to involvement. This chapter explores the relationship between colonialism and gender politics through the lives of twelve Acehnese men. These men's engagement with gender equality was greatly influenced by their perceptions of colonialism and cultural authenticity. The men who opposed gender equality justified this position as a method of protecting Acehnese cultural authenticity. For these respondents their understanding of cultural authenticity was centred on protecting the patriarchal authority of fathers and husbands. For others their engagement with anti-colonial politics provided an opening to support some forms of gender equality. For these men protecting local arrangements that historically ensured some women's rights were seen as an important aspect of Acehnese culture that need to be protected. The anti-colonial politics of these respondents provide some promise for engaging men in the politics of gender equality.

Despite the potential of drawing on other political commitments this tactic may also limit the potential scope for achieving gender equality. The more egalitarian stances of some respondents still contained substantial limitations due to their commitment to Acehnese cultural authenticity. Even when they support some degree of women's equality this was commonly established by appealing to a retrospective imagining of "authentic" Acehnese culture. Attempting to achieve equality on a retrospective view of culture may create new challenges in realising equality.

Background

After more than one hundred and thirty years of intermittent conflict, first with the Dutch and then the Indonesian government, Aceh is currently enjoying relative peace and stability. Prior to colonization Aceh was an independent Sultanate that occupied an influential position in South East Asia. From the 1870s until Indonesian liberation in 1945 Acehnese forces resisted Dutch occupation with periods of conflict interposed by periods of peace and stability. The Free Aceh Movement (GAM), an influential group of Acehnese insurgents, fought against the Indonesian government from 1976 until 2005 when a peace accord was signed in Helsinki after a devastating tsunami that ravaged Aceh in 2004 (Kingsbury 2010, 135).

Colonisation has had a far reaching impact on social relations in contemporary Aceh. The experience of colonisation has allowed exploitative local leaders to co-opt the nationalist narrative as a tool of colonial resistance (Siapno 2002, 1). This in turn has been used by male leaders to stifle the historical diversity of cultural expression in favour of a

rigid understanding of "a unified Acehnese identity" (Schroter 2010, 157). This artificial imposition of a strict Acehnese nationalist narrative has substantially disadvantaged women, as historical practices that favoured women are abandoned in favour of patriarchal readings of political Islam (Siapno 2002, 1-4). Since the conflict has ended an increasing discourse on western colonialism has entered Aceh that ties into broader Muslim discourse on Orientalism and cultural imperialism (Bloul 1998, 146-167). At multiple levels the experiences of colonialism have shaped the current gender order in Aceh. These tensions have had a significant impact on masculinities in Aceh and men's relationship to violence.

Research method: feminist methodology and life history method

To explore the interaction between colonisation and gender politics twelve life histories have been analysed. The methodological approach that underpins this paper is feminism. A feminist methodology does not entail a single strict approach to conducting research (Farrell 1992, 58), instead it prefers a stance of reflexivity and attachment (Ackerly 2006, 2-4). Feminist methodologies are also distinct, as they do not attempt to begin from a purely objective standpoint (Fonow and Cook 2005, 2211). Instead, they maintain that researchers should begin with the objective of improving women's lives. To this end the paper has tried to explore ways to encourage equality.

Social scientific research often has difficulty representing the voice of its informants, particularly when the informants are in a structurally precarious position due to colonisation, patriarchy, racialization or class oppression. As all of these forces are present in one form or another throughout the interviews, a conscious effort has been made to try and accurately express and contextualise the voices of respondents. Researchers such as Maria Mies have emphasised the importance of avoiding an alienated approach where the "research objects" are removed from the context in which they are embedded (Mies 2006, 29). Following from a position of attachment, the paper has attempted to give context to the comments of respondents.

The life history method has been chosen because it allows perceptions and practices developed through time to be explored. Men's perceptions of gender relations are charted in against their experiences of colonisation and anti-colonial politics. This was then compared to a timeline of relevant events in Aceh during their life. Life history analysis has been utilised as a method for exploring the development of men's relationship with gender

politics through time and various experiences.

Life history is a flexible method for exploring complex processes and change in individuals' lives (Connell 2010, 54-71). The life history method has a prominent place in the study of masculinities and has been used in a number of influential works (Connell 1995, Messerschmidt 2000, Messner 1992). The use of life histories aims to provide a depth of understanding as well as a breadth. The analysis of 12 respondents is not intended to be representative of men in Aceh or to provide a broad survey of Acehnese perceptions of masculinity. Rather this analysis follows James Messerschmidt's (2000, 15) use of life histories to "glean considerable and telling information from a modest sample." In this sense the discussion is exploratory, trying to discover how various forces have impacted the men in a complex and situated manner. The role of processes and forces, such as colonisation are charted through an individual's life and contextualised by broader forces or changes.

Respondents and Sampling

This analysis is based on twelve life histories conducted for The Change Project in Aceh during 2011. Interviewees were selected on the basis of two separate criteria, one group who had fought in the civil war and a second group who engaged in unconventional gender practices. These two groups were identified as the 'combatant' group and the 'non-combatant' group as the research suggested that those who fought also engaged in a range of unconventional gender practices. Interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia by trained researchers from the Center of Women's Studies (PSW) of IAIN Ar-Raniry in Banda Aceh. Five of the respondents had been involved with the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in various capacities. Both combatants and non-combatants had diverse experiences of GAM, some suffering greatly at the hand of combatants and others having relatively positive experiences. The interviews targeted a diverse range of respondents from two sites in Aceh: Bireuen (rural) and Aceh Besar (peri-urban). Both sites were directly affected by the conflict. The respondents were sampled into two categories: men who were known to have perpetrated physical and/or sexual violence against women and lived through the conflict or men who were known to engage in activities or held beliefs that ran counter to hegemonic notions of masculinity. The interviews focused on how the construction of masculinities intersected with violent and non-violent attitudes and practices across the course of the lifetime.

Due to the limited scope of this paper it was not possible to focus on

each man's life history in detail. This is not an exhaustive study of gender in these life history transcripts and some significant aspects are not addressed. Instead, the chapter has focused on providing an in depth exploration of two particularly relevant transcripts (Adi and Iman) which have been used to provide the base analysis with some comparison to the other men in the interview set. Particular attention is paid to the importance of colonialism and anti-colonial politics through these men's lives to develop an understanding of how this interacts with their perceptions and practices relating to gender.

Findings

All twelve men's view of gender relations was greatly impacted by their engagement in anti-colonial politics throughout their lives. For all respondents protecting their preferred gender arrangements was seen as an important step in defining Acehnese cultural authenticity. A deep commitment to the anti-colonial struggle informed each of these respondent's perceptions on gender and in most cases took precedence over other commitments to gender politics.

Training within GAM was a key site where combatants' beliefs about gender were challenged or entrenched. Training went beyond basic military education and included teaching on social issues. For the five respondents who were members of GAM colonial resistance was not a discrete objective that was restricted to organised violence. GAM's nationalist rhetoric of Acehnese independence often bled into other aspects of their lives, such as reframing of local religious practices into essential tools of colonial resistance.

For some respondents, such as Iman, their training resulted in the adoption of an egalitarian position. Iman is a married man in his late forties. Prior to entering GAM he read about Acehnese history extensively to learn about the struggle against the Dutch. During this time he read about female historical figures such as Cut Nyak Dhien, a female resistance leader who fought against the Dutch and Malahayati a naval commander in the Acehnese Sultanate. Based on this, Iman concluded that "gender equality is not a new thing in Aceh. A woman can be a leader." During the mid-1980s he became involved with GAM. He travelled to Libya for a year of training that he describes as a difficult experience. After returning to Aceh Iman became involved in fighting and training new recruits, including training some women. For Iman this involvement with anti-colonial politics provided an important opening for him to support women's equality. Iman supports relatively egalitarian arrangements

between husbands and wives. This may have been influenced by his interaction with women in GAM. Iman fought alongside women and trained some female combatants. These experiences have led Iman to support women's participation in public life, as long as they are capable and they do not damage men's honour.

In contrast, other respondents' opposition to egalitarian gender relations was justified by anti-colonial politics. Adi was forcibly recruited by GAM while working for the local police. His family members were kidnapped and he was told that if he did not give up the police job that he enjoyed they would not be let free. After fighting with GAM he supports militarisation and the anti-colonial struggle, while rejecting their organisation as corrupt and indulgent. Adi says that the former GAM leaders have abandoned the cause, choosing to become landlords (a role that he rejects) and embezzling funds from orphanages rather than fighting the government. Though he still wants to continue fighting, "I would love to join the right group," he feels that GAM leaders were inevitably corrupted by bad teaching.

Adi suggests that current Acehnese culture has strayed from the right path. In the past he feels that the gender order was clear and society functioned well. He feels that today Aceh is debased and the gender order is unclear: "many people here are government employees. Many women work in rice fields. (In the past) beautiful girls would attend colleges and non-beautiful ones would attend traditional Islamic schools. Nothing is clear now." In the view of Adi this has led to a myriad of ills, men and women have begun to mix in public, people are watching pornography and women are spending time with men at night, possibly with "something in mind." Other external influences have come to endanger the gender order such as telephones and women working outside of the home. Though Adi's discussion still centres on colonisation the structure of this narrative is different to Iman's. GAM is now seen by Adi as one of the external influences that need to be fought with stricter gender policing, for the good of the nation.

Pathways to Equality

These experiences suggest that drawing on men's existing commitments to anti-colonial politics has some potential for supporting women's equality while also including some risk. Iman and Adi shared a common understanding that outside influences had resulted in cultural corruption. At the same time there were differences in what each understood to be "authentic" Acehnese culture and what they identified as

a corrupting influence. When the 12 respondents supported women's participation in the public sphere, men's contribution to housework or other women's rights, the justifications were almost always 'authentic' Acehnese culture. Of the twelve respondents only one defined his position on gender equality without drawing on another political commitment. This was Hamzah, an information technology worker employed by a women's rights organisation who had received some direct training on gender.

Involvement in anti-colonial politics opened up the trajectory towards egalitarian gender politics for many respondents. The respondents' existing commitments are a promising avenue towards engaging with feminist politics for men who previously had limited opportunities. The impetus provided by narratives of national liberation could provide a valuable resource in countering some of the more pernicious beliefs expressed by other respondents.

Although men's commitment to other political projects opened up trajectories toward more egalitarian politics they may ultimately limit some other forms of equality. Where respondents did support some forms of women's equality their support was also tempered by the extent to which this could be justified by the existing understanding of "authentic" Acehnese culture or the Islamic teaching they had received. This framing meant that all discussion of women's positions in society was defined by their relationship with husbands or fathers. There was little or no discussion of what was proper for women to do if they were uncoupled, in same-sex relationships or in an unmarried partnership. Even the men who supported women working outside of the home or men contributing to housework defended this by stating that it did not damage marriage or men's status. Framing the discussion on gender equality in terms of cultural authenticity or resisting external oppression means that objectives could only be defended within these terms.

Drawing on the concept of cultural authenticity can undermine the potential to fundamentally remake the way that gender relations are defined. The use of anti-colonial politics by these respondents still places great value on proscribed gender roles for men and women. When respondents suggest that women are equal they often include caveats that protect husbands' rights in marriage. For example Iman makes the broad claim that "there is no difference between men and women." Shortly after asserting this he clarifies his position and states that it would be fine for a woman to be a leader, as long as it did not affect her marriage or tarnish her honour in involving her spending too much time surrounded by men. This form of politics may also limit the radical objectives for gender politics, such as unmaking gender as a meaningful categorisation for

people, defining women's social position and entitlements without reference to a man, or discussing the rights of sexual minorities. This may in turn serve to empower one segment of the community (such as heterosexual married women) over others (such as gay, lesbian and transgender groups) who cannot easily fit into a retrospectively constructed understanding of cultural authenticity.

Conclusions

Drawing on other political commitments to engage men in the politics of gender equality provides both promise and substantial limitations. The narrative of anti-colonial resistance and protecting Acehnese cultural authenticity was a powerful force throughout the lives of the twelve men interviewed. For some respondents their engagement with these political commitments was an essential turning point in their lives. This could provide an important, if limited, way to encourage men to support gender equality and mitigate gender based discrimination and abuse. Despite the promise of these other political commitments there is evidence to suggest that these will not result in a deep commitment to gender equality on their own terms. Many forms of feminism strive for more expansive political objectives than men simply helping with the housework, allowing their wives to work in public life and opposing violence. Reformulating gender relations in a less pernicious way does not fundamentally challenge the patriarchal authority of husbands and fathers; it also does not provide much room for establishing new social roles that are not defined by marriage. For these reasons any attempt to utilise men's other political commitments in striving for gender equality must be carefully considered, conscious of its potential limitations.

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Chapter Ten

"No Man is Allowed to be Vulnerable": Fitting the Rape of Men in Armed Conflict into the Wartime Sexual Violence Paradigm

Sara Meger

Due to the ground-breaking work of feminist scholars of the past three decades, we know that sexual violence against women and girls is a common occurrence during armed conflict (Seifert 1994; Brownmiller 1975; Enloe 2000). It has only been very recently, however, that rape perpetrated against men and boys during conflict has been noticed. An increasing number of reports of sexual violence perpetrated against men and boys in conflict have prompted current UN Special Representative of the Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SV) to declare that conflict-related sexual violence "is no longer a gender issue" (UN News, 18 October 2012). Along these lines, the 2012 Human Security Report argued that the mainstream narrative on conflict-related sexual violence is misrepresentative, and a problematic framework for addressing sexual violence, in part because it has overlooked the perpetration of sexual violence against men and boys.

This chapter argues that while the oversight in advocacy and scholarship on sexual violence against men and boys has been problematic, it does not undermine the insight of early feminist scholarship into sexual violence in conflict. This article explains sexual violence against men and boys through a feminist political economy lens to show how the effectiveness of sexual violence in conflict is drawn from the exploitation of the hierarchical gender order. Sexual violence in war serves material gains, the motivations or causes of which are best understood in relation to hegemonic masculinity and the international political economy of contemporary conflicts.

Male rape as a weapon of war

Sexual violence is perpetrated against men and boys in almost every conflict in which sexual violence features (Sivakumaran 2007; Russell 2008), but it remains significantly underreported and under analysed. During the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, rape and forms of sexual torture were perpetrated against men, often in prison camps (Sivakumaran 2010). Sexual violence against men featured in many of the political conflicts in Latin America (Leiby 2006) and in the 'Arab Spring' movements of Libya and Syria (Women Under Siege, n.d.) as well as the ethno-nationalist conflicts of Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, and Chechnya (Eriksson 2011, 172). In Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Rwanda, men have been raped as part of the civil conflicts of each of these countries (Agger 1989; Skjelsbaek 2001; Sivakumaran 2007; Stemple 2010). In South Sudan, boys have been held as slaves and faced sexual abuse and gang rape at the hands of government soldiers (Stemple 2010).

The ongoing crisis of sexual violence in eastern Congo has provided the context for most of the active attention to sexual violence as a weapon of war. A study conducted by Johnson *et al*. (2010) found that 23.6 per cent of men in the region had experienced sexual violence, of which 64.5 per cent was conflict-associated. In Congo, the vast majority (93 per cent) of perpetrators were men. Female perpetrators were almost exclusively combatants, as well. The majority of survivors reported symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and major depression, and 23 per cent had attempted suicide (Johnson *et al*. 2010). Despite the challenges that face male victims in contexts like the DRC, Save the Children estimates that men and boys constitute up to 10 per cent of survivors who seek treatment for sexual abuse in the context of this ongoing conflict.

Sexual violence against men and boys can take many forms. The most common patterns include: forcing a man or boy to participate in (often humiliating) sexual acts; inflicting harm or damage to the genitals; and, inflicting such harm or damage to the genitals as to prevent future reproduction (Agger 1989; Sivakumaran 2007; Russell 2007; Lewis 2009). Evidence suggests that males are most likely to experience sexual violence while in detention as a form of torture, or forced to commit sexual acts at checkpoints or during home raids for the purpose of humiliating the victims and demonstrating the perpetrator's power and virility over the victim(s). Detention centres are a particularly dangerous place for men, where between 50% and 80% of male torture survivors have reported sexual violence while in detention (Lunde and Ortmann 1990; Meana

1995; Peel 1998). This violence commonly is a form of torture for interrogation and punitive purposes, including electrocution, beatings, mutilations, penetration, and forced performance of sexual acts (Bastick *et al.* 2007).

As a result of their victimisation, men and boys display a range of physical and psychological consequences, including physical damage to the rectum and genitalia, the transmission of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections, damage to reproductive capacity, and sexual dysfunction (UN OCHA 2008). Psychological consequences of sexual violence against men include depression, thoughts of suicide, substance abuse, anxiety disorders, and post-traumatic stress disorder (Monk-Turner and Light 2010; Ratner *et al.* 2003). Victims often experience demoralisation (Russell 2007), emasculation (Sivakumaran 2007); feminisation (Sivakumaran 2007), and stigmatisation (Doherty and Anderson 2004) as a result of their experiences of sexual violence.

Social consequences also accrue for victims of sexual violence and can exacerbate the physical and psychological effects for the abused. Male victims often find it difficult to acknowledge or discuss their experience of abuse, finding their status as victim of sexual assault incompatible with their ideas of masculinity (Peel *et al.* 2000). Homosexuality is still stigmatised in many countries around the world, and victims may fear being accused of homosexuality or seen as insufficiently masculine (Monk-Turner and Light 2010). Those who do disclose their abuse often face stigmatisation and ostracism from their communities and are often blamed for their abuse. These factors pose a significant barrier to male victims reporting this violence, and have contributed to the ongoing culture of silence around sexual violence perpetrated against men and boys in times of conflict.

The dire individual and social consequences of this violence are the result of the meaning imbued in this violence through the exploitation of social constructions of masculinity. Sexual violence serves to feminise the victim and assert the power and superior masculinity of the perpetrator. In forcibly overpowering the male victim, the perpetrator is able to humiliate the victim and strip him of his manhood, reducing him to the same status as women or homosexual men in the gender hierarchy, and thus subordinate to the perpetrator and other 'real' men. In this way, sexual violence is useful for delineating between 'man' and 'other,' with anything not approximating the social ideals of masculinity falling in the latter category (including: women, children, and homosexuals) (Morgen 2011).

Understanding sexual violence in war

From this perspective, it is possible to align instances of sexual abuse perpetrated against male victims during times of conflict with those experienced by women. Sexual violence must be understood as *political*. We have learned from the philosophies of Hegel, Engels, and Marx that violence is a structure, a "fundamental force in the framework of the ordinary world and in the multiple processes of that world" (Lawrence and Karim 2007, 5), and as such, represents an expression of power (Davis 2008). All forms of violence, including sexual violence, are instrumental in that they are a coercive mechanism by which to exert or enforce power. Sexual violence, then, is not an end in itself, but a means to an end and must be understood in relation to the material gains garnered from its use.

While on the individual level sexual violence is often perpetrated as an exertion of power of one individual over another, when considered systematically, this form of violence represents an institutional and structural power that serves to (re)construct hierarchical gender political, social, economic, and cultural relations. It is a form of gender-based violence, which I define as *violence targeted at victims for the purpose of enforcing the gender hierarchy*. I am employing here R.W. Connell's (1987, 1995) concept of gender hierarchy, which is a means of social stratification evident across the globe that privileges a particular form of masculinity as superior and therefore dominant (see Figure 10-1). As such, all other forms of masculinity and all forms of femininity are subordinated to the hegemonic masculinity (Courtenay 2000). In the dominant human rights discourse, understandings of gender-based violence predominantly focus on violence perpetrated against women and girls. My definition of gender-based violence, however, enables us to understand and account for the use of sexual violence against men and boys as serving the same political function as gender-based violence against women and girls.

Sexual violence is an effective instrument because it works across different levels of gender construction, producing dividends not only in the construction of individual gender identity, but also in terms of social-cultural constructions of gender, and structural reproduction of material pay-offs on the basis of one's position on the gender hierarchy. On the individual level, perpetrators describe the personal sense of power or catharsis achieved by perpetrating sexual violence, noting a feeling of powerlessness or deprivation as the primary motivation for their actions (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009). On the social-cultural level, the use of sexual violence exploits cultural constructions of gender norms. Perpetrated against women and children, it demonstrates the inability of

the men associated with the victim to fulfil their cultural roles as protectors and serves to humiliate and emasculate the men associated with the victim. Perpetrated against men, sexual violence feminises the victim and speaks to cultural taboos of homosexuality and inferior masculinity.

Fig. 10-1: Gender hierarchy
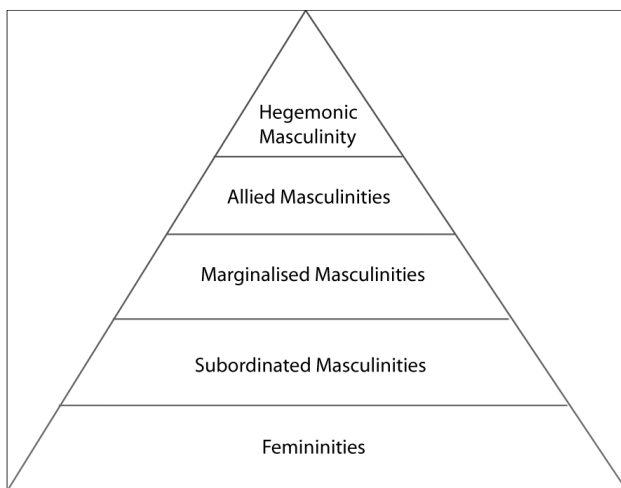
On the structural level, the ability of the perpetrator to demonstrate superior masculinity through physically overpowering his victims both reinforces hierarchical gender relations and often results in material dividends, such as increased status, esteem, and even wealth (Meger 2012). Each of these achievements at the individual, social-cultural, or structural level need not be overtly conscious nor exclusive of the benefits derived at the other levels of gender construction. Rather, they often work in tandem to achieve both the implicit and explicit goals of the perpetrator and residual dividends that come with dominating the gender hierarchy. Existing analyses on sexual violence in war tend to privilege either the individual construction of gender and how sexual violence is justified by individual perpetrators in terms of their individual sense of masculinity, or focus on the meaning of sexual violence within a particular social-cultural context. Such exclusive focus can make sexual violence against men and boys confounding and lead to conclusions that this violence is "no longer a gender issue," as stated by UN SRSG-SV, Zainab Bangura.

The (gendered) political economy of sexual violence in conflict

Undergirding the political use of gender-based violence is the international structure of patriarchy that produces a hierarchical social order in which hegemonic masculinity is pre-eminent. Under patriarchy, power and social value are disproportionately endowed upon men who approximate ideals of hegemonic masculinity at the expense of men who do not as nearly approximate these ideals and at the expense of women as a whole. Patriarchy is experienced by women and subordinated men in the systematic deprivation of power, resources, and respect and the socialisation of acceptance of this subordination (Mahoney 1994, 442).

However, not all men are equally powerful. Thus, employing the theory of hegemony to understanding uneven power relations between genders enables us to examine the "persistence presence of accumulations of power and powerful resources by certain men, the doing of power and dominance in many men's practices, and the pervasive association of the social category of men with power" (Hearn 2004, 51). Gender hegemony is achieved not solely through coercion, but, as Gramsci noted, is more effective through the socialization of consent amongst the subalterns (subordinated genders). As Donaldson (1993, 645) describes,

The ability to impose a definition of the situation, to set the terms in which events are understood and issues discussed, to formulate ideals and define morality is an essential part of the process. Hegemony involves persuasion of the greater part of the population, particularly through the media, and the organisation of social institutions in ways that appear 'natural', 'ordinary', 'normal'.

As with the political and economic order, the hegemonic gender order is supported not only by the power of hegemonic masculinity, but also through its relationship with complicit, subordinated, and marginalized gender categories. Varieties in types of masculinities exist, which developed from the varied experiences of men depending on their class, culture, or sexual orientation. The most valued, and thus hegemonic, form of masculinity, however, associates aggression and violence (and in the process, misogyny) with being a man. 'Hegemonic masculinity' represents an idealized image of man as a person who acts aggressively, takes risks, is independent, sexually virile, unemotionally rational and heterosexual (Connell 1995).

The construction of a hegemonic ideal of masculinity necessitates a foil, or 'other', against which value can be assessed, and whose masculinity can be problematized. Thus, the hegemonic ideal and

subaltern categories emerge simultaneously through "mutual but unequal interaction in a gendered social and economic order" (Kimmel 2005, 415). And yet, despite the fact that not all men fulfil the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, the majority of men still derive benefit from the system of hegemony through what Connell calls the 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell 1995, 79)–that is, that the gendered global economic and political order privileges men and disproportionately has negative impacts on women (Kimmel 2005, 415). While the dividend is often expressed in terms of value, prestige and power, it is also material and provides economic benefit to those gender groups benefiting from the patriarchal dividend.

The hegemonic gender order is 'naturalized' through global institutions and processes of neoliberal globalization. When consensual forms of reinforcing the power of hegemonic masculinity fail or are challenged by marginalized gender categories, domination can be maintained through the use of force, both formally organized (i.e., through corporate or military violence) and individualized (i.e., through domestic violence and violence perpetrated against women and subordinate and/or marginalized men) (Hearn 2004, 65). Men marginalized from deriving benefit from the hegemonic gender, political, and economic order may seek avenues of resisting this hegemony. These avenues for resistance have often been expressed through the use of violence not only in response to the oppressive hegemonic order, but also as a means of accessing alternative modes of asserting their masculinity and re-establishing patriarchy to their benefit (Kimmel 2005, 416). Though Kimmel's examination of the use of violence as a means for marginalized men to challenge the hegemonic political, economic and gender order focuses on the rise of right-wing militias in core states and fundamentalist terror organizations in Islamic countries, the same dynamic can be witnessed in contemporary civil wars, wherein "the collapse of certain public patriarchal entitlements led to a virulent and violent effort to replace them with others" (Kimmel 2005, 428).

Thus, what we see developing in many contemporary civil wars is the use of conflict as a means to "reclaim economic autonomy, to reassert political control, and to revive traditional domestic dominance" (Kimmel 2005, 416) all through masculinist terms and as a means of restoring one's patriarchal privilege. The use of war in pursuit of these agendas can be understood as one of the "new ways in which masculine entitlement has become gendered rage" (Kimmel 2005, 416). Though Kimmel limits his analysis of the effects of globalization on masculinities in the Global South to understanding the rise of Islamic terrorist groups, I believe this dynamic can also aid in our understanding of the causes of grievance and

greed in contemporary civil wars.

Because patriarchy is a system that both rewards and is reinforced by dominance, aggression, and violence, it is a system that frequently manifests in war, imperialism, and conquest over 'inferior' or subordinate groups. Patriarchy and warfare are thus mutually constitutive and reinforcing (Mies 2006). The power imbalances of conflict situations both exploit and reinforce hierarchical gender relations. The use of sexual violence as a weapon of war exploits the social constructions of gender in order to affirm the dominant position of the perpetrator (that is, re-assert his own masculine superiority). In the context of war, however, it also takes on the role of serving the larger political interests of the *group* employing sexual violence.

Violence in conflict is never chaotic or disordered. This is true of sexual violence, as well. Though contemporary conflicts may affect the appearance of anarchy, they are better understood as "a way of creating an alternative system of profit, power and even protection," (Keen 1998, 11) resulting in the emergence of new forms of political legitimacy, access to and rights to accessing wealth, as well as means of accumulating and distributing goods.

Sexual violence, as with all violence perpetrated in this conflict, has been employed by combatants:

> for their own profit, in order to negotiate and improve their social status. In this sense, violent practices have a political value because they manifest a will to undermine the social order, promoting at the same time new forms of organization. (Jourdan 2005, 162)

These new forms of organization are based on shadow networks of resource exploitation, of which violence has become an intrinsic part because it provides competing factions with the cover and/or power necessary to access the valuable commodity. Sexual violence has proven to be an effective method of maintaining a generalized state of violence and terror, under the cloak of which armed groups are free to pursue their economic agendas.

Conclusion

Literature on masculinities has provided us with the analytical tools to understand the actual hegemonic relationship between genders. The patriarchal gender order has been naturalized and socialized through a number of processes, including global institutions and processes of neoliberal globalization, that have seen men's value closely tied to their

ability to achieve economic independence and success. However, when these 'consensual' methods of maintaining the gender hierarchy are insufficient or are challenged by subordinated gender categories (i.e.: traditionally 'powerful' men experience disempowerment through loss of conventional forms of wage-earning or traditional, cultural sources of power through, for example, campaigns of women's rights or women's entry into the workforce), domination can be reasserted forcibly, either in an collective and organized manner (such as raising an army and waging war) or individually in interpersonal relations through the use of violence (Hearn 2004, 65).

This relationship between genders can help us to further understand, therefore, the experience of emasculation or powerlessness marginalized and subordinated men may feel as a result of processes of globalization, as well as the decision made by men (and some women) of these categories to look to militarized forms of masculinity to reassert or acquire political and economic capital otherwise unavailable to them.

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PART III:

HEALTH

CHAPTER ELEVEN

INVOLVING MEN IN REPRODUCTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES: AN INDONESIAN MUSLIM CONTEXT

RACHMAD HIDAYAT

Reproductive health is a deeply gendered issue (Fathalla 2003, 26); a woman's state of health is greatly affected by what a man does and what he believes about being a man. In Indonesia, the absence of men's involvement in reproductive roles and responsibilities leads to the neglect of women's reproductive rights and needs, creates barriers for women to access health services, and worsens women's vulnerable health (Hakimi 1989, 3). The most common form of men's absence is lack of support when women face the hardest reproduction experiences such as pregnancy and giving birth. Men's insensitivity also limits women's access to the health care they need during that critical period. Women are also frequently found to bear reproductive roles and responsibilities by themselves. The gender order in the society has established this practice for a long time, even after increases in men's involvement (Widyantoro 2001,15). Menstruation, pregnancy, labour, breast-feeding and certain reproductive roles are perceived as women's domains and responsibility from which men must keep away. For women who also take paid jobs, their situations are harder. These conditions inhibit women from gaining strategic access to various fields such as education, finance, research or politics. It is very difficult for women to access education, finance, decision-making, and control of public policy as men do while at the same time they have to focus on their bodies (Chang 2000, 30). Moreover, access to social, economic, and health care services determines the welfare of reproductive health, and this access is under men's authority. This domination happens in domestic and public situations. Men also control religious discourses on gender that in one way or the other affect women.

These conditions provide a very strong reason for the need for men to

be involved in reproductive responsibility. Addressing a Muslim context in Indonesia, this chapter suggests strategies and practices by which men could be involved in reproductive responsibility and reproductive health matters. It also discusses different phases of women's reproductive experiences through which these strategies and practices can be employed. There are two arguments regarding strategies and practices. Firstly, men's practices in their roles as partners have impacts on women's state of health in various ways. Secondly, areas of reproductive responsibility that require men's concern and involvement are of a wide range, from the simplest to roles that require specific knowledge, skills and strong commitment.

The discussion is based on a study which is a part of a larger project aiming at promoting men's involvement in reproductive health and equal partnership in the predominantly Muslim city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The study examined issues related to the absence of men in reproductive roles, the impact of this absence on women's health, its contributing factors, and its theological grounding. Furthermore, it also explored cultural strategies in promoting men's involvement in reproductive health in communities. This is the first study that addresses men, reproductive health and Islam in the Indonesian context. The study focuses in particular on heterosexual men.

I begin the chapter by briefly elaborating about the study involved. I then discuss strategies for promoting men's involvement in reproductive health, and explore how these strategies and practices can be applied in different phases of women's reproductive experiences. I will also look at contributing factors amongst Indonesian Muslims that hinder men from taking reproductive responsibilities.

Research and participants

The research consisted of a small-scale survey, semi-unstructured interviews, and a group discussion undertaken in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.[1] The survey collected opinions from those working directly with women and Muslim communities, in the areas of women's issues, health and

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Islam, regarding the prospect of engaging men in reproductive health and reproductive responsibility among Muslim families. The questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions asking participants to respond to issues associated with the absence of men's involvement in reproductive responsibility and men's position in reproductive activities and reproductive health. Nineteen of fifty participants responding to the survey also participated in the individual interviews. At a later stage, participants were asked about their opinions on issues arising out from the survey which included women's sexual and reproductive rights, men's position in cases of abortions and domestic violence, fathering and contraceptive use among Muslim men. The interviews produced substantial materials for framing strategies to involve men in reproductive responsibility and health. However, they also documented contrasting opinions among participants on some key issues including men's position in abortion, fathering, contraceptive use among men, and sexual abuse against wives. The research invited seven participants to participate in a group discussion, in order to seek more adequate ground to address these issues and identify applicable strategies for involving men in reproductive health.

The participants included obstetricians, midwives, lawyers providing legal aid for women, counsellors for female victims of domestic violence, educators for women and gender sensitivity, community educators in reproductive health, leaders of women's Islamic organisations, and researchers on women's issues in Muslim communities. Of the 50 participants, twenty-nine were female and twenty-one male, all were Muslims, and all had at least five years of experience in their fields.

Six categories of roles

Most participants indicated that reproductive health is more than a physical or biological matter; rather it also involves psychological, social, cultural, political and spiritual aspects. This is true for men's and women's reproductive health circumstances. However, since only women experience what are considered to be the major reproductive cycles, pregnancy and menstruation, reproductive health is consequently seen in many communities as an exclusively female issue. This makes women's reproductive situation a more complex issue than men's. Indonesian society's gender order contributes to that complexity. In that situation, what can a man do to help his partner when she is undergoing her reproductive experiences? Participants' responses provided a wide range of activities, attitudes and roles through which a man as a partner could involve himself in reproductive duty and therefore providing help and

support for his wife. Based on the intentions, these responses can be grouped into six categories of roles that I propose as strategies for men's involvement in reproductive responsibility. This is to suggest that reproductive responsibility is also men's responsibility.

The six categories are as follows:

Supporting roles. A man plays a supporting role when he provides help, ease and support to his wife, and accompanies her in undergoing her reproductive cycle and dealing with any problems related to it. This category includes giving attention, understanding, and showing empathy about women's situation; giving help in health care activities; creating comfortable situations, showing positive self-attitude and behaviour, and helping in some light duties at home. One participant said, "I think the minimal involvement is the empathy. To understand that menstruation is painful is already a form of involvement."

Providing roles. In this strategy, a man can takes a reproductive role by providing his wife's needs in preparing for or undergoing reproductive period. This includes providing supporting social environmental and financial sources for health care, fulfilling nutritional needs for the wife and baby, and providing information related to reproductive health care.

Substituting roles. This strategy could be practiced by a man taking household duties which are traditionally regarded as women's jobs when his wife needs a full rest as an effect of her reproductive cycle, focuses on taking care of a baby or babies, or recovers from a serious medical procedure. This means that the woman is no longer the sole actor here, and the man also takes a prominent role in working to reduce reproduction risks. In a society with a strong gender ideology, these roles do not necessarily require crucially permanent change in gendered division of labour at home. It is rather the case that in such situation one would need some flexibility to allow the man performing tasks associated with womanhood in certain reproductive period experienced by the wife.

Sharing roles. In this category men are asked to participate in dialogue and communication with their wives with the aim of achieving mutual understanding and interests regarding to reproductive affairs. Many participants stressed the importance of these roles, noticing that many Muslim men have inadequate skill in communication or feel uncomfortable discussing sexual and reproductive issues with their wives. Communication is important in developing mutual understanding, making decisions for family affairs related to sexual life, sharing reproductive roles and responsibilities, determining the number of children and the use of contraception (what device and by whom), choosing health service providers, overcoming highly risk reproductive experiences (especially for

woman), and educating children. This strategy means in particular that a man should not dominate conversation and force his will, but give opportunities to the woman to express her wishes, beliefs, considerations and needs.

Sensitive decision-makers. In a society where men inherit social, cultural and political resources due to their gender, men hold a wide authority in making decision and policies that affect women's reproductive health, both in domestic and public sectors. At home, men are typically the breadwinner and the head of family who make final decisions for many family matters. In public sectors, men are often placed in a position of authority to make policies related to reproductive health. In this strategy, men with their powerful position and authority are asked to consider decisions in their families and society that are sensitive to women's needs and conditions.

Contraception use. All participants agreed that communications campaigns promoting the use of contraceptive devices should not only focus on women but also on men, especially when wives are physically liable to high risk. This role intends to relieve women's burdens and lessen the risks of certain contraceptive methods upon being used by women. Besides managing pregnancy, contraception also protects wives from sexually transmitted infections. Many participants who worked directly with women have encouraged men to use condoms or take vasectomy. Both methods have had negative images in Indonesian society, which leads to unpopularity and rejection. Men do not like condoms because they perceive them as impractical and uncomfortable, while women do not like their husbands going through vasectomy as they fear that this may allow men to have affairs with other women. Vasectomy also is perceived to hurt manhood as it causes a sense of men's virility being taken away.

How can these strategies be applied in addressing women's reproductive situations? Participants' responses regarding men's reproductive roles also can be classified according to three phases of women's reproductive experiences: pre-reproductive activities, reproductive activities, and post-natal. I discuss these areas as follows.

Pre-reproductive phase

This phase covers a period among married couples prior to sexual contact, pregnancy and birth. Some participants suggested that while sex is certainly a motivation for marriage, the main objective of marriage is to build a happy family. Sex could also mean procreation as another motivation of marriage. Few participants, however, stressed that the

reproductive motivation does not have anything to do with the presence of a child in the family. This is because the goal of marriage is not merely to produce offspring. Rather, it is to build a happy family, which can only be obtained by the fulfilment of reproductive health in the family. So happiness and healthiness should be priorities for men and women.

Sharing ideas and communication roles is required to achieve mutual understanding regarding the purpose of marriage and the place of sex and reproduction within this. This communication includes making plans together about the future and what to expect. Men are also expected to show responsibility and commitment to their partners. This is a form of supporting roles. Another form of supporting, as one participant suggested, is men maintaining their health so that they are biologically able to conceive a child. Learn and sharing knowledge with partners on reproductive health also was suggested as a form of supporting roles.

Reproductive phase

This phase includes a period from having sexual contact to giving birth. I will limit the discussion to men's roles in preventing sexual abuse and in pregnancy and birth. Preventing sexual abuse against wives was one of the main concerns among participants. Many Muslims still believe that it is a woman's obligation to making sure that her husband is sexually satisfied. This belief leads to many cases of sexual abuse, and the negligence of women's sexual rights to the point where women do not believe that they have such right, while Islam guarantee that rights (Engineer 1992, 63). One participants reported, "In our community, there are women who didn't know what orgasm feels like even though they already have three or four children. There are those who never know it their whole life." This is because men dominated the practice of sexual intercourse at home. Responding to this situation, communication and sharing regarding sexual affairs between husband and wives are vital. Men are also asked to be supportive, understood women's sexual rights, needs and conditions, and to negotiate with women regarding these. Safe sex also was suggested to prevent sexually transmitted infection.

Another crucial reproductive experience is giving birth. Again, men can perform supporting roles. The simplest of these is accompanying women to visit health services. Participants who worked as obstetricians and midwives admitted that men's presence in such services, including during delivery, still is very rare. There was strong association between the services and women's practice. As one participant complained, "Many

people still associate mother and baby health centre with *arisan²*, the word itself is seen as related exclusively to women. This actually can prevent prospective fathers from knowing about women's reproductive problems." A religious approach was also suggested to encourage men to support women in the critical period during delivery. One participant said, "In Islam, it (women delivering a baby) is a form of *jihad³*. When a woman is going into labour, the probability of death is very high, especially in Indonesia, right? So, men's support is very much needed". Men are also encouraged to perform sharing and communication roles to gain an understanding of women's needs. For women, the impacts of men's support during labour and birth can be both emotional and spiritual.

Another strategy that needs to be performed during critical reproductive experience is substituting roles. In practical, men can take housework normally done by their wives. This strategy can also mean sharing responsibilities that requires men to take more active roles at home in order to reduce health risks among women. Again, this strategy creates a different image of men's practice in communities. One male participant shared his experiences while performing this role: "They saw me as very low when doing laundry, when in fact I didn't feel that way."

Post-natal

Men's involvement in the reproductive health in the post-natal phase can be directed to the wife and the newborn baby. For the wife, men's roles should be focused on in helping the mother of the baby in the process of recovery. This can be done by supporting roles, providing roles, and substituting roles. To create a comfortable environment at home, making sure the wife has enough rest and adequate nutrition (or medicine if she needs it) is a very important task. Also very important is supporting the wife in breastfeeding. Many participants suggested that men should be able to prevent their wives from doing physically heavy work in order to help the recovery. Men's support should also address the emotional aspects of new mothering. Participants underlined the importance of giving moral support to the wife to make her feel important. One female participant recalled her experience after delivery: "The women themselves

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² A group of people organise a regular meeting to deposit certain amount of money to be revolved among the members in every meeting; commonly conducted by women.
³ An ethical concept in Islam which means to apply one self, to act sincerely, and to struggle hard for a good intention.

also need to be recovered. In my experience, the biggest psychological support comes from her husband."

Fathering is another important area for men to address after the delivery. All participants agree that baby care is part of men's responsibility. This includes wake in the middle of the night to care for the newborn baby. One participant stated, "When a wife needs to stay awake at night to take care of the baby, the husband should take it over. Mothers who are in the process of recovery shouldn't be allowed to take care of their babies by themselves." Many men do involve themselves in baby care in different ways. But this role primarily is taken in spare time and is considered additional to men's responsibility. Responding to this practice, a few participants argued that baby care should be taken imperatively and consistently by the man because the responsibility falls on him as a father rather than because of compassion. Religions have an important position to play in introducing this responsibility. A common issue regarding men and newborn babies is men's skills in dealing with babies–lack of these has been a reason to not be involved in baby care. A few female participants insisted that women also have trouble in handling newborn babies initially, but they gain knowledge because they have to. One of the participants stated, "Women who get pregnant for the first time were also inexperienced [in giving birth]. They were able to give birth because they had strong motivation." In the same way, men also are required to learn the knowledge and skill in baby care as something they have to perform.

Reproductive responsibility as men's practices

The strategies of men's involvement in reproductive responsibility discussed here are not new for men in the Indonesian context. Many men have to perform at least one of these in one or another way. However, their practice does not always gain cultural and social support as these do not go along with widely accepted social norms about men's practice. Performing these strategies also requires the introduction of some new ideas about performing masculinity. The link between men and reproductive matters itself is very weak in society; men are not supposed to be involved in areas that are deeply considered to be feminine. Therefore, long term efforts to introduce reproductive roles as men's practices are absolutely necessary. What is more, this also requires the introduction of a different idea of husband and wife relationships among Muslim families that allow more equal relationships to take place.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

RISKY MASCULINITIES: EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUNG MEN, HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY, AND RISKY PRACTICE

ADAM ROGAN

The problem of risk-taking amongst young men has been recognised as a significant issue within the contemporary social order. Young men's engagement in a wide range of risky practices including risky drinking, illicit drug use, dangerous driving, unsafe sexual practices, and acts of violence, has been identified as having substantial negative impacts not only upon young men themselves, but also on other individuals and across wider society. Research consistently indicates that young men are the predominant risk-takers in society, participating in a disproportionately greater quantity of risky practices more frequently and to a greater extent than all other demographics (ABS 2008; 2009; 2012; AIHW 2011). Young men's consistent over-representation in risk-taking suggests that gender is a factor that must be considered, and that notions of masculinity may play a significant role in contributing to the widespread engagement of young men in risky practices. This chapter centres on a qualitative examination of the ways in which young men use risky practices to express a form of masculinity that is in alignment with hegemonic masculinity. Drawing on a series of focus groups and interviews conducted with young Australian men, this chapter examines the ways in which young men use two specific risky practices, risky drinking and public violence, to establish and maintain gendered identities that align with a dominant hegemonic ideal. The aim of this research is to explore the relationship between young men's engagement in risky practices, defined as those behaviours, activities, or practices which are likely to cause harm or injury or increase the likelihood of harm or injury for an individual or individuals, and the

influence of hegemonic masculinity in their expression of masculine identities. More specifically, this chapter focuses on the ways in which young men's engagement in risky drinking and public violence contributes to reinforcing and maintaining gender inequalities within existing gender systems. This critical examination of young men's understandings of risky practice and how notions of masculinity relate to such practices may shed some light on how gender-based inequalities are enacted among young men, and across the gender system as a whole.

Hegemonic masculinity: cultural, political, and social

The concept of hegemonic masculinity suggests that there exists a legitimate and ideal form of masculinity within a given social order that is positioned as dominant over women and all other forms of masculinities. The concept emerged from the theoretical work of Connell (1987; 1995) and opened up new ways in which to critically analyse the power dynamics at play within the gender order. Over the years as research on the topic has expanded, the term has become somewhat ambiguous and has been criticised for being used in ways which are confusing and contradictory, slipping between various meanings and interpretations (Beasley 2008; Demetriou 2001; Flood 2002; Hearn 2004; Petersen 2003). In light of these criticisms, the need to be more precise when it comes to defining hegemonic masculinity, its multiple usages, and the intersections between them has become apparent. With this in mind, this chapter will define hegemonic masculinity as having three distinct yet theoretically interconnected components; a cultural component; a political component; and a social component. Together, these three mechanisms of hegemonic masculinity operate simultaneously to ensure the continued legitimisation and authorisation of inequalities within the gender order.

The first and perhaps the most commonly referenced component of hegemonic masculinity is cultural. Hegemonic masculinity often is referred to as a cultural ideal, a model of masculinity that is culturally revered and idealised as being the most authentic and legitimate form of masculinity within a given social and historical context. The hegemonic form of masculinity sits atop the gender hierarchy as the currently accepted male ideal that presides over all other forms of masculinity, and also women. According to Howson (2006, 3-4), this form of masculinity acts as a kind of cultural benchmark that represents the masculine character to which all men are expected to aspire, and by which all men are measured and held accountable. Although hegemonic masculinity represents the cultural benchmark for masculine practice, its defining

characteristics are not always the most common or the most comfortable for men to identify with at the everyday level (Connell 2000, 11; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 832; Hearn 2012, 594). The maintenance and expansion of hegemonic masculinity therefore requires that these idealised characteristics remain culturally legitimate and desired. The legitimacy of hegemonic masculinity is achieved through generating aspiration and desire within men to align themselves with the hegemonic ideal (see Howson 2014, 26) with any deviations or departures from the legitimate hegemonic characteristics perceived as a failure and a lack of authentic masculinity.

Whilst it is certainly cultural, hegemonic masculinity is ultimately and most importantly political; a way of obtaining and maintaining control of systems of gender and exercising power and domination over subordinate groups. The recognition of hegemonic masculinity as political is crucial to the understanding of how one configuration of masculinity can establish dominance within a given gender order, and also how it maintains and reproduces this power. According to Connell's (1995, 77) original definition, hegemonic masculinity can be understood as the configuration of gender practice that ensures the 'legitimacy of patriarchy' and the continued domination of men and the subordination of women in society. Hegemonic masculinity therefore describes a gender system in which one form of masculinity is positioned as dominant and legitimate, and thus exercises power and authority over women and all other forms of masculinity in society. Imperative to these understandings of hegemonic masculinity is Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony, where it is the balance of legitimacy and power, that is, consent (cultural) and coercion (political), which enables true hegemonic authority to be established. According to Bocock (1986, 63), hegemony occurs "When the intellectual, moral and philosophical leadership provided by the ruling class or alliance of class fractions successfully achieves its objective of providing the fundamental outlook of the whole society."

Within the gender matrix, hegemonic masculinity is established when a dominant masculine ideology gains legitimacy through the persuasion of the greater part of the population, through social institutions, social practices, cultural norms and values, convincing the wider society that hegemonic masculinity represents the legitimate masculine ideal. Therefore, whilst it involves cultural ideals of masculinity, hegemonic masculinity ultimately refers to a gender system that ensures the overall domination of men over women, and of some men over other men, within social relations and structures; a system that becomes so embedded within social institutions and the fabric of society that it appears natural and

normal for hegemonic masculinity to be reinforced and maintained.

Furthermore, whilst hegemonic masculinity certainly involves cultural legitimacy and political authority, it also always refers back to the social– the actual configurations of practice embodied and enacted by men. If we return to the essence of Connell's original theorisation, we see that the body has always been central to ideas regarding hegemonic masculinity. In line with social constructivist perspectives, gender is always something that is produced, performed, and enacted in everyday social interactions (Butler 1990; West and Zimmerman 1987). Hence for Connell (1995, 71), 'gender is social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, it is not social practice reduced to the body'. Furthermore, as Hearn (2004, 59) rightly argues, a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of hegemonic masculinity requires a shift from a focus on masculinity to a focus on the practices and understandings of men themselves. So whilst it is undoubtedly important to examine the broader macro nature of hegemonic masculinity as it plays out within existing gender systems, it is imperative to do so in ways that acknowledge the actual configurations of masculine practice as expressed in the lives of actual men.

Young men, risky practices and hegemonic masculinity

The research presented in this chapter is drawn from a series of focus groups and in-depth interviews conducted with a strategic and purposive sample (Mason 2002, 123) of twenty-eight young men in the city of Wollongong, Australia. The research sample was identified as young Australian men aged 18 to 24 years who regularly engage in two risky practices, risky drinking and public violence. Risky drinking was defined as a pattern of alcohol consumption that leads to high intoxication and increases the likelihood of alcohol-related harm or injury. Public violence was defined as the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against another person that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury or death, which takes place in the public domain. The young men were drawn from two key sampling locations, The University of Wollongong, and the Wollongong College of Technical and Further Education (TAFE), with particular attention paid to obtaining a sample population that was diverse in education level and socioeconomic status, with access to significantly different forms of social networks and aspirations. In all, twenty individual interviews and two focus group discussions among a total of thirteen men were conducted in order to investigate the meanings, beliefs, and understandings the young men attribute to risky drinking and public violence, and how their engagement

in these risky practices is shaped and informed by notions of masculinity. At its core, this research was interested in the ways in which young men use risky drinking and public violence to construct masculine identities that are in alignment and complicit with hegemonic masculinity. This chapter focuses on the ways in which young men's engagement in risky drinking and public violence reinforces and maintains gender inequalities within contemporary gender systems. It presents a preliminary analysis of the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and risky practice amongst young men, focusing on the clearly identifiable expressions of hegemonic masculinity whilst subsequent papers will highlight the complexities of this relationship. The data presented in the following analysis will outline some of the key ways in which young men's engagement in risky drinking and public violence contributes to sustaining and strengthening gender inequalities between men and women and among men.

"Man up!" young men and masculine hierarchies

The concept of hegemonic masculinity recognises that there are hierarchies of power and domination within the gender order, not only between men and women, but also among men themselves. At any given time, one form of masculinity is culturally exalted and positioned as dominant over all others. This form of masculinity occupies the hegemonic position in the gender order, residing at the top of the masculine hierarchy which is a hierarchy of power (Connell 1987, 110). In examining young men's engagement in risky drinking and public violence, it becomes apparent that these practices are organised in ways that legitimate some forms of masculine practice, whilst marginalising and subordinating others.

The young men in this study indicate that there are very clear cultural expectations placed on young men when it comes to risky drinking and public violence that dictate what *is*, and what is *not* legitimate masculine practice. When it comes to risky drinking, there appear to be very clear ideas among young men about what is acceptable and not acceptable:

As a man you are expected to drink in certain ways, you're expected to drink more, you're expected to drink for longer, yeah you're expected to stay up longer and drink more. (Jimmy, 23)

If you order cruisers [drinks combining soft drinks and spirits] you're a little bitch. There's definitely drinks that I'd say are more manly, beers or spirits maybe, hard drinks and stuff. So there's manly drinks and girls' drinks for sure, so we give each other banter if you get like a little pussy

drink, everyone knows that. It's like a manly culture sort of thing, you're just like a little bitch, a little pussy, why are you drinking that? Have a beer, man up! Something like that, man up, you gotta be a man. It's everywhere; it's just the way it is. (Stefan, 18)

In a similar fashion, the young men indicate that there are specific cultural expectations placed on young men in terms of how they engage in public violence:

As a man, I think you're expected to get involved in violence. I think there is that expectance, people expect to see you arc up and throw a punch. (Jimmy, 23)

If someone challenges you to a fight, you don't want to be seen as backing down or whatever, you have to respond. If you don't you're just seen as soft I guess. (Tim, 20)

The young men report that those who do not meet these expectations when it comes to risky drinking or public violence often face certain forms of gender policing (Butler 1990), in which their performance of masculinity comes under scrutiny from other men, and also women. These include being labelled a 'pussy', a 'girl', a 'skirt', 'gay', a 'faggot', a 'bitch', a 'soft-cock'; and so on:

Being called a pussy… (It's) being emasculated I suppose, you get teased, you get ribbed, you get drawn on, you get called gay, a pussy, you know, all these anti-masculine terms. They're gendered as female, you're a pussy, you're a vagina, you're a woman, you're a girl. (Lucas, 21)

Like if you're smart enough and you know that you're gonna get hurt from it you're better off probably walking away [from a fight], but they're gonna call you a pussy and a bitch. (Stefan, 18)

What is interesting about these gender policing terminologies is the way in which they relate to subordinate masculinities such as homosexuality and also to femininity. According to the young men, these are labels that are meant to emasculate, or at the very least, act as tools of subordination. To not drink or fight in the appropriate ways and to be labelled in these ways causes significant damage to masculine reputation and results in a loss of masculine status and respect, and ultimately demotion within the masculine hierarchy. Therefore, young men must engage in risky practices in ways that are complicit with dominant cultural ideals in order to distance them from subordinate masculinities and being positioned as weak and inferior.

"Sluts and gangers": young men and the subordination of women

Hegemonic masculinity acts not only to ensure the domination of subordinate and marginalised masculinities, but also the subordination of women. As Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985, 592) note, hegemonic masculinity is centrally concerned with male dominance and female subordination, and involves a specific strategy for the subordination of women. The hegemonic pattern of masculinity asserts a gender order in which men are dominant over women, which in turn ensures the continuation of patriarchal ideologies within society (Connell 1995, 77). In talking to young men about their engagement in risky drinking and public violence, it becomes apparent that these practices are clearly organised in gendered ways that contribute to the continued subordination of women and dominance of men in society.

The young men report significant differences in the ways in which men and women are required to act when it comes to engaging in risky practices. The discussions reveal that women are expected to act in certain ways when it comes to risky drinking and public violence, ways that are different to men. For the young men in this study, a woman is expected to act feminine, to act in a more '*controlled*' and '*ladylike*' manner. To be appropriately feminine requires refraining from drinking to excess, losing control, and to engaging in fighting:

> It's a turn off for me when (women) get drunk and get out of control, and it's like, sort of a turn off when they order a beer at the bar. I dunno I just don't like it. I can't have my girlfriend or potential girlfriend lying on the footpath… I think girls should hold themselves in an appropriate way. Being in that uncontrollable state where the girl's skirt is up because she's lying on the footpath, it's just gross, it's not ladylike. (Aaron, 23)

> It's very unladylike, if you will, for a girl to be involved in a fight… at the end of the day it's ugly, fighting is ugly, except that when it's a guy that's fighting it's seen as tough and manly, whereas when a girl fights everyone just kinda goes, really? (Lucas, 21)

The gendered expectations that women face in regards to risky drinking and public violence place them in a position that is inferior and subordinate to men. Risk-taking cultures are places where patriarchal ideologies about men and women are perpetuated and ensured through men's configuration of gender practice. For example, the young men acknowledge that women are subject to consistent sexual objectification and are constantly monitored and assessed according to how they dress,

how they act, and how they relate to men. For many of the young men, women are primarily present for sexual reasons–to be looked at, to be flirted with, and to provide opportunities for sexual activity and conquest. Women are expected to smile, be flirtatious, and to be sexually available, however they must never be too sexually agentic, promiscuous, or dress inappropriately. If women do not act within the realms of 'acceptable' female behaviour, they are judged harshly and face strong gender policing from men, and also other women. The young men refer to these women as 'sluts', 'slags', 'gronks', a derogatory term used to refer to a person who is perceived as repulsive, immoral, and of a lower-class demographic, or 'gangers', a term that refers to a woman perceived to be open to potential sexual activity with multiple partners, associated with the term 'gang bang' referring to group sexual activity.

> I feel like guys in a way like insulting women that are like that. Like, I dunno, I've seen a lot of guys that as soon as a girl does something that he doesn't like, he'll just call her a slut. (Thomas, 19)

Interestingly, some young men approve of women acting outside of the realms of acceptable feminine behaviour as it allows them to perceive women in certain ways, ways that relate to female oppression and subordination:

> We call 'em gangers, sluts, anything like that. Yeah it's encouraged when we go out. I like to see that when I'm drunk, sluts and gangers… it just means they're out there to fuck basically, they're a ganger, you see 'em with their fucking skirts up and all that sorta stuff, falling over and getting heaps maggot [very drunk], they're fucking gangers, we like that, we love it. (Stefan, 18)

Again, what we see in the data is that young men internalise a kind of anti-feminine hostility, in which feminised terminologies such as 'pussy', "bitch', 'girl' and 'skirt' are used to emasculate and undermine forms of masculine practice that do not meet hegemonic standards. Whilst these terms are clearly used to devalue certain practices among men, they also act to reinforce and sustain gender inequalities that position women as inferior and subordinate to men. Young men also use terms associated with homosexuality to achieve the same result, with terms such as 'gay', 'faggot', 'poonce', and 'queer' used to refer to subordinate forms of masculinity that are more closely aligned with femininity.

"Bros before hos": young men and male homosociality

This research finds that young men's engagement in risky drinking and public violence is organised in highly homosocial ways, that is, practiced primarily in the company of other men. The young men in this study reported operating primarily in groups ranging from three to fifteen or more other men. Male homosociality–the non-sexual interpersonal bonds and relationships formed between men–has been identified as playing a distinct role in the lives of men, particularly in relation to hegemonic masculinity (Bird 1996, 121; Flood 2008, 341). Male homosocial relationships facilitate the understandings between men of what does and does not constitute authentic masculinity, and assist in maintaining a hegemonic ideal to which men hold each other accountable. As Kimmel (1994, 128) notes, masculinity is homosocially enacted by men with manhood being practiced and performed in front of and authenticated by other men. As Lucas states, "Guys roll in packs. It's all about having fun with your mates, but it's also nice to know that when you're out you've got two blokes that will have your back." (Lucas, 21)

Male homosociality has been recognised as being a strong contributing factor in the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity and the perpetuation of gender inequalities in society (Bird 1996, 121). What this data reveals is that the homosocial relationships formed between young men when engaging in risky practices act not only to bring groups of young men closer together, but also to exclude women and other men deemed inferior. Within male homosocial groups, women are perceived as subservient to men and often perceived only as objects of sexual objectification: "There is a difference when I drink with guys and when I drink with girls–I'm not trying to sleep with any of the guys." (Lucas, 21)

Although women may be present during risky drinking or public violence, young men prefer to engage in these practices together, and as such women are often excluded from the masculine group:

> When the girls are around, you've gotta act a bit more–you can't be as nuts, you've gotta be a bit more calm. (Steve, 19)

> When there's no girls around, like I said before, everyone is just having a good time, taking the piss out of each other and having a laugh. I definitely prefer it when girls aren't around, just because us boys kind of just have a joke and that, it's good. (Jake, 19)

The homosocial nature of risky practice among men also appears to involve the prioritising of male friendships over women, in which men put

'the guys' before 'the girls':

> I guess like you'd be expected, like it would be sort of looked down upon
> by guys if you were to choose something over drinking with the guys, like
> priorities , like the whole bros before hos [whores] sort of thing. That'd be
> a part of it; you'd be expected to drink with the boys. (Beau, 18)

Homosocial environments provide a place for men to perform legitimate masculinity; a place to prove their masculine worth, to demonstrate masculine superiority, and to have their masculinity validated by other men. They also provide a place for men to scrutinise the masculine performance of others, to reward the legitimate masculine practice of some whilst punishing the illegitimate masculine practice of others. In a similar way to previous research on male homosocial interactions (Bird 1996; Flood 2008; Peralta 2007; West 2001), the engagement in risky practice with other men is seen as highly important amongst the participants. Men who do not live up to shared masculine ideals in homosocial settings ultimately face slippage within male group standings and group exclusion.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a preliminary analysis of the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and risky practice amongst young men. It has explored some of the ways in which young men's participation in two risky practices, risky drinking and public violence, acts to legitimate and sustain existing gender inequalities and patterns of male power and dominance within contemporary gender systems. It has demonstrated that the ways in which young men engage in risky drinking and public violence can have a significant influence on how their masculinity is understood by themselves and others. It is clear that the young men in this study organise and structure their engagement in these practices according to widely accepted hegemonic beliefs which define certain configurations of masculine practice as legitimate and also those that are not. Young men's successful claim to an acceptable and culturally legitimate form of masculine identity is therefore contingent upon the ways in which they engage in risky drinking and public violence. Young men must engage in risky drinking and public violence in certain ways in order to construct legitimate masculine identities. Men who do not or cannot live up to dominant masculine ideals in regards to risky practice are seen as weak or inferior, which ultimately results in a loss of masculine status and slippage within the masculine hierarchy.

This research also demonstrates that young men's engagement in risky

practices is related to the subordination of women. The engagement of young men in risky drinking and public violence is organised in ways that contribute to reinforcing and maintaining established hegemonic ideologies that place men in a position of power and dominance over women. Young men have clearly gendered attitudes towards risky practices which identify some practices as legitimate and acceptable for men, yet unacceptable and inappropriate for women. Women who do not act within the realms of what young men consider 'acceptable' female behaviour are consistently labelled negatively and positioned as subordinate and inferior to men. Women face a kind of anti-feminine hostility from young men in risk-taking contexts, and are subject to consistent sexual objectification. The discussions with young men also reveal that young men's engagement in risky drinking and public violence is highly homosocial. In such contexts, young men prioritise male friendships and identify women as secondary to men. Men who align with hegemonic ideals gain group inclusion, whilst those men who are perceived as inferior face group exclusion, as do all women. Male homosociality is critical to both the conceptualisation of masculine identity, and the maintenance of gender inequalities within the gender system. It is through male homosocial interactions that hegemonic ideals are disseminated and enforced, where women are positioned as subordinate to men, and men who do not align with the ideals of hegemonic masculinity are positioned as inferior to those who do. The understandings between men of what does and does not constitute authentic masculinity assist in developing and maintaining a hegemonic norm to which men are held accountable, and by which deviations from this norm are marginalised.

This analysis of young men's engagement in risky drinking and public violence has established that gender inequalities that stem from hegemonic masculinity continue to permeate the gender order. In beginning to critically assess young men's understandings of risky practice and how notions of masculinity relate to such practices, we may begin to uncover ways in which to develop and implement strategies that act to counter systemic gender inequalities amongst young men, and challenge existing patterns of male power and dominance across contemporary gender systems as a whole.

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PART IV:

WORK AND WORKPLACES

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

RESISTANCE TO GENDER
EQUALITY AT WORK:
DISCURSIVE PRACTICES OF ESTONIAN
MALE MANAGERS

KADRI AAVIK

This book takes as its starting point the understanding that local programs that engage men in efforts towards gender equality have proliferated in various spheres of life. However, this assumption presupposes a certain degree of embracement of the idea of gender equality among individual and groups of men in the societies it refers to, which cannot be taken for granted in all local settings and cultural contexts, at least not to the same degree. Thus, this chapter takes a step back and explores what is behind the lack of efforts by men to initiate and be incorporated in gender equality initiatives in post-socialist Estonia.

While the need for gender equality in all areas of life and its benefits for women, men and the entire society is being actively advocated by feminist and women's groups in Estonia, the idea still encounters various forms of resistance in the public discourse and in the practices of some groups in particular. In a social setting where explicit practices aiming to build gender equality initiated by or involving groups of men are yet to materialise, first this reluctance to embrace gender equality has to be understood and explained.

In this chapter, I explore discursive resistance towards the idea of gender equality in Estonia by an intersectionally privileged group in the sphere of work by examining how they frame gender and gender equality. I draw from interviews with 15 ethnic Estonian top and middle male managers from the public and private sector, representing different age groups. I situate their discursive practices in the particular structural conditions and gender representations present in Estonia and in Eastern

Europe that are hindering efforts towards equality. I then offer suggestions on how to engage men in efforts towards gender equality in the context of work.

My focus on this group of Estonian male managers and their perception of gender equality in the context of work stems from the understanding that unmarked groups in terms of gender and ethnicity/race are often able to set their own (discursive) practices as invisible norms, and these often go uncontested, similarly to ways how whiteness is able to set itself as normative (Frankenberg 1997; Salter 2013). Due to being positioned as unmarked in terms of multiple social categories in most social situations and contexts–that is, remaining intersectionally privileged–these men are able to construct themselves and their practices as ordinary and standard, while in fact tacitly imposing their normative framings on other groups through a number of ways. Therefore, the ways in which gender (equality) is framed by these men carries considerable weight with regard to perpetuating and/or challenging gender inequalities in the context of work and beyond.

The Estonian labour market displays some of the largest gender as well as ethnic inequalities in the European Union, such as the largest gender pay gap of 30% (Eurostat 2012). The economic and political elite is composed largely of ethnic Estonian men, who act as political and business leaders. Successful participation in paid work is central to most men's lives in Estonia (Pajumets 2012). It constitutes a crucial arena of doing masculinity in the public sphere and acts as an important source of self-validation for men, and a means through which they display complicity with hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). This ideal has been described by Estonian masculinities scholars (Pilvre 2011; Pajumets 2012) as a hybrid form combining elements of transnational business masculinity (Connell 1998) and nationalism as an important hegemonic principle (Howson 2006) in the local context. In Estonia, where nearly a third of the population is of ethnic origin other than Estonian (mostly Russian-speakers), the category of ethnicity, along with other social categories, becomes important in understanding power relations between different groups in the context of work and beyond. Thus, ethnic majority men, who are successful in the labour market, are better able to position themselves in relation to the ideal of hegemonic masculinity, compared to other groups of men.

With this chapter, I thus also hope to contribute to a discussion on what Connell has recognized as a crucial question regarding the development of contemporary societies, that is, the "relationship of gender dynamics to neoliberalism" (Connell 2014, 6), drawing from a local context that has

embraced the neoliberal agenda.

Framing gender and gender equality

To make sense of ways of speaking about gender and gender equality, I employ a frame approach, originating from the work of Goffman (1974). Gitlin (1980, 6), following Goffman, defines frames as "principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters". Frames operate within hegemony as a power structure–thus, framing can be considered "as the operationalization of hegemony (Holstein 2003, 15). Framing illuminates "what hegemony constructs as common sense" (Holstein 2003, 12).

Applying frame analysis to gender, I recognize that gender equality is "open to interpretation and contestation by different actors" (Dombos 2012, 4). Framing of gender and gender equality is never politically neutral, as actors have strategic interests to hold on to certain ways of framing, relating to the concept of strategic ignorance (Sullivan and Tuana 2007), to which I will return later.

Framing of gender performed by unmarked intersectionally privileged groups who display complicity with the ideal of hegemonic masculinity acts as a way to normalize and legitimize certain presentations of gender, rendering them as common sense. Here lies the "invisible hegemonic nature of framing" (Holstein 2003, 4).

Based on my empirical data, I present three ways in which my respondents frame gender and equality in the context of work. Often, these ways of framing are present, support each other and interact within the same narrative.

1. Essentialising gender and gender differences in the context of work

Two specific discourses were used to present an essentialised understanding of gender and gender differences. The first constitutes differentiating "men's work" from "women's work", a distinction constructed on the basis of perceived biological differences between men and women. Especially those male interviewees working in technical sectors with few women present, explained and justified the lack of women in their area of work with the complex, technical and sometimes physical nature of the work, which was seen as unsuitable for women, also due to women's own perceived reluctance to enter such areas of work for these reasons: "Women are great and they cope well, we should have more

of them, but only in some jobs. They should be dealing with softer things […] A woman is a mother after all."

Even if women's virtual absence is noticed and the need is expressed for more women to enter particular male-dominated areas of work or top management, this need is justified with different ways of managing that women will bring with them, stemming from their essential differences from men and referring to their innate characteristics, such as empathy, gentleness and caring: "The way she [a female manager in his organisation] is able to deal with them [her subordinates], is impressive. […] At the same time, she is so nicely balancing and motherlike in this group of men."

Through these paternalistic discourses, women are essentialised as different, due to biological factors, and depicted as potentially vulnerable and thus unsuitable for some jobs, for their own sake. In doing so, the implicit male norm is kept as a point of reference and left unquestioned.

2. Emphasising differences on the individual level as a way of avoiding addressing structural inequalities in the labour market

This kind of framing emerged from the discussion of several related inequalities in the Estonian labour market and ways to solve them. Estonia's highest gender pay gap in the EU has been frequently discussed in the Estonian media in recent years and as such it served as a good point of entry (which I often initiated) into discussing issues of gender equality in the context of work, as it was an issue I expected my interviewees to be aware of. While this was indeed the case, the ways in which the gender pay gap was talked about, however, reflected hesitancy to accept this statistical indicator, as it was presented as a debatable issue: "Well, first of all, I don't know if this [the gender pay gap] has been factually proven. Are men getting more or not, I don't know that."

Reasons for the gender pay gap were seen in men and women working in different sectors and different positions within the same organisation. As a way of displaying doubt in the existence of the gender pay gap or perhaps in attempt to justify one's own personal and organisational practices which might contribute to this, the discussion of the gender pay gap, which reflects a number of related gender inequalities at the structural level, was brought to an individual level: "This is an incredibly large difference. Well, I don't know […]. I think it depends on the position where you work […]. But our [female] accountant is earning much more than I. I don't know, but I think."

Gender differences in pay were reduced to personal differences and

ambitions of genderless individuals selling their human capital in the labour market. If these individuals do not know their "proper value" then this should not be seen as a concern of the employer. Individual differences were thus used to justify discriminatory organisational practices such as paying different wages to two employees for the same work, if one job candidate requests a smaller pay at salary negotiations in the private sector: "Each person asks what s/he is happy with […] This [paying one employee less for the same work] cannot be unethical, because every person is selling himself/herself or his/her time."

The tendency to avoid accepting structural inequalities is also reflected in misunderstanding and rejecting measures attempting to correct these inequalities in the context of work. The issue of quotas has received some attention in the Estonian public discourse. For example, the idea of quotas for boardrooms of state-owned enterprises has been proposed by women's groups, but overwhelmingly has not received support. While some managers agreed that more women should be present in boardrooms, quotas were opposed as an unfair mechanism:

> Applying the gender quota automatically means the harassment of the other party. Or, to be more precise, reducing their options […]. As soon as you set up the quota, this means that a man will have lower chances of applying for a job […]. One thing is that there are few women in management, we should think how to encourage women to want to manage. And you don't do this with a quota, right.

This misunderstanding of the aims and functioning of the quota system constitutes another way of attempting to avoid confrontation with structural inequalities. While the lack of women in boardrooms is noticed and even problematized to some extent, reasons for this inequality are seen to originate from the personal level and thus solutions are also seen on this level. Moreover, they are seen to be dependent on women themselves, not men, organisations or other structures and actors beyond individuals.

Misunderstanding of and opposition to measures attempting to correct structural inequalities is consistent with and reinforced by the neoliberal ideology prevalent in Estonia, which dismisses structural conditions as source of social inequalities and sees individual actors as responsible for their own successes and failures. This opposition to quotas might also be reinforced by the legacy of the Soviet era. Under the Soviet economy, no labour market competition existed and people were often assigned jobs. On the backdrop of this, quotas might be seen as an unfair and unsuitable mechanism to be used in a capitalist labour market, perceived as a space where free competition between genderless and otherwise unmarked

individuals should take place.

Focus on the individual level means that structural inequalities are not seen by the respondents as disadvantaging certain groups. Importantly, this also means simultaneously that the current institutional configuration is not seen as enabling their own success. Accepting the presence of structural inequalities in the Estonian labour market and embracing ways to deal with these inequalities (such as approving quotas) would mean accepting that certain groups are structurally advantaged or disadvantaged. This would likely entail reflection upon one's own positioning in relation to other groups and a consideration of ways in which the current configuration of the labour market and specific prevalent practices, such as their own, contribute to perpetuating gender and other inequalities in the context of work. Such a consideration and acting upon it, as in getting involved in relevant gender equality initiatives, however is not in the interest of intersectionally privileged groups, as it would be seen as a possible (imagined) loss of a status that is considered as rightfully earned.

3. Declaring gender equality as unimportant and distancing oneself from the issue, evaluating others from a position of intersectional privilege

In this way of framing, one's own taken for granted intersectional invisibility and privilege was used to evaluate and marginalise those constructed as different from the norm, to be seen as gendered and ethnicised. Speaking from such a position enables individuals to frame gender equality as insignificant and artificially created, referring to men's and women's biological differences (see framing 1):

> I think all this gender equality is a bluff […]. We can never be all equal, that's how life is, there are men and women and we are different. And who does what job depends on where one feels oneself comfortable, so there are men's jobs and women's jobs. It might be great to have a female bus driver, but it's a bit unusual to look at […]. I think that if we do a lot of propaganda and demand equality, I don't know how many women would want to become bus drivers? […] Gender equality is a bluff-topic, so that there would be something to talk about. Well, apparently there might be some truth behind it, but it's not something that we can or should artificially shape. Like men will never start giving birth and that's how it is.

Being positioned as an invisible unmarked group in terms of gender and ethnicity enables these men to construct others as marked and deviating from the norm, at the same time consolidating their own

unmarked status. This is similar to the ways in which whiteness is able to construct itself as an invisible norm. Speaking from such a privileged position enables the men to see other groups such as ethnic minority women as less capable. In contrast to emphasising individual differences when speaking of perceived causes of labour market inequalities, this framing relies on emphasizing group differences:

> Russian women for example are like … very dutiful and fast workers. […] But some people will never become independent engineers, they need someone to be there to tell them how to do things. Well, people are different, but mostly those people who never become independent, are women however.

Russian-speaking women are seen here as deviating from the male norm and constructed as less capable and dependent because of characteristics they are seen to possess (or lack) as a homogenous group. In other words, they are essentialised (see the first framing), not because of structural inequalities that systematically disadvantage ethnic minority women in the Estonian labour market (Aavik 2013; Hansson and Aavik 2012) while leaving successful ethnic majority men in the status of an invisible unmarked group.

In three ways therefore, these men discursively distance themselves and their organisations from concern with gender equality. They deny that the gender pay gap might exist in their own organisation.

Discussion and conclusions

I argue that these particular intertwined ways of framing of gender and gender equality discussed above–essentialising gender differences, explaining inequalities by personal differences and misunderstanding initiatives attempting to correct systemic inequalities, as well as distancing oneself from gender equality and judging others from a particular intersectionally privileged perspective constructed as an ordinary point of reference–can be understood as ways of practicing and perpetuating strategic ignorance (Sullivan and Tuana 2007) performed by unmarked privileged groups. The concept of an epistemology of ignorance has been used to understand the ways in which various forms of ignorance regarding white privilege are perpetuated and how this ignorance is not simply a gap in knowledge, but performed *strategically*, or "consciously produced" (Sullivan and Tuana 2007, 1) with the aim to support privilege. As such, employing strategic ignorance serves as a way for privileged groups such as ethnically/racially unmarked successful men to actively

maintain the status quo and uphold their own privileged position in relation to other groups, by constructing and imposing certain ways of framing gender equality in explicit and implicit ways. Constructing oneself as unmarked in terms of gender, while others as gendered (and ethnicized), stems from as well as helps to perpetuate the perception that equality in contemporary Estonia is a "women's issue" from which men can distance themselves. Importantly, the ability to employ strategic ignorance in such ways to approach the matter of gender equality in the Estonian labour market is not equally available to all groups.

The cultivation of strategic ignorance is supported by institutional systems (Sullivan and Tuana 2007, 3). In contemporary Estonia, it is enabled, encouraged and reinforced by the prevalent neoliberal ideology, according to which success and failure depend on each individual, without taking into account any structural or systemic conditions which give implicit advantages to some groups. Connell (2013, 2014) conceptualises neoliberalism as much more than just a market ideology, but also crucially as "an agenda of social restructuring" (2013, 279), with inequality not as a side effect, but rather as its central element. Thought of in this way, the neoliberal agenda seems to be fundamentally incompatible with (pro)feminist efforts to build gender equality, as the former emphasizes individual achievement and the latter structural conditions disadvantaging some groups and advantaging others. Strategic ignorance with which my respondents approach questions of gender should be thought of in this light, as stemming from and deeply intertwined with the neoliberal agenda.

The ways of framing gender and gender equality illustrated above simultaneously act as ways of doing masculinity in the context of work. Distancing oneself or at least not displaying proactive support towards gender equality in the context of work and other social settings acts as a way of displaying complicity with the ideal of hegemonic masculinity in Estonia. Embrace of values such as equality and support of gender equality through men's practices is not among hegemonic principles (Howson 2006) in Estonia yet. Studying men's identity work in post-socialist Estonia, Pajumets (2012, 50) found "anti-egalitarian constructions of masculinity", and concludes that gender identities in Estonia "seem to be rather reluctant to change on the background of considerable structural upheavals". My findings support the claim that orientation towards gender equality as an ideal is not yet part of doing masculinity in the labour market by privileged groups.

These ways of framing gender and gender equality by a group of unmarked ethnic majority men help to explain men's lack of initiatives and engagement in working towards gender equality in Estonia,

particularly in the context of work.

Finally, I would like to point to directions that could be taken to engage men in building gender equality, focusing on the context of work. However, the effectiveness of these strategies depends also on whether and to what extent they are able to challenge "the hegemony of neoliberalism" (Connell 2014, 5).

To get men involved in gender equality initiatives, such as for example for male managers to start thinking about how to make their workplaces more inclusive in terms of gender, ethnicity etc., requires change in various levels, including structural and representational levels, which might bring change to attitudes. For example, it has been found that awareness of employers and the general population regarding employers' legal obligation to prevent unequal treatment in workplaces, as well as to promote equal treatment, is very low in Estonia (Kallas *et al*. 2013). The continuing reluctance of privileged groups to see themselves as gendered and ethnicized, which enables them to disassociate themselves from concerns of gender equality in the context of work, must be challenged. This would mean critically examining and taking responsibility for the personal and organisational roles and practices which perpetuate gender inequality in the labour market.

Importantly, this and other efforts to engage men in building towards gender equality must not come (only) from women. It has been argued (indeed also by my interviewees), that in order to get more women in management, positive female role models are necessary. Similarly, to get (more) men to support and embrace gender equality, pro-feminist men are needed as role models for other men. Men, especially those in managerial positions, might be more willing to rethink gender and make efforts towards gender equality in their organisations if other similarly positioned men embrace the idea. A good starting point would be for men in leadership positions in the public sector to speak for the need for gender equality, as institutions are legally obliged to promote gender equality in their organisations. However, a precondition for this is undoing strategic ignorance and starting to see ways how men, especially those positioned as intersectionally privileged, are able to benefit personally and as a group from the current social configuration. Thus, an individual sense of responsibility and action should stem from "collective recognition" of complicity in benefitting from social structures and institutions that produce and uphold invisible intersectional privilege for some groups, while moving away from "individualised guilt", similarly to ways in which whiteness can be productively exposed (Salter 2013, 68).

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

WORKING WITH A NEW VISION OF GENDER IN MINING

DEAN LAPLONGE

We need a new vision of gender in the mining industry. Indeed, we need a new vision of gender in a whole range of resource industries including oil and gas, as well as in associated industries like construction. Rarely if ever do we hear any debate among mining professionals about the links between gender and safety, gender and the history of mining, or gender and the physical design of a mine site. Even rarer is a debate about men and gender. The problem of gender in mining has quickly become a problem of women and only for women.

A stagnation of new ideas and a repetition of inefficient practices in mining are the results of a myopic view of the kind of person who is a good fit for the industry. We can overcome this by expanding our understanding of gender and by genuinely supporting more diversity in the way we allow people to practise gender on mine sites. By moving beyond the widely held view that gender relates only to women, we can also expect improved safety outcomes, healthier and more enjoyable workplaces, and significant changes to the way the everyday business of mining works.

The preferred view of gender in the mining industry today assumes gender to be a natural part of who we are—that we behave as men or as women because that's who we are. When we continue to insist that gender is natural in this way, we can only hope to turn to patchwork solutions— like "women in mining"—to do what we can with a situation that is beyond our control. The result is that we allow existing unsafe and unequal practices to continue under the guise that these practices are biological truths, genetic fate, or natural remnants of our caveman history.

But if we recognise gender as something that we do, we can start to consider what it means to be involved in the doing of gender while we are at work on mine sites. Questions we can start to ask include:

- What are the genders we see being practised by mining employees?
- What aspects of the business of mining contribute to creating what we considered as normal genders?
- How are men and women treated when they do not display what would be considered normal genders on mine sites, and why?
- How do our leadership, safety narratives, training, mine sites and work camps, employment conditions, production methods, and policies and procedures help to produce or stifle different practices of gender at work?
- What could other kinds of genders offer to the industry?

An emphasis on gender as practices and habits allows for the possibility of immense changes in the way we go about the entire business of mining.

The problem with women in mining

Women-in-mining networks have become increasingly popular, especially with women working in the industry and with mining companies who seek advice about what they should do to improve gender diversity on their mine sites. These women-in-mining networks—whether independent or aligned with industry bodies—are now the most powerful voice in the debate about gender in the mining industry. They have managed to claim a monopoly over gender in mining.

These networks provide opportunities for women working in the mining industry to socialise and to talk about their experiences as women in mining. Their members tend to be avid users of social media—posting their thoughts and experiences about "women in mining". But they are not even achieving their primary aim of bringing more women into the industry.

There is also too much self-congratulation going on. Awards are offered to individual women who have "made it" or to organisations that have introduced new diversity initiatives long before they have shown any evidence of success. But these awards say nothing of what might have influenced our understandings of gender. They also ignore how the structures and cultures of mining companies continue to make it extremely difficult for many women (and many men) to get anywhere. "Feminism" is definitely a very dirty word in mining.

These networks actually do women in general no good at all. They create ghettos for women and ghettoise the issue of gender even further into a "women's problem". They keep talking about what women don't

have and what "we" need to give them to help them make it; as if to suggest that, after forty years of seeking to address the role of women in the workplace, it is women who are still lacking the necessary tools to be successful.

Those who are leading the debate about gender in the mining industry are also glaringly lacking in knowledge about the complexity of gender. They regularly refer to gender as simply a matter of women versus men. They dare to claim there have been cultural changes in the mining industry because we now have pink safety hats available for women.[1] Since starting my work for mining companies in 2006 and throughout all my research into gender in this industry, I have not met a single gender diversity officer who is a specialist in gender studies or women's studies. Instead, they are journalists, communication specialists, public relations officers, administrators, human resources personnel, or trainers and facilitators.

You cannot become a safety specialist in mining unless you have done some training in safety. If you are going to work at heights or in confined spaces, you need be accredited. If you are going to drive one of the heavy vehicles, you need to have a license. If you are going to be on-site nurse or health advisor, you need to be qualified. Yet apparently mining companies will let almost anybody head up their gender programs, so long as that person has some "interest" in gender—which usually means so long as they are a woman.

The impacts of this low level of knowledge about gender can be seen in the numerous research reports that comment on gender in mining. For almost two decades now, there has been an interest in formalising this debate. Research projects with a focus on women in mining date back to at least the mid-1990s; and we continue to see the release of such reports. The approach is always the same, and can be summarised as follows:

- We know there is an under-representation of women in the mining industry.
- We want to find out why this is the case by asking people who work in the industry and by thinking about the culture of the industry.
- We will then be able to provide recommendations for how mining companies can increase the number of women in their workforce.

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[1] This claim was attributed to Barbara Dischinger, founder of the Women in Mining network, in an article by Karan Kumar published on the *Resource Investing News* website on June 12, 2012. The article is titled "Women making inroads into mining jobs, but more needs to be done".

The similarities in the results can also be summarised, as follows:

- Women are not attracted to or don't stay in the mining industry because of inflexible work hours, the culture of mining, family commitments and the reputation of the industry.
- Mining companies need to do more to attract women and to ensure women stay in the industry.

We have so many of these studies—all conducted independently of each other and all of which include the ideas of different subjects (often women working in the industry) and different analysts (the writers of the reports). It doesn't matter where the mining industry or company is located, the results are the same. Historical context doesn't seem to be affecting the results either. Over a period of almost twenty years, nothing has changed in these reports; and they continue to be funded and produced today.

The politics behind this kind of research and the corresponding advice to mining companies are sound. The claim that there should be more women working in mining—in all sectors of the industry—is a just one. But there is a significant limitation in the framework of the research which underpins these kinds of reports: The researchers and writers take it for granted that there are men and there are women, and that gender is a natural part of what it means to be either of these.

In fact, there is within the recommendations in these reports a construction of the kind of woman who has already been deemed acceptable to the industry (just as she has been deemed acceptable in the wider culture). She is sexed as woman as opposed to man. She is like all other women. She has a very specific role to play in the family: mother and carer. She is victim and weak, because she always needs the help of others.

You only have to step onto a mine site to see that the idealised woman as described in these reports is not the only kind of woman to be found. There are women working in mining who are mothers and who play the traditional role of a woman in the home when they are not at work. But there are also many women who do not and who express no desire to ever have children. There are women who do not like to be referred to as "women in mining" because they feel this isolates them when they are trying to build relationships with their male colleagues; after all, we never talk about "men in mining". There are women who are tough and women who are gentle. There are women who can easily cope with the heavy physical work often demanded in mining, and there are many women who

do no more than lift their fingers to type. There are some women who are passing as men in order to benefit from the status and financial rewards currently enjoyed by men in mining.

If we want to see gender diversity become a reality in the mining industry, we can no longer assume, as these reports and their recommendations do, that gender is stable and the same, and that it is independent of the institutions in which people work. Women don't bring a natural and shared gender to a mine site. Such a view of gender has long been disputed in the research on gender which many of those involved in gender work in the mining industry would do well to study.

Masculinity in mining

Understandings of masculinity affect the business of mining. Masculinity has an important role to play on mine sites. Masculinity is a particularly important part of the identity for many men (and some women) who work in mining. And mining as a business appeals most to those people who like the kind of masculinity they see.

Yet, it can often be very difficult for senior managers in mining to recognise the impacts of masculinity on their business. For starters, they are often involved in the practice of masculinity in exactly the same way as the rest of the workforce. They may therefore feel they have a lot to lose from any changes to the gender culture in their workplace—not least of which is their own position and authority. And rarely do senior managers in this industry have any knowledge about the relationship between gender and work, let alone any self-conscious experience in dealing with a gender culture at work. This is why they often agree to focus on numbers of women in the workforce and go along with the failing initiatives offered predominantly by women to bring more women to site.

For example, the mining industry has a reputation for being a male-dominated industry. In the many reports on women in mining, we find recommendations for how mining companies can seek to change this image—primarily they are encouraged to create a new image for their mining company, one which is likely to appeal more to what we imagine women will like. But such an approach does not tackle what helps to create the reputation of the industry to begin with; it merely seeks to replace an existing reputation with another one, in a way which screams of marketing in a postmodern consumer world. It seeks to convince the consumer—in this case women—that the product—in this case the mine site—has changed, when what has actually changed is nothing more than the packaging—new videos and brochures.

The reputation of the mining industry as a male-dominated workplace is not solely based on what people read or see in colourful brochures. Instead, it is based more on the meanings that we have attached to the kind of work that is involved in mining and, therefore, to the kind of person who can carry out this work. For instance, the mining industry has a reputation for its long work hours, isolation, and the toughness and dirtiness of its tasks. Mining companies often find resources that are worth extracting in the middle of nowhere. To carry out the business of mining these resources, the companies need employees who are willing to live or work in the middle of nowhere, put up with the harsh conditions of long hours and isolation, and not be afraid of getting dirty while they work.

The connection between masculinity and these aspects of the industry's reputation works both ways. Firstly, the following assumptions are made:

- men can work longer hours than women;
- men cope with isolation better than women;
- men are more physically capable than women of doing tough work tasks; and,
- men like to get dirty whereas women do not.

But we can also see how these assumptions work in reverse to define what is a real man (and also a real woman):

- working longer hours is proof that you are a real man—if you can't put up with long hours, you are a woman;
- being able to cope on your own is proof that you are a real man—if you can't survive without others being there to help you, you are a woman;
- being able to complete tough work tasks, particularly those that involve physical strength, is proof that you are a real man—if you are physically weak and can't carry the weight, you are a woman; and,
- being and staying dirty shows that you are a real man—if you care about cleanliness, you are a woman.

It is, therefore, the assumptions we make about men and women that help create what we see as normal practices of gender for anybody who wants to work in mining. The result of this linking of assumptions about gender to activities of mining is that the mining industry is seen to be more suitable for men—because it is men who are more easily seen to be able to naturally work in the ways this industry demands.

The process of mining is also heavily systemised; there are systems

and processes for everything. The mining industry is particularly fond of such systemisation because this reaffirms a belief that the humans who work there—who are mostly men—can control. To not have systems would be seen to have chaos. And chaos is simply not a desired characteristic of the masculine male. Chaos and no control are feminine. It is women who are believed to be the emotional sex, the sex who have bodies that leak blood every month and the sex who cannot keep it together in a crisis. Control is a particularly important trait of what many consider to be normal masculinity. It is one of the ways that a man is expected to behave. And it is therefore often found to be strong and widely practised in male-dominated workplaces.

The insistence on a high level of systemisation in the mining industry, therefore, reveals the extent to which this industry is already influenced by masculine ideals. And in return, it provides an industry in which men who seek to be real men can work within systems that are there to ensure they are always seen to be in control…even if the reality is that they often aren't.

Connected to this demand for control in mining is the focus on production. The business of mining is essentially about producing something—ore, aluminium, coal, diamonds etc. The need to produce is also a very recent and masculine ideal; and one that has significantly affected the way we measure a person's worth. In mining, you can actually see levels of production piled up high, waiting to enter the crusher and then head off on a ship to a faraway land. There are even people employed in mining solely to think up ways of producing more, at a faster rate and cheaper.

And mining companies are obsessed with their rates of production. Because of the systems that are in place, a mining company will be able to tell you how much it has produced that day. It will also be able to show you comparisons of today's production against yesterday's production, or aggregated against last year's average. And it will be able to predict how much will be produced tomorrow, even taking into account all stoppages and shutdowns.

Of course, predictions about production are all theory and rarely work in practice. There are always targets for production that might be exceeded or often missed. I have never yet worked for a mining company that has been able to calculate with accuracy its forward projections of increased production—there are always "blowouts" to the timing of expansion projects. But we need to believe that we can produce and that we do produce. And we need to know that we have control of that production. The very worth of the company is based on how much we can say we will

produce and in what time.

In a very traditional view of gender, men were supposed to produce, while women were simply meant to reproduce. Men created the world, while women kept the home. Isn't this what we assume to be the fundamental differences between men and women in a view of gender that separates men from women? Our assumptions about what men and women should do—and therefore what is normal masculinity and what is normal femininity—have strongly influenced our attitude to production. And we carry this attitude into an industry like mining. The result is an industry that does the business of production in masculine ways; and an industry that rewards those who respond to this gendered practice of production in a way that identifies them as real men.

Conclusion

Many of us choose to work in mining because it is one of the few remaining industries where we can continue to feel like "real men", in a world where we may otherwise feel we are losing the right to do this. If men believe in the story that masculinity is in crisis and that men are losing their right to be real men, the mining industry is a place where they can go to reclaim this right and to avoid the crisis. There is no femininity and no "gayness" in mining. The long work hours, the isolation, the toughness of the tasks and the dirt assure us of this—because these are all suitable to "real men". But out there, beyond the security fence of the mine site, it's all pictures of half-naked men trying to sell us cologne and a legal requirement to pay attention to laws that now deny us the right to be sexist (mostly).

Those of us who are working in mining imagine—and often talk about—how we work long hours, much longer than we assume others do in other industries. We like to emphasise how tough the work is, the pressures on our bodies and lifestyles. Numerous reports feed into this, showing just how stressful the impacts of working in mining are on family life. In all this, there's the suggestion that mining is somehow different to other occupations which may, in fact, demand equal hours of work and equal time away from families.

Mining certainly isn't the only industry to provide this level of comfort for men who are suffering from a crisis of masculinity in the wider world. Many of the resource industries are the same. But mining continues to be seen as a tough industry which requires tough people. And mining employees are proud of this reputation of its industry and proud of the industry's ability to keep all the "princesses" and "girls" away. That's why

when we fly through your airports, we wear our high-vis clothing with pride. We don't change into civvies; because we don't want our representations of real masculinity to ever be as weak as yours.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

GENDERING CHANGE:
HOW TO ENGAGE MEN WITH WOMEN
IN BUILDING GENDER EQUALITY
IN MASCULINIST WORKPLACES

SUSAN HARWOOD

Conservative, incremental and modest approaches to redressing gendered workplace cultures have had limited success in challenging the demographic profile of densely masculinist workplaces. In this chapter I draw on a PhD study of women in police work as well as my extensive practitioner experience to argue that combating highly institutionalised, entrenched masculinist practices calls for a more complex theoretical and practical landscape to support, define and enhance an examination of gendered workplace cultures. To build gender equality, this landscape must include the collaborative engagement of men with women. In Sinclair's (1998) terms this means enabling both men and women to see from a different viewpoint, moving from the familiar position of seeing women as "the problem", to one where the problem is seen as belonging to the organisation (the organisation needs to change). How do we do this? The practical elements of this approach must include joint training for men and women in how to apply a "gender lens" to the policies and practices of their workplace. In focusing on one of the case studies from the PhD research project I demonstrate how to engage men with women in an ongoing gender dialogue to challenge and change prevailing inequalities in organisational practices. My exploration of this topic begins with an overview of the contemporary Australian landscape in which this project took place.

The Contemporary Gendered Landscape in Australia

Eagly and Carli's (2007) research on women and leadership calls attention to the fact that gendered landscapes are not unique to Australia and to Australian organisations. In examining the possible causes contributing to the slow progress of women aspiring to leadership roles in America, Eagly and Carli pose the rhetorical question "is it only a question of time?" (2007, 6). Their discussion of this question resonates with commonly-held perceptions about women's lack of progress across a range of indicators in a number of countries that include Australia:

> It is a common perception that women will *steadily gain greater access to leadership roles*, including elite positions… [however] signs of a pause in progress in gender equality have appeared on many fronts. A review of longitudinal data reveals several areas in which a sharp upward trend in the 1970s and 1980s has been followed by *a slowing and flattening in recent years* (for instance in the percentage of managers who are women) (Eagly and Carli 2007, 6).

I can look back on nearly thirty years of sustained work as an "EEO"/ gender equality practitioner and ponder the same "pause in progress". When equal opportunity legislation was first introduced in Australia in 1984 feminists like myself anticipated some radical changes to the gendered landscape as a result of this (and subsequent amendments to) legislation. After three decades of concerted effort on the part of many practitioners and researchers working on all aspects of "the problem", there are no radical changes to report–just the "slowing and flattening" referred to by Eagly and Carli (2007). On most measures (including pay parity, leadership, decision-making and promotions) women are still not participating equally in the workplace.

What does appear to have changed is the approach to the problem. During the 1990s there was a discernible shift in emphasis: whereas many Australian organisations had complied with the requirement to embed the legislative framework within their policies and practices, they still did not have anywhere near what is regarded as a critical mass–30%–of women in leadership roles. Perhaps in response to this data, discussions around possible causes reframed the problem as a lack of appropriately qualified women: that is, the continuing absence of women from the top of organisations was perceived as women failing the leadership test. Seemingly women were neither ready, nor equipped, to take on leadership roles. Therefore, the new mantra was to "equip the women". What resulted from this shift in focus was the somewhat unsettling realisation by the end of the 1990s that whereas many more women had equipped themselves

with higher education qualifications and years of experience on the job, there was not a concomitant shift in the numbers of women reaching the same hierarchical (and pay) levels as their male counterparts. At the same time, women were still reporting their experiences of discrimination and sexual harassment in their workplaces.

The spotlight is now gradually shifting from women's lack to a closer examination of the cultures, structures and practices of organisations that continue to inhibit the profile, progress and participation of women. Commentaries in a range of recent Australian publications demonstrate this renewed focus on organisational practices. As Dan Box and Joe Kelly report in The Australian on June 14 2013 ("Sex films revive defence scandal"), Australia's Department of Defence continues to be in the headlines for all the wrong reasons: their article reports on a recent example of inappropriate and unlawful behaviours amongst male officers that is occurring at the same time as Defence has been making major steps to change the culture to one that is more inclusive of women. Such reports are not confined to Australia's military; speaking about a Human Rights Commission Survey conducted in 2012, Australia's Sex Discrimination Commissioner reports that efforts to curb sexual harassment in the workplace "have not made a significant difference". Data from this survey indicates that one in five workers experienced sexual harassment in the past five years; and one in three women, and one in 10 men reported being sexually harassed. While launching the 2012 Australian Census of Women in Leadership Report, the Director of the Workplace Gender Equality Agency expressed her disappointment at Australia having "the lowest percentage of female executives compared to countries with similar governance structures". This research shows that two-thirds of 500 companies listed on the Australian Stock Exchange have no female executives and overall there are only 12 companies headed by a female chief executive.

Such data, when supported by anecdotal reports from women in a variety of occupations, suggests a pervasive resistance to change. Like other feminist researchers, I was interested in such resistance when undertaking my research project. Foucault (1980), Hooks (1990) and others have suggested that to truly do liberating research we should study acts of resistance rather than acts of power; feminists have long understood this concept (Wodak 1997).

A feminist research framework

My research project for an Australian policing jurisdiction was specifically and carefully designed to provide new insights and possible solutions to a pervasive question: how can gendered workplace cultures be successfully redressed? The teams-based research approach involved men and women working alongside each other, conducting their research project while still working within the formidable and challenging cultural framework of their operational policing environment.

I deliberately engaged men with women in the research process; that is, men were engaged in an extended dialogue with women on the gendered practices of their organisation. I was aware that the inclusion of men in our group of action researchers would be integral to the success of this project in building gender equality in the organization. I also wished to include an analysis of "men" and "masculinities" (Hearn 2000, 618). The feminist approach to the project design included the establishment of a space that is still quite unique to feminist researchers and to most workplaces: a structured, collaborative forum for men and women within which women are both included and represented in the research dialogue. Philips and Hardy (2002) suggest in their study of the power of discourse that creating the space for such conversations to take place provides the means by which we begin to understand our own reality: "Without discourse there is no social reality, and without understanding discourse, we cannot understand our reality, our experiences, or ourselves" (Philips and Hardy 2002, 2). Ultimately, the close engagement planned for this research project transpired because we were able to create a safe forum for such discourse, where insider teams shared an understanding of the language, realities and everyday experiences of their workplace.

My extensive background in Quality Management had given me a keen appreciation for the power of teams and teamwork; for this reason I provided the six insider teams of men and women with some "just-in-time" training in group process, project management and data gathering tools. I also trained them in how to apply the gender lens approach developed by researchers at the Center for Gender in Organisations (the CGO). These researchers (Kolb and Merrill-Sands 1999, 196; Kolb and Meyerson 1999, 129) describe the application of a "gender lens" as a way of viewing what goes on below the organisation's surface activities. The gender lens allows a view under and around these activities, to examine the gender dynamics that lie beneath. These gender dynamics, they suggest, are a core product of inequalities between women and men.

The insider teams at the policing organisation conducted a thorough,

forensic examination of the gendered organization of their workplace: they gathered and analysed data not reviewed previously; asked questions that had never been asked; identified discriminatory practices and mapped these against policies and legislation. In Amanda Sinclair's (1998, 19) terms this means enabling both men and women to see from a different viewpoint, moving from the familiar position of seeing women as "the problem", and needing to change, to one where the problem is seen as belonging to the organisation (the organisation needs to change). Edley and Wetherall (1996) suggest that while it may be unusual for men to join with women on a project of this kind, such collaboration should not be seen as necessarily problematic. Indeed, their research on masculinities suggests that assumptions should not be made in this regard:

> But while we must recognize that patriarchy naturalizes men's power and privilege (especially) in the eyes of men themselves, it is wrong to assume that they are incapable of changing the culture that defines them (Edley and Wetherall 1996, 108).

In presenting and discussing the following case study from this research project I use the terms "Reference Group" and "project teams" to describe key elements of the research methodology. The Reference Group comprised men and women of different ranks and levels from within the organisation; after establishing a shared understanding of their research topic, each of this group in turn established teams of insider researchers around them. These sub-groups became known as the project teams. Reference Group and project team participants made it clear from their first meetings that they wanted to engage with the research topic in a meaningful way. The overall framework of the research methodology was specifically designed to fulfil this desired level of engagement and ownership.

This case study profiles a man I have named "Abe"; one of thirty project participants I engaged with over a three-year period. Abe was a senior ranking police officer with many years' service. As a regional representative on the Reference Group he initiated and participated in a project that became known as "Woman in a Goldfish Bowl", through which he examined what happens to women when they are promoted into roles previously held by men.

Case Study: Abe

At his first meeting with the Reference Group, Abe said that when he had selected a woman officer with children for an officer-in-charge

position in a small district location, he had asked for the organisation to provide her with some alternative housing. Abe explained that in the male dominated world of officers' accommodation, the existing house had been built for either a single male or male with grown-up children and was therefore "totally unsuitable". In considering her specific needs, Abe was doing gender in a way that was contrary to the prevailing masculinist models displayed in his organisation. He said he had selected this woman because he believed that she would do a very good job, and because this was a good opportunity for her to further her career.

Over time Abe began to express great reservations about his capacity to respond appropriately to some of the escalating incidents occurring at this woman's remote regional location. In response to his growing concerns, the Reference Group became Abe's project team, peer support group, and the backup for his case study. Eight months into the research project Abe reported that the community had still not embraced the concept of having a female officer in charge of the police station. This resistance to her presence in the male-dominated town was just one of the daily challenges this station officer was facing; one of her three children had a chronic illness and she was still breastfeeding her one year-old.

Abe admitted to the Reference Group that, until recently, he had not known how to respond appropriately to this woman's "floods of tears". He stated that he had never experienced this response to stress before. He had spoken about it with other women, who had suggested that it was normal and natural in the circumstances of the obvious stress that this woman was experiencing. Abe noted that the stereotypical male response to stress was perhaps less constructive. He suggested that most male police officers in the same situation would "go to the pub and get a skinful", that is, resort to heavy alcohol use.

Reference Group members focused their attention on teasing out the complex array of issues underpinning this woman's experiences. We were coming to the realisation that organisational responses to her placement were indicative of some patronising, paternalistic and biologically deterministic notions that collectively represented a view that women were not suited to the "real" work of policing. Joan Acker's (1990) ground-breaking work on the nature of gendered organizations offers some insights on why women in policing, as opposed to their male counterparts, have to hide their sexuality, bodily functions and emotions:

> Women's bodies–female sexuality, their ability to procreate and their pregnancy, breast-feeding, and child care, menstruation, and mythic "emotionality"–are suspect, stigmatized, and used as grounds for control and exclusion (Acker 1990, 152).

Some of the Reference Group's discussion revolved around whether or not we were falling into the same organisational practice of naming this woman's concerns as "gender" issues. The term "gender issues" was used to describe attitudes that saw women as "the problem". Most Reference Group members believed we were not. Some members dissected the current scenario and extracted several elements that were clearly management issues. Knowing these problems related to resourcing and supporting this remote regional police station, they were keen to shift the focus away from this female officer in charge and on to the organisation. The belief that the organisation had failed in its duty to adequately prepare this officer for her new posting received strong support. Concerns were raised about the long-term effects of the "goldfish bowl" on her career prospects.

Abe was asked about the previous incumbents in this role. How long, for example, had they stayed in the town and had any of them (all male) experienced similar pushback from the community? In response, Abe cited the cases of similarly under-prepared officers who had not "lasted the distance". We were also aware of some relevant data provided by several senior males through other interviews; reflecting on their early postings of this kind, these men described them as the most challenging and difficult of their careers. Some had proffered the view that without the full-time support of wives who had not been in the paid workforce, they and their children would not have survived these hardship postings.

In dealing with the "gender issue" of a woman entering the male domain, Abe was simultaneously highlighting a problem of organisational practices: under-resourcing, lack of support for country services, and lack of preparation for the role of officer in charge. What the Reference Group members came to understand was that there were many poor practices that impacted on both women's and men's capacity to undertake their roles effectively in this organisation. However, in the case of women, these organisational practices were much more likely to be cast in gendered terms, with the preferred focus being on women's lack of efficacy, rather than any lack of organisational support. The Reference Group became a safe space within which Abe and his male and female colleagues could exchange their perceptions, beliefs and values. In his initial and then continuing support for his officer, and through all of the associated difficulties of her appointment, Abe demonstrated some of the "responsible actions" that Jeff Hearn (2001, 15) cites in his discussion of men's roles in promoting gender equality. Listing a range of behaviours that he describes as "more *responsible* action for men" (author's emphasis), Hearn (2001, 15) suggests that "getting and giving support"

and "becoming a good listener" are two positive ways for men to improve their capacity to "oppose gender injustice".

Abe's project, and more particularly the methodological approach, produced the kind of forum within which the gendered practices of this workplace could be explored and understood. The gender lens approach provided a different set of tools for this exploration, while the feminist framework and the team's own ground rules ensured that our discussions were neither shaped by nor subordinate to prevailing masculinist ideals. Fletcher's (1999, 116) research on "relational practice" provides an apt description for the behaviours that were being enacted by this group. Importantly however, Fletcher (1999) suggests that relational behaviours "are difficult to encourage in organizations" because they are systematically disappeared through a process in which they are coded as private-sphere (feminine) activities that stand outside the public-sphere (masculine) definition of work and competence (Fletcher 1999, 116).

Relational practices were not disappeared in this group, and were brought into play to support Abe's management of his project. Clearly, in this supportive forum Abe was able to engage in practices that contravened the prevailing masculinist ethos that women should not receive any affirmative treatment. Abe was able to facilitate the transition for an individual woman taking on a new role while prising open the organisational gates to male-dominated domains.

The luxury of funded time allowed the space for participants to see, and then voice, criticisms of practices that in the past had been silenced. What we all learned from the overall research project is that slow, incremental change is out of sync with the dimensions of the problem. Engaging and enabling men in research projects of this kind, providing them with both the tools (the gender lens) and the means (a feminist participatory action research methodology) can produce an entirely different focus as men and women closely examine the continuing absence of women (and an associated excess of men) in their workplaces. In my practitioner role I continue to work with the same feminist framework I developed for the PhD project; it has proved to be instrumental in building gender equality by engaging men with women in dialogue about how best to challenge and change power relationships, to produce shared knowledge and ownership of outcomes.

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PART V:

FATHERS AND FATHERING

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

FATHERHOOD AND GENDER EQUALITY:
LESSONS FROM A STUDY OF ABSENT FATHERS
IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

MAZEMBO MAVUNGU

South Africa has an exceptionally high number of absent living fathers. It is estimated that 48 per cent of children in South Africa have living but absent fathers. This figure had increased from 42 per cent in 1996 (Holborn and Eddy 2011). This absence has detrimental consequences for families and for society as a whole. Positive and involved fatherhood is beneficial to the development of children and to building families and societies that better reflect gender equity and protect children's rights (Peacock *et al.* 2008). Around the world, work related to care giving is predominantly carried out by women and girls and thus efforts for the increased involvement of fathers in the lives and care of children constitutes a significant contribution to the advancement of gender equality. This chapter summarizes the main findings of research on absent fathers in Johannesburg, South Africa while highlighting how addressing this issue will improve gender equality promotion.

Conceptual framework

Fatherhood is generally understood as "the social role that men undertake to care for their children" (Morrell and Richter 2006, 18). The literature on fatherhood distinguishes between biological, economic and social fatherhood. With regards to the exercise of this social role, fatherhood refers to physical and emotional presence in the child's life. Fatherhood goes beyond a father's mere physical presence because "a father might well be physically present, but emotionally absent, or physically absent but emotionally supportive" (Richter and Morrell 2006, 18). Father presence can also be negative in some cases, as when it is

characterized by abusive conduct (Richter and Morrell 2006, 18). Given the complexities of measuring fathers' emotional presence, the concept of absent father, as used in this research, refers to fathers that are physically absent, in that they are not living with their children, they are not frequently communicating with them and are not paying child maintenance. Research has shown that the presence of responsible, caring and supportive fathers can have significant positive effects on children, families and society and advance the agenda of gender equality particularly in the distribution of domestic work and childcare responsibilities (Peacock *et al.* 2008). Therefore, the high number of living absent fathers in South Africa constitutes an obstacle to the achievement of gender equality. Understanding the dynamics and drivers behind this widespread and problematic father absence and devising adequate policy responses will certainly advance the agenda of gender equality in South Africa.

Methodology

This chapter draws from a research project which sought to explore absent fathers' conceptions of fatherhood, perspectives on what causes fathers to become disengaged from their children's lives; opinions on the consequences of father absence, for fathers and children; and views on what interventions would be most successful in addressing the phenomenon of absent fathers in South Africa. Designed as an exploratory-descriptive study given the dearth of knowledge in this field, and located within an interpretive and qualitative paradigm, the study collected data through focus group discussions (FGDs) with absent fathers from four semi-urban locations in Johannesburg: Alexandra (North Johannesburg), Tembisa (Johannesburg East Rand), Doornkop (Soweto) and Devland (Soweto). These four research sites are inhabited by the 'black' population and all have high levels of poverty, unemployment and housing shortage. A total of 34 absent fathers participated in the research. They did so voluntarily and their identity has been protected. The majority of participants were under the age of 35 years and were unemployed and as a result these absent fathers were also struggling financially, as opposed to financially stable absent fathers. Almost half of the participants reported that they have children who live in another province. Direct quotes chosen from the transcripts are used to illustrate key points in the findings and support the interpretation of the themes. Some quotes may be grammatically incorrect as the data were not 'cleaned up' during transcription and translation. This is to keep the expressions as close as possible to those of the participants (O' Connor and Gibson 2003).

Conceptions of fatherhood

Fathers conceptualized primarily as providers

Participants saw themselves and felt as if they are perceived by their female partners and their families, primarily as providers. For this group of men, the term "provider" referred to a father's obligation to supply his child or family with material goods or financial means. Masculinity and fatherhood were primarily understood in terms of one's ability to provide. One father referred to the social pressure generated by the primacy of the provider role as follows: "whether you are unemployed or employed, you must provide". Across all the focus group discussions the perception that a father should be a financial provider was a predominant theme.

Care-giving presented as the preserve of women

Given the emphasis placed upon the idea that a father's most important responsibility is to provide financial and/or material support, it was not surprising that many of the participants rejected the idea that a father should be involved in care-giving activities. The day-to-day care of children was seen as the responsibility of the female partner, and this care work they considered to be "naturally" suited to women: "The woman is somebody who is supposed to take care of the child. They are born to do that". Another father commented that: "you can't take care of the child the way a mother takes care of the child. As a father you can love your child [but] a mother's love and a father's love are different".

Some fathers however, acknowledged that the skills required to care for children can be acquired: "Starting from I wake up in the morning checking nappies, I know where the nappies are. There is no documented book which says as a man you don't have to change nappies". This progressive view was only expressed by a minority of participants.

Fatherless fathers and the risk of a vicious cycle

It was notable that a number of participants stated that they did not know how else a father should behave towards his children, as they themselves had not had an involved or caring father figure in their own life:

> You are a grown man and your father had never given you a bath or put nappies on you and dressed you. It is highly rare. If you grow up with that stereotype, it becomes difficult to change and accept that in your adulthood you are going to do these things.

This pattern of absence and the difficulty in identifying positive fathering role models points to the possibility of a vicious cycle of absence being perpetuated and highlights the urgent need for this cycle to be addressed.

A father as a key to one's identity and prosperity, one's link to the ancestors and to sources of success and good fortune

Fathers highlighted the crucial role a present father can play in making sure that his children know where they come from, particularly for sons who would also be introduced to their culture through initiation ceremonies. The father is also required to attend to family rituals and functions. A child's connection or disconnection to his/her father was seen as a source of success or failure, good fortune or misfortune. Participants whose own fathers were absent from their lives tended to explain failure and misfortune as a result of not having an involved and present father. A participant briefly described the process and significance of family and cultural integration as follows:

> Within the family there must be, eh maybe your uncle or your brother's father who knows the same values of the family. They will appoint someone maybe you have to go to the homeland in Pietersburg if you are here in Soweto, they will say no, your father is there and we have to teach you the culture. Now you are going to become a man.

Reporting on their research in Eastern Cape, Nduna and Jewkes confirm that "paternal connection for the child is important in this setting for ancestral protection" (Nduna and Jewkes 2012).

Causes of father absence[1]

Unemployment and poverty

The participants articulated that an unemployed father who is unable to provide for his family sees himself as emasculated and unable to fully assume the role of being a father:

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[1] It is acknowledged that there are a number of reasons why the participants may have been restricted from spending time with their children, other than the reasons they provided.

> I don't have the financial capacity to provide. That's why I lose the title to be a father. And by that I also feel like I am failing myself because at the moment I want to be with my family. I want to enjoy the kind of life with the family that I know is mine. I have started myself but since I am not working I am failing that and it's painful, to be honest.

Unfortunately, unemployment is rife in South Africa. Statistics South Africa has estimated the unemployment rate in the first quarter of the year 2013 at 25.2 percent (Statistics South Africa 2013). Young people living in townships are particularly affected by the lack of jobs in the economy. Unemployment and poverty are not in themselves factors that should cause fathers to become absent though it is the interplay or intersection of these socio-economic conditions with expectations that a father ought to provide financially for his child and partner regardless of his economic means that creates conditions under which fathers retreat or are excluded.

Predominant constructions of fathers as material providers

Across all the FGDs, participants referred to financial constraints, specifically unemployment, being the cause of father absence 14 times, and financial constraints related to "ilobolo" (bridewealth) and damages a total of 31 times. Father absence being caused by financial constraints was the second most referred to topic. A number of participants reported that they either withdrew from their child's life or had been barred from seeing their child, against their will, by the child's mother, or her family, as a result of being unable to conform to material provider expectations specifically due to being unemployed. One father expressed that:

> you have a boy of six years and you were working by the time that boy was born. Now you lose your job. You start feeling the distance, you start making the distance. You think in yourself, all the time I go to visit my child, I don't have anything. I must stop going there, how is my child going to look at me, what will my child say?

Another participant explained that:

> Even now, I am unable to see her because I don't have money and because I don't have money for the child… the mother of the child when I try to talk to her, she makes me to talk to her mother and I am not allowed to talk to her.

Some of the participants voiced their objections to this construction of fatherhood by stating that "the mother should value more that the man can come, the presence of the person coming. Even if he brings something, if

he brings money, but what they should value more is the human being coming". One participant expressed his happiness that "the mother of my child ended up telling me, no, you must come and see your child with or without money".

Thus it appears that an overemphasis on the material nature of the provider role makes it difficult for alternative father roles to develop and be promoted. As a result, the opportunity to engage responsible fathers, whose presence and care would have benefited the lives of their children, is missed.

Cultural factors such as "ilobolo" (bridewealth) and damages (fines or "intlawulo" in Xhosa)

African culture has traditionally made a father's access to a child and exercise of fatherhood conditional on a variety of payments linked to the institution of marriage, such as "ilobolo" (bridewealth). In order to claim the right to access one's child born out-of-wedlock, certain African practices require the father to pay "damages" (fines) as reparation for having offended or disrespected the female partner's family by impregnating her out-of-wedlock. In such cases, if the father fails to make the required payment, he is technically not recognised as the child's father and denied access to the child. More recently, such amounts have grown substantially and given the challenges of unemployment and poverty mentioned above, it is not surprising that many men are unable or unwilling to conform to these cultural prescriptions, and as a consequence either retreat or are restricted from seeing their children. One participant stated that: "If you have not paid any damages towards your child, you don't have a right… Such things are the ones that prevent us from communicating with our kids".

Dysfunctional and conflict-ridden relationships

Participants reported that father absence is often closely related to the quality of the relationship between the child's parents, especially after a divorce or a break up. Conflict-ridden relationships, desire for vengeance after a relationship collapse, resentment, and a lack of effective communication were cited as contributing to fathers being restricted, or barred, from spending time with their children. One participant explained: "There is conflict between the mother of the child and I… and her mother as well, you know. So it sort of becomes a problem for me when I want to go and visit my child".

Challenges of moving to new relationships

The participants reported experiencing difficulties negotiating opportunities to spend time with their children because of new relationships into which their former partner had entered. Participants also reported that the mothers of their children had sometimes left the child in the care of the grandmother upon starting a new relationship. Participants felt discouraged having to negotiate time with their child with a person other than the mother, such as a grandmother or new partner. One participant described the situation when his child's new stepfather laid down strict boundaries:

> 'I want his father ten feet away from my yard'… 'I don't even want to see his contact number on your phone'. They tell you that they never want to see you holding your child's hand. Even if you can see your child passing here, you cannot even greet him, you can't do anything.

Migrant labour

The participants also described the challenges associated with the need to move around the country, province or city in search of work. This migratory and unsettled way of life was described as often resulting in the formation of new relationships, or partners moving into new relationships, making it difficult to maintain contact with children. Participants also cited physical distances and challenges associated with travel as contributing to their estrangement from their children.

Perceived consequences of father absence

For children

Participants identified a number of consequences for children that they perceived as being caused by father absence. The participants expressed worry that their children were growing up without sufficient guidance, and thus may exhibit a lack of manners and respect for their elders. Participants were concerned that their children were more likely to become involved in crime, alcohol abuse or drugs due to their absence.

They worried that their children would be disconnected from their ancestors and could therefore suffer from misfortune and a lack of cultural identity; and that due to having an absent father they may experience cultural and social isolation, as well as feelings of vulnerability. This was reflected by the participants' own experiences of fatherlessness: "when

you are in a situation you see that this one… if my father was here, it was going to be sorted out… He was going to tell you what to do". Fathers were also concerned that when parents clash, it is the child who suffers. One participant described the pain of seeing his child upset:

> When the child sees me on the street he cries and my heart becomes sore. He cries. When his mother drags him and warns him not to come to me, he cries. My greatest pain is why they do this to the child and what have I done?

For fathers

The participants noted a number of consequences for themselves of being absent. The most predominant of these was a feeling of failure, especially due to being unable to provide financially. One participant described the pain caused by his child thinking of him as a failure: "Maybe you see him … and he says "they say that you are useless and you don't have anything, you don't do anything for me*"*. One participant described how his failure to provide had undermined his identity as a man:

> Hey it will be hurting all the time when I think that I am a man and then my children are called by this man's surname you see, it's hurting all the time when you think about it… I was not a real man to give my children my surname.

One participant reported that he had turned to alcohol due to the pain of being estranged from his children, while others expressed feelings of helplessness in that they wished for their situation with their children to be different but felt unable to change the situation. Notably, few fathers focused on the consequences their absence had on the mothers of their children. It is a limitation of the study that this was not emphasized in the interview schedule.

Interventions proposed by participants to address father absence

When asked what measures could be taken to enable fathers to spend more time with their children, participants suggested that: fathers create forums where they can discuss their experiences and learn from one another; men be encouraged to enter caring professions, such as social work; men be mentored on positive fatherhood; fathers be educated on the rights and responsibilities of parents; and communities, families and social policy support men to be involved in their children's lives.

Conclusion: lessons for the promotion of gender equality

A key finding from this research is that conceptions of fatherhood can encourage or discourage paternal involvement. In this case, conceptions of fatherhood which put a great premium on men's role as economic providers have the unintended consequence of keeping some fathers away from their children's lives as poverty and unemployment make it difficult for them to be successful providers. Sole focus on this economic dimension of fatherhood makes it also difficult to envisage alternative father roles and creative ways for fathers to provide in-kind contribution to their child's upbringing. Ultimately, this restrictive conception of fatherhood contributes to father absence and maintains the burden of childcare on mothers or their extended family. A significant number of fathers continue to hold traditional views about paternal roles. They tend to naturalize gender roles and perpetuate old fashioned clichés of male and female roles. The rigidity that comes with such often dualist and dichotomist view of gender roles constrains adaptation to changing circumstances and wide adoption of the new fatherhood model, which emphasizes involved and caring fatherhood. The cultural conception of a father as a key contributor to a child's identity and prosperity and a link to ancestors and sources of success and good fortune is a useful leverage point for actions that seek to promote positive father involvement in African communities.

In looking for reasons why fathers are disengaged from their children's lives, it has emerged that high father absence in South Africa is intricately connected to the broader historical, social, economic and cultural setting. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, widespread father absence is produced by ideological factors such as materialist constructions of fatherhood and masculinity, by socio-economic factors such as poverty and unemployment of fathers, by cultural factors such as the high cost of "ilobolo" and "damages", by relationship failures of various kinds and the dynamics between men and women, especially those related to communication. Programs seeking to increase caring and gender equal involvement of fathers need to consider ways in which to challenge dominant conceptions of fatherhood which heavily influence fathers' behavior, along with harmful norms of masculinity. Objective circumstances of poverty and unemployment among fathers call for adequate social policy responses aiming at providing enablers for fathers to be involved in the care of their children. Positive and greater father involvement constitutes the royal pathway for promoting gender equality, particularly in the domestic sphere.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MEN
AS CARING FATHERS:
IMPLICATIONS FOR GENDER EQUALITY

LINDA HAAS AND GRAEME RUSSELL

Since industrialization, men's primary role has been as family breadwinners, while women's primary role has been as family caregivers. This division of social life into "separate spheres" reinforces gender inequality. Employers restrict mothers' opportunities and rewards since they do not match the image of the "ideal worker" (a man) who supposedly has no caregiving responsibilities to reconcile with paid employment. Meanwhile, fathers often enjoy greater labour market rewards but lack encouragement and opportunities to engage more fully in family life, participate in caregiving and develop close relations with children.

In the past two decades, men have been expressing increasing interest in being caring fathers (McGill 2014), but workplaces typically discourage this. This paper provides an assessment of lessons that can be learned from academic research on fatherhood, work and gender equality, and how this knowledge might be applied to promote gender equality, particularly in the workplace.

1. Fatherhood is socially constructed rather than biologically driven

Hojgaard (1997) offers one model that provides a strong foundation for understanding linkages between fatherhood, work and gender equality. She considers the relationship between fatherhood and work as dynamic and as socially constructed at three interrelated and competing levels of cultural practices: (1) the institutional level of the state, that sets the formal legal framework under which men can negotiate the integration of

employment with family life, (2) the interactional level at the workplace, where employers and employees negotiate fatherhood in the context of work, and (3) the individual level, where fathers handle the options for involvement in caregiving offered by the government and the workplace, within the family and within a larger social context of norms about fatherhood and masculinity.

Hojgaard's model regards gender as something we do and construct rather than biologically driven. A gender perspective on men as fathers places emphasis on how cultural beliefs about masculinity and femininity as well as discriminatory social practices reinforce an idealized gender-based division of labour, whereby paid employment comes first for men as breadwinners and where they are not regarded as responsible as women for home and family. A gender perspective also focuses our attention on how fathers' problems with work-family reconciliation are rooted in the traditional structures of gendered social institutions, especially government and the labour market, where policies, practices and norms are based on the assumption that fathers have limited caregiving responsibilities.

2. Studies on working parents and gender equality policies typically ignore gender differences in societal expectations for wage-earning and caring

The gender perspective on fatherhood and work calls into question the validity of research studies on working parents and work-family integration that fail to pay attention to the different societal expectations for wage-earning and caregiving that exist for fathers in comparison to mothers. According to Ranson (2012, 741), "Gender-neutral terminology tends to mask the clear gender coding that entrenches the different work and family expectations of mothers and fathers." Policy discourse also presents the work-family issues in a gender neutral way, when in fact gendered expectations for men as wage-earners are barriers to fathers' policy use (Scott and Plagno 2012).

Hojgaard's social constructionist model for fatherhood suggests we investigate multiple social forces operating at several interlocking levels to understand what can encourage or discourage men from being more active in family life. Decisions and choices fathers make in relation to their participation in childcare are affected by constraints and opportunities in various social contexts.

3. Government policies designed to promote men's involvement in care are increasingly being enacted around the world, especially in Europe

Most of the emphasis in gender equality legislation world-wide has been on promoting women's employment opportunities and reducing the gender wage gap. Much less attention has been paid to how government policy could promote the equal obligations and opportunities for men to be caregivers. There are, however, an increasing number of countries which have enacted social policies where the rationale offered is to promote mothers' and fathers' equal participation in childcare; these include the Nordic nations (Haas and Rostgaard 2011). Nordic policies such as paid parental leave and the right to reduce work hours promote the dual earner/dual carer model where women and men to a similar extent share responsibility for breadwinning and caring for young children (Leira 2002). Following Nordic nations' example, European nations now lead the world in promoting fathers' involvement in the care of children (O'Brien and Moss 2010).

4. Policymakers find the "economic case" for gender equality in work and care to be an increasingly attractive proposition

European nations have enacted equality legislation for economic as well as ideological reasons. Enhanced gender equality is increasingly seen as promoting a society's economic growth and development (Smith and Bettio 2009). The "economic case" for equality is noticeably manifest in policies that facilitate mothers' paid employment (e.g., anti-discrimination legislation, paid maternity leave, and access to high-quality, affordable childcare). These policies make an economy more productive because higher maternal employment leads to using the talents of more citizens; as families' purchasing power increases with two-incomes, there is also greater consumption of goods and services. An increasingly common motivation to support fathers as caregivers is also based on the economic case. There is growing recognition that mothers' participation in the labour force will be limited unless fathers take up more responsibility for childcare. Based on their research, Fox *et al.* (2007, 323) conclude:

> It is crucial for gender equality, if mothers are not to be disadvantaged by being seen as solely responsible for [work-family] reconciliation, that policies… conflict between work and family as a problem for men as well

as for women.

5. Policies such as paid parental leave have a positive impact on fathers' participation in childcare

Leave policies for fathers have the potential to challenge gendered assumptions about the division of labour for childcare, promoting a more egalitarian sharing of caregiving. These assumptions include the ideas that women are natural carers of children and therefore more responsible for childcare, that men are indispensable at work and that the ideal worker has no caregiving responsibilities. These policies also have the potential to establish new cultural norms and values that support men's interest in involved fatherhood by granting them time off work. They would also contribute to the acknowledgement of caregiving as socially valued work, making childcare more prestigious to share, undermining the motherhood wage penalty and increasing the desegregation of care occupations.

Paternity leave immediately after childbirth holds promise for promoting fathers' involvement in childcare. For example, Spanish men who took full-time paternity leave spent more time caring for young children than other fathers (Meil 2012). Studies on UK and US fathers also suggest that even a short amount of leave promotes fathers sharing childcare (Tanaka and Waldfogel 2007; Nepomnyaschy and Waldfogel 2007).

Parental leave is job-secured time off from work that fathers can take after the first month, often until the child attends school. Two important provisions for parental leave need to be in place if fathers are to be encouraged to take leave from work to care for children. First, it must be paid at a level close to ordinary wages, as a symbol of its social value and so families are not harmed economically when fathers take leave (Haas 2003). Second, fathers need their own individual entitlement to leave; otherwise, with traditional attitudes about mothers' and fathers' roles, it is easy for mothers to take most leave. Fathers are more likely to take leave when it is a highly compensated individual entitlement (Haas and Rostgaard 2011).

The example of Sweden makes this point. When the government decided that fathers needed to take more parental leave, it instituted a "pappa's month"–offering fathers an individual paid entitlement to 30 days of leave. Immediately afterwards, fathers' use of leave rose dramatically, from 40% to 69% (Duvander and Johansson 2012). Today, with a second pappa month, 90% of fathers take leave, for an average of 91 days (Duvander and Haas 2013).

From the perspective of institutionalizing an egalitarian family model it is important to know if taking leave promotes fathers' sharing of childcare once the leave is over. Research suggests this is indeed the case. Smith and Williams (2007) found that fathers spent more time caring for children in countries where they had individual rights to well-compensated leave. Similarly, Haas and Hwang (2008) found that Swedish fathers who took more days of leave when their children were younger were more likely to have solo responsibility for childcare, spend time with children and engage in physical caregiving.

6. At the workplace, fathers are more likely to negotiate informal access to time for caregiving, rather than rely on formal programs designed to promote active fatherhood

In Hojgaard's model, it is at the workplace that men must negotiate opportunities to participate actively in fatherhood. While more research is needed on this topic, there appear to be four ways for this. The first is negotiating the use of statutory benefits, e.g., in countries that provide fathers' rights to paternity leave, parental leave and flexible work. Given the lack of public policies in many countries, most access to father-friendly arrangements must come directly through the workplace. So the second way is accessing company-based formal policies. These are also relatively uncommon. A third way is through taking advantage of other employee benefits, not labelled as promoting work-family integration. For example, Whitehouse *et al*. (2007) found that the vast majority (83%) of Australian fathers took compensated leave after childbirth, but they used annual or other kinds of leave rather than designated paternity leave. Lastly, access to workplace arrangements that enable fathers to be active caregivers can come through negotiating informal arrangements with supervisors to take leave or work flexibly. Negotiating informal arrangements has been found to be more common than taking advantage of formal benefits (Boston College 2012; Harrington *et al.* 2011).

7. Traditional gendered company cultures and the lack of managerial support for men as caring fathers are important obstacles to change that need more research and policy attention

Research suggests that there are two important aspects of work organizations that limit fathers' likelihood of successfully negotiating the

right to combine their breadwinner role with an active caregiver role: company culture and managerial support.

Company culture. Company cultures tend to be gendered, based on beliefs that mothers are more responsible than fathers for caregiving and that the ideal worker is a person–a man–without caregiving responsibilities. Kelly *et al.* (2010) call this the "masculinized ideal worker norm." This makes it likely that any formal policies or flexible arrangements available are directed toward mothers rather than both parents. According to Daly *et al*. (2008, 251), "the need for work-life opportunities for men is …. rendered invisible in the workplace, because men are not viewed as strongly involved in caregiving." Fathers perceive a lack of workplace support. For example, a majority of Australian fathers reported that employers opposed their use of flexible working arrangements (Boston College 2012). The "'long hours' culture" also persists in many companies, hindering fathers' participation in childcare (Fagan 2004).

Companies might change company culture if they are convinced of the "business case" for reforms (McLaughlin and Deakin 2012). The "business case" rests on the assumption that working toward equality will improve an organization's competitiveness and performance. For example, gender equality practices could help attract and retain valued employees, reduce staff turnover and increase morale. Swedish companies found that fathers' absence on parental leave had the unanticipated impact of increasing creativity and productivity because it required work redesign (Sällberg *et al.* 2012).

However, it is difficult to change corporate culture because of the deep prejudices people have concerning gender, e.g., toward men as caregiving fathers (McLaughlin and Deakin 2012). Without combatting prejudices, organizations waste energy and resources helping individuals cope with the status quo. Even in Sweden, where the government promotes caring fatherhood, Haas and Hwang (2009) found that most companies' cultures remained grounded in beliefs that reinforced the separation of work and family life for fathers.

As is pointed out by Connell (2005), achieving a gender-equal society will necessarily involve profound institutional change. Organisations need to accept that norms associated with the family sphere are important enough to introduce into the work setting. Organisations could take for granted that fathers are capable of and interested in providing early child care. The new values underlying this culture need to influence how work is organized and how people are evaluated and rewarded.

Managerial Support. It is men who predominantly hold organizational

power, as senior and executive managers. This is often where the key strategic and policy decisions are made in relation to gender equality. As Connell (2005) argues, achieving gender equality outcomes requires support from men in top organizational positions.

Research suggests that managers vary greatly in their attitudes and behaviors toward facilitating employees' balance between work and family life. For example, Yeandle *et al*. (2003) found managers can be progressive, but they have only a vague understanding of policies or be resistant to dealing with work-family issues. Where statutory or regulatory benefits exist, managers can lack training in the tools that would enable them to implement policies successfully (Peper *et al*. 2011).

Hegewisch's cross-national study (2009) suggests that enabling line managers to make decisions about flexible working requests, and providing them with knowledge about how to redesign work and manage flexible employees, remains an important challenge. According to Bailyn and Harrington (2004, 206), work redesign must "challenge deeply ingrained beliefs about work, family, and gender roles….[It] helps define a work environment that is both effective and truly friendly to working families." Warth (2009) suggests that governments could provide more support to companies for equality work; e.g., financially supporting training, encouraging corporations to audit and monitor progress toward equality and certifying and awarding good practice.

Hearn and Niemesto (2012) argue that more research attention needs to be paid to managers as fathers. Of particular concern is how father-managers might influence corporate approaches to work and family and to active fatherhood. A common finding is that there is a link between organizational implementation of work-family initiatives and the representation of women in management positions (Hearn and Niemesto 2012). We are unaware of any study that has investigated a possible link between such policies and the representation of fathers in management and decision-making.

Conclusion

Achieving gender equality in paid work and caregiving requires men to be much more involved in childcare than they currently are. Our review shows that there are three main areas where efforts could be focused to facilitate change.

First, government legislation is needed to support fathers' involvement in childcare (e.g., leave and flexible work arrangements). Findings show that this has the greatest impact on fathers' involvement in caring when

their absence from work is financially compensated at a high level.

Second, there needs to be a focus at the workplace to change the workplace culture, to increase management support and redesign work to both enable and support fathers to be more actively involved in caregiving. In particular there is a need for organisations to take for granted that fathers as well as mothers are capable of and interested in providing early childcare.

Third, there is a need to focus on men themselves. A growing number of fathers are seeking to be more involved in caregiving. Connell (2005) draws our attention to the capacity for men to change, the diversity in masculinities and the evidence that shows that many men are involved in change focused on gender equality outcomes. Daly *et al.* (2008, 251) also argue that men might need to become more active in this process by "deliberately and strategically expressing their entitlement to take advantage of work-life strategies".

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Chapter Eighteen

Making Women Visible in Boys' Lives

Sarah Epstein

This chapter argues that the foundation for engaging boys in building gender equality starts with making women's lives and experiences visible to our sons. Removing the unknown and bringing women back from the margins establishes an immediate relational identity for boys as their masculinity is constructed. This assertion stems from a qualitative research study utilising in-depth interviews to explore the accounts of twenty self-identified feminist mothers' experiences of raising sons. Analysis of the data was grounded in the notion of feminist maternal practice as an agentic activity capable of re-positioning both mother and son in relation to gender difference discourse.

The gender binary and the mother and son

The mother and son relationship is embedded within dominant discourse about gender difference and is held accountable to normative gender practices. Gender difference discourse locates the body as the source of gendered identity, and activity, thus creating the appearance of gender as an innate attribute of the individual. Being named as male or female is the discursive pathway through which the gendered subject emerges. The mother and son relationship is held accountable to normative gender practices circulated by gender difference discourse. These practices reproduce and maintain ideas about masculinity and femininity as two distinct and innate entities that are finite in nature and universal in kind. The feminist imperative is to disrupt these existing arrangements because they reproduce male domination and female subordination.

Gender difference discourse is grounded in the gender binary as a symbolic representational system. The mother and son relationship is configured through the gender binary and the son is defined by his relationship to his mother. As masculinity can be configured as the

absence of the "feminine", the mother is constructed as the first hurdle in a boy's journey towards masculinity. That a son's masculinity is dependent on his rejection of femininity is highly problematic for gender relations. Consequently, the mother and son relationship is a study of the way gender inequality is reproduced and sustained.

The mother and son interaction is constrained while configured within the gender binary because the relationship is rendered visible only through gender difference discourse. The relationship will also continue to reproduce unequal gender relations as gender difference discourse is circulated as a true and natural reflection of masculinity and femininity. This provides the grounding for psychology, popular culture, the media etc. to marginalise women by editing mothers out of their sons' lives.

The patriarchal narrative about mothers and sons

Contemporary writers about mothers and sons, from a patriarchal perspective, have sold millions of books while arguing that innate gender difference is 'true' and urging boys' mothers to marginalise themselves as their sons march towards manhood. Robert Bly in his book *Iron John* (1992) writes of a boy's imperative to move from the mothers' world to the fathers' in order to become a man. This requires his relationship with his mother to die: "the movement [to the father's world] involves convincing the naïve boy or the comfort-loving boy, to die". (Bly 1992, 89). Note, that it is only this part of the boy that is required to die: "Other interior boys remain alive; this one dies" (Bly 1992, 89).

Bly (1992, 89) describes the death as gaining "independence" from his mother's "womb world". Similarly, Willard Gaylin echoes these words in his book *The Male Ego* (1992, 30):

> The essential goal in becoming a real man is to liberate one's self from the previous identification with the mother. To be a real man, we must stop being a Mama's boy since a crucial stage in male development demands abandoning the primary identification with the mother.

Popular self-help literature takes up the re-birth motif. Steve Biddulph's *Raising Boys* (1998) asserts it is: "only by leaving the world of women that young men can break the mother-mould and relate to women as fellow adults" (Bly 192, 23).

The language is strong, violent even and the message is clear; to achieve normative masculinity status a boy must reject the feminine and disrupt his connection with his mother. The patriarchal narrative edits the mother out of her son's life on the authority of gender difference

discourse. This is the same argument that patriarchal ideology has utilised to establish structural, social, political, legal and economic gender disparity.

To emphasise, the mother must be positioned as other and displaced in order for her son to emerge a man. In this moment too, it is possible for her to be objectified. On a personal level, between mother and son, if she remains as other, then her authority can be removed, her knowledge disqualified and her value diminished. This means that masculine subjectivity is predicated on denial, and dismissal of the feminine subject. Masculine subjectivity is constructed around absence, of the mother, of the feminine.

Of course this has implications for the relations between men and women on a much larger scale than the mother and son relationship. How is it possible to relate to someone when they are positioned as "other"? How is it possible to recognise the "other" as equal? And how is it possible to establish empathy and understanding when women are "other" and the focus becomes the differences between women and men?

Feminist maternal practice with boys

Contemporary feminist theorising about motherhood emphasizes women's experiences as the standpoint from which to explore maternity and makes a distinction between motherhood discourse and the practice of mothering (Everingham 1994; Green 2004; Jeremiah 2006; O'Reilly 2004; Rich 1976; Ruddick 1995). In establishing this distinction, the mothering experience is re-qualified and it is possible to consider a maternal subject positioned in relation to multiple ideologies and discourses (Jeremiah 2006). Motherhood then is not a fixed state; rather it is a set of ideas and practices that are responsive, contextual and historical. Feminist maternal practice (specifically) is a relational activity enacting maternity in response to demands that are accountable to feminist discourse.

The feminist mothers in my research describe mothering with their sons as a conscious and deliberate rejection of the patriarchal narrative and gender difference discourse. For feminists, giving birth to a son represents both a challenge and an opportunity. Everyday mothering with sons is about engaging them in ways that will support them to value gender equality and recognise their responsibility to do so.

All the feminist mothers in my research report choosing to be accountable to a feminist discourse and assert rejecting dominant gender discourse about motherhood and about mothers and sons. It is this decision-making and interaction that constitutes feminist maternal practice

with sons and enacts alternative maternal subjectivities. The maternal subject interacts with dominant discourse rather than being defined by discourse and so constitutes herself in multiple and non-normative ways. When women drawn on feminist discourse to resist dominant discourse, they emerge as agents of discursive activity and inform relations of power. The concept of the maternal subject makes possible a narrative of resistance, and in doing so women's role as social agents within the family is established.

Making women's lives visible

My research explored feminist mothers' experiences of raising sons with an emphasis on how feminism's engagement with ideas of gender and masculinity intersect with the mother-son relationship. The data indicates that feminist maternal practice with boys casts a lens on gender relations and works to make visible the lives of women and girls to boys. This is informed by their commitment to feminism and the recognition that women's unpaid labour, structural location and male privilege have the effect of obscuring women's lived experiences.

Making women's lives visible is a direct rejection of the patriarchal narrative. For feminist mothers it is the starting place for building gender equality and is about establishing recognition, respect, consideration, understanding and knowledge of women's lived experiences. Feminist mothers' narratives describe practices they enact in making women's and girls' lives visible to their sons.

Gender matters

Making gender, as a concept, relevant and noticeable is an important feminist maternal practice. Making gender matter draws attention to power, identifies male privilege, and establishes a context within which feminist mothers' sons can locate themselves. Simran explains:

> Gender does matter, just as culture and skin colour matters…whatever is the most marginalised matters… Like it is important that he holds that… and that if he becomes an accountant or a lawyer or a busker, what is important is that he's being respectful to all human beings with that and that he notices gender.

Feminist mothers of sons make gender matter by drawing attention to dominant discourses about women, as Kate describes:

So I suppose it's a question of he's going to see male domination, he's going to come across that but I'm going to help him deal with it in a way that I would like him to…little examples like the ads on TV when it's brought up we'll always discuss it. Or if I read a story that's got funny gender roles in it we'll talk about it.

Conversation that draws sons' attention to gendered practices is an ongoing and continuous interaction that draws attention to the way that gendered practices position men and women differently *and* problematically. Below, Simran describes that as a consequence her son has begun to take up the noticing of gendered practices:

We were wandering around the streets of Jaipur and [my son] got really shirty at one stage… and he is going 'Mum they are all just looking at you'. And I said 'Yes the men do… it happens because I am lighter skinned and I am smallish and I look different and I experience that and it is a gendered response. They look at me because I am a woman… and it was gendered and it was sexual'. But I was so intrigued that he noticed and that he was angry…and yeah so he speaks it and I have gone, 'They are looking at me and it does tend to be men but it is also this idea of me being different as well.' And he's gone 'But they are only looking at you, they are not looking at dad'. And I said 'You are right, I am wondering how we can try and make sense of it'. And then we had this lovely conversation about how he could make sense of it. And it was important for him… and that he noticed and that an eleven year old boy says why are they looking at you, and why are they looking at your breasts? I think he is able to do it because I keep going with it so there is always that retelling of it, so I will tell… people in front of him and I ask 'What do you think about it? Do you remember that happened? So that story becomes richer because he then goes yeah I did think that…So he reflects along with what happened and I do that a lot. Otherwise things get taken for granted and gender only equals women and is static and there is no reflection or capacity to engage with it.

Feminist mothers describe being open to engaging their sons in conversation as a practice that builds awareness of both male power and privilege, but also the way that their social world is continuously informed by gender relations. As Katja explains:

Actually, a couple of years ago there were those awful shoe ads…and they were up all around the place where we lived…pink billboards with women with boobs, three women in a bed you know looking like sluts and this one guy with a pair of white shoes. And I remember driving home and [my son] would look at that and go 'Mum what is that about? Why are they advertising shoes with women's boobs hanging out?' And I'd go 'Good question darling, what do you think that's about?' And he couldn't really fathom it and he said 'Do you think it's because the men like seeing the

women and the boobs and think maybe that the shoes go with that in some way?' And we have those fascinating discussions, not lead by me but just me asking questions.

When feminist mothers articulate to their sons the meanings, importance and consequences of gendered practices this becomes a core component of doing gender differently (Fenstermaker and West 2002).

More than mother

For many of the mothers in my research it is important they make visible subject positions that are beyond that of maternal roles, at the same time as enacting general responsibilities as a parent. Miriam describes this process of navigation:

> There's a constant thing of on the one hand wanting to be available to them and teach them things that I know and nurture them. I also, throughout the whole thing have always needed to have some continuing sense of my own space…

This is a fluid process and Eleanor describes the result: "My children have a very clear idea of me as being someone other than their mother."

Making multiple positions visible is a conscious relational practice as Muriel suggests:

> Their relationship with me might be a template for their relationship to the feminine. I hope they have a feeling of safety about that, not some nameless yearning…hopefully that ends up being a positive thing…rather than some combination of mother and martyr and endless provider.

Feminist mothers want their sons to value non-maternal subject positions as Eleanor asserts:

> I think it comes down to the children, they know that, the boys particularly just take it for granted that what I do is just as important as what Dad does. I think that what they end up taking for granted is not the domestic stuff that is done every day, what they end up taking for granted on some level is that women are capable of doing all these things and it is integral to who they are. I concentrate more on what attributes you display that you would like them to hold up as being the virtues of a woman and not necessarily them seeing me as a mother in that kind of way. So I hope in that scale that they see me as being intelligent, creative, contributing something to society, expansive looking and connected to the outside world, engaged with a whole range of interesting friends and I bring "interesting" into the house because of my work and because of what I do that my ideas inform

society in some kind of way.

Making women's lives visible to boys is also about re-qualifying women's lived experiences so that this knowledge is available to their sons.

Re-qualifying women's experiences

Many of the women in my research identify wanting to draw attention to material and structural differences. This involves describing situations and inviting their sons to consider how this implicates women. As Gloria describes:

> You know I do want him to have an understanding about what it's like being a female, a political female, and the type of things that I need to think about as a woman, as opposed to the type of things that he needs to think about as a bloke.

Gloria goes on to describe how this is grounded in feminism and what this practice might entail:

> Much of it is based on a social framework, but that's where my feminism comes in to it. In that when he makes a decision, when he makes an absolute decision about something I would then challenge him and say, 'Well have you thought about that?' In some ways trying to make sure [he] is also thinking about what it's like for a female, whether or not that is a fair thing, whether or not that's something he should think or do.

And for Eleanor, it is drawing attention to the unpaid work that women do, making visible her experience so that it is not taken for granted:

> The priority here is to have them recognise the work that women do around the home. So, although their capacity or their inclination is to look right past or through me, it is to draw attention back around to say hang on, what I am actually doing here is making your lunch, someone is doing the work here.

Feminist maternal practice with sons is also about incorporating women's particular experiences into the everyday for their sons. Anna describes: "I talk to them a lot about birthing because of my midwifery experience and the importance of the birthing experience for women and I hope that that sinks in a bit too."

Many of the women spoke about sharing these stories as a means of normalizing women's bodies but also as a way to de-mystify what the girls

around them may be going through. In addition to childbirth these feminist mothers openly talk about menstruation, tampons, anatomy and sex. Below Rose describes the hopes she has that her efforts to position women's lives as knowable will benefit both women as well as her sons:

> Well I would like to think that all these things that they get their heads around will help to add value to them as men in terms of the fact that they are able to deal with the ups and downs of everyday life. And that they will never be the sort of men who have a reaction to something that will make the woman that they are around or the girl in their class feel left out…I think that for boys and girls to accept and understand each other can only lead to greater possibility of good relationships…Because I think that if there is acceptance and understanding there is a lot more scope, or a lot less need for conflict and lots more scope for good healthy friendships…And I think it is important for girls and women to feel like it is alright to be female and to have those who understand them and appreciate them…As a feminist, I would say that we have, women and girls, have all our sorts of foibles, peculiarities and weaknesses and all that and just have those accepted without being dismissed as silly women's behaviour.

The majority of feminist mothers interviewed believe that re-qualifying women's experiences is constitutive of their sons' masculine subjectivities in relation to femininities. This intersubjectivity (Benjamin 1998) can hopefully provide a solid foundation for boys' relationships with women and establish respect and appreciation. As Gloria describes, a feminist mothers' hope in making women's lives visible is such that "… it just becomes an automatic stepping stone for him to be thinking about what's it like."

Conclusion

Feminist maternal practice with boys constructs an alternative narrative about mothers and sons. Feminist mothers work to counter the effect of the gender binary by resisting the call to recede into obscurity. Instead, they work to make women's lived experiences knowable and constant in the lives of boys. This narrative reinstates the maternal subject in relation to her son not at the expense of the "other".

Through this interactional location, the feminist mother and son relationship is an exciting and legitimate location for feminist activism. As the feminist mother works towards overall change in gender relations, it is important to position this narrative alongside broader feminist and pro-feminist gender equality work.

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PART VI:

BOYS AND CHILDCARE

CHAPTER NINETEEN

ENGAGING BOYS IN BUILDING GENDER EQUALITY: REFLECTIONS FROM PRIMARY SCHOOL RESEARCH

CLARE BARTHOLOMAEUS

This chapter highlights the importance of including young boys in discussions about gender equality, which are often focused on men, teenage boys, or the collective "men and boys" (see, for example, Connell 2003, International Planned Parenthood Federation 2010). While there is an increasing amount of research about primary school students and gender, issues of gender equality tend to appear as critiques of negative practices where examples of gender *inequality* are focused on (see, for example, Francis 1998; Mandel and Shakeshaft 2000; Skelton 2001).[1] In contrast, this chapter provides a number of snapshots of boys' positive views and practices in two South Australian primary schools. I give examples of boys denouncing violence against women, recognising the prevalence of male leaders, and engaging in cross-gender friendships and positive interactions. To demonstrate the possibilities of involving boys in gender equality work, I discuss how students were involved in an activity designing posters to show what they had learnt during the research. This chapter also sets possibilities for such work in context by concluding with a discussion of the key barriers to engaging boys in building gender equality.

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[1] For exceptions where boys' actions which may advance gender equality are focused on, see Davies (2003) and the discussion of some of Ravi's comments in Keddie (2003). For similar discussions with high school-aged boys and young men, see Coulter (2003) and Kehler and Martino (2007).

Participants and methods

Qualitative research was conducted in two co-educational, largely middle class primary schools in South Australia. One school was Greek Orthodox (Socrates Primary), and the other was Catholic (St Catherine's Primary). Two classes from each school participated: a Year 1 and Year 6 class at Socrates Primary and a Reception/1 (R/1) and Year 6/7 class at St Catherine's Primary. A total of 95 students (aged 6-7 and 11-13) reflected on their ideas about being boys and girls by completing numerous activities. Students were involved in writing, drawing, and discussing their ideas in individual, small group, and whole class activities. In addition, teachers and interested parents were interviewed about their views on how the students understood gender. Teachers and students provided feedback on the initial findings from the research. The names of all schools and participants are pseudonyms.

Support of gender equality and awareness of gender (in)equality

Several boys, particularly at the end of primary school, showed some support for gender equality and had some awareness of gender (in)equality.

Violence against women

One of the key ways boys supported gender equality was by expressing negative views about violence against women. While violence was sometimes drawn on to construct a privileged masculinity for boys, and violence was often accepted and admired when relating to films, television, and occasionally sport, "real" fighting was often disliked. The topic of violence against girls and women arose unexpectedly in relation to US singer Chris Brown assaulting his then girlfriend singer Rihanna in 2009 (the year of the study). Brown pleaded guilty to assaulting Rihanna and faced a number of legal punishments.[2] One research activity with the students asked them to rank male and female famous faces from most to least "manly" and most to least "womanly", and to provide a rationale for this. This activity encouraged students to reflect on the diverse expressions

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[2] For further discussions of the assault and subsequent events see Projanksy (2010, 73 note 1).

of gender. Overall, the older students who referred to Chris Brown and violence against girls/women ranked him in the bottom half of their most to least "manly" lists. One group (led by a boy) explicitly noted that Chris Brown's violence influenced where they ranked him: "he would have come at least 3rd but after he bashed Rhianna [sic] we don[']t think he is that manly." (Year 6 class, Socrates Primary, 3 girls and 1 boy, ranking Chris Brown fifth most "manly").

However, while violence against women was generally rejected by the students, this was often because of the belief that boys were stronger than girls which complicates these views as straightforwardly supporting gender equality. By drawing on essentialised views of gender boys were constructed as superior to girls.

Male leaders

Another activity asked students to draw their own fighting characters after watching clips from the movie *Kung Fu Panda* (2008). Students were asked to choose a leader of their fighting group, and most students–boys and girls–had a male as their leader. While fighting may often be associated with boys, when discussing this finding with one class, a group of boys explained the inequality by highlighting the prominence of men in the media:

> Mitch: Well our group thought most guys look up to male figures
> Student: And females look up to female figures
> CB: And how come the girls then wrote mostly boy leaders?
> Mitch: Well, that would be because on TV and the media men are portrayed as higher authority roles like Prime Minister [Kevin Rudd[3]], doctors, etcetera
> (Year 6/7 class, St Catherine's Primary, whole class discussion recording)

These boys demonstrated that they were able to articulate *and* critique the dominant discourse (see also, Francis 1998, 146). Their response also highlights that age is important because the older students were more likely to be aware that males are often leaders in the "real world". While this is only one example, it highlights that some boys were already thinking about and critiquing gender inequality.

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[3] Kevin Rudd was the Australian Prime Minister at the time of the research (2009).

Cross-gender friendships and positive interactions

Boys' friendships with girls can also be seen as supporting gender equality (this theme is explored in more detail in Bartholomaeus 2013). Friendships between boys and girls can be viewed as a challenge to the homosociality which can contribute to gender inequality (Bird 1996). In my research, students were asked to draw a friendship map, naming their "best" and "other" friends. From this, cross-gender friendships made up nearly a third of all friendships identified by students. In the older classes, distinct possibilities for cross-gender friendships were apparent. These patterns involved boys described by their teachers as "effeminate" or "feminine" being friends with girls; friendships between boys and girls who had a "low status" and/or were marginalised in one of the older classes; and heterosexualised friendships between boys and girls who enjoyed a "high status" in class. While these cross-gender friendships suggest possibilities for gender equality, they were available only through particular avenues.

There appeared to be more flexibility for the younger students. According to the teachers of the younger classes, students at this age were often involved in cross-gender friendships and interactions. During the research students encouraged one another to participate in class discussions, supported each other's ideas, took things in turns, and made room for other students when sitting in a circle on the floor. These practices are in line with the ideas of fairness, sharing, and turn-taking that are encouraged in junior primary classrooms (see, for example, Hännikäinen and Rasku-Puttonen 2010) and that are less evident in older classrooms.

Engaging in discussions about gender equality: student-designed posters

Many students were able to engage in debates about gender equality when asked to design their own posters (in pairs or individually) to show what they had learnt during the previous sessions. From this a number of themes appeared, highlighting how the students understood the concept of gender equality. The themes on the posters included views that girls and boys can exist in co-harmony (they can be friends, play sport together, go into a house together, and should be nice to each other) (theme on 14 posters); that boys and girls can like or do the reverse of what they usually do (for example, boys can wear pink) (6); that gender does not matter (5); that girls and boys are different (5); that gender equality should be supported (4); that gender equality relates to broader notions of equality

(3); that girls and boys are the same (3); that boys and girls are equal but different (2); and that boys and girls are strong (2). In her research with students aged 7-8 and 10-11 in England, Francis argues that two main equity discourses were drawn on: "innate equality between the genders" where students used terms like "equal" and "the same", and "genders should have equal opportunity" which was based on ideas about individualism, "fairness", and what is "right" (1998). In my research the student-designed posters generally fitted into the former category ("equal" and "the same"), whereas responses in other activities were more likely to fit with the latter category (individualism).

The younger students drew on two key messages on their posters. First, posters displayed girls and boys doing things together, such as playing soccer (although often the boys and girls were drawn standing apart). This theme was chosen by boys of both age groups more often than by girls. (See Figure 19-1.)

Fig. 19-1: Stelios and Spiro's Poster (age 6 and age 7, Year 1 class, Socrates Primary): "Boys playeind [sic] Soccer with gills [girls]"

Second, posters framed activities and interests in the reverse of which gender they are usually associated with. For example, as shown in Figure 19-2, girls watch *Star Wars* and boys watch *Bratz*.

Fig. 19-2: Jordan and Michael's Poster (both age 6, Year R/1 class, St Catherine's Primary): "Boys and girls are strong[.] girls also watch star wars. boys watch Bratz"

Both of these ideas can be seen to stem from the students' understandings of gender as well as how this activity was described to this age group (one teacher gave examples such as girls and boys can play soccer together). While their ideas related to gender equality by supporting co-harmony between boys and girls, the younger students found it hard to move away from ideas that boys and girls are different.

The older students drew on a broader range of messages about gender for their posters than the younger students. The most common theme was that gender does not matter. For example, Sean (Figure 19-3) used this message on his poster, along with a number of other ideas about boys and girls being able to do the same things.

As with the younger students, some older students used the message that girls and boys can be friends on their posters. Kai and Tony (Figure 19-4) designed their poster with this message and shared their ideas with a pair of girls in their class, demonstrating cross-gender friendships in action.

By providing students with the opportunity to design their own posters, the classroom session created room for many students to provide interesting and diverse ideas. However, the posters demonstrate how the students struggled to combine ideas about difference, equality, *and* choice. An activity like this could be further enhanced with teaching where students could talk through ideas of gender and gender equality (although this is not always straightforward, see Davies 2003).

Fig. 19-3: Sean's Poster (age 11, Year 6 class, Socrates Primary): "Gender doesn't matter", "Boy or girl, WHO CARES?", "Boys and girls can play sports", "Girls and boys are both aloud [sic] to LOVE fashion"

Fig. 19-4: Kai and Tony's Poster (both age 11, Year 6/7 class, St Catherine's Primary): "If you want to be my friend it DON'T matter if you['] r[e] a Boy or Girl!! !! !!"
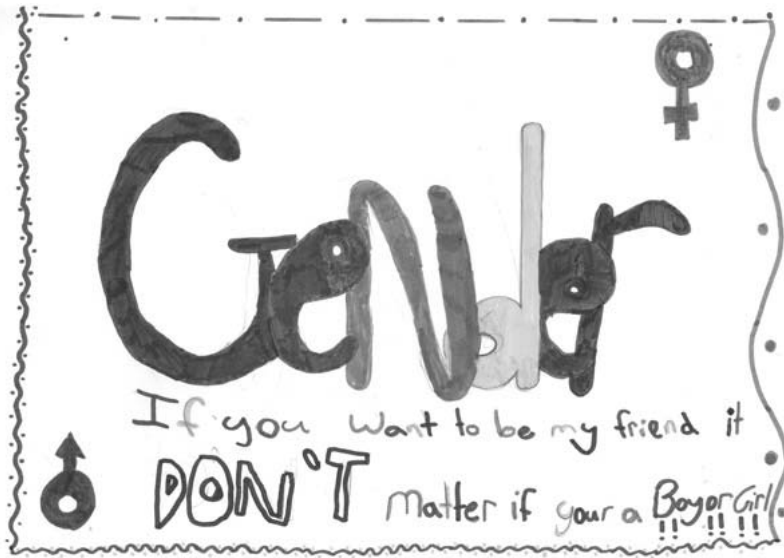
Barriers to engaging boys in gender equality work

So far in this chapter I have focused on examples of boys' potentially positive engagement in building gender equality. However, there appeared to be some key barriers to engaging boys in gender equality work. These barriers related to broader discourses of male privilege and individualism and the current context of Australian education.

Broader discourses of male privilege

Broader discourses of male privilege were often apparent in the research. Set amongst the examples of boys engaging in gender equality, students, particularly boys, on numerous occasions constructed boys as superior to girls, girls as inferior to boys, and boys as "the norm". To give a central example, students frequently discussed boys and sport together, with sport being important to constructing a privileged masculinity (see Bartholomaeus 2011). This included denying the involvement of girls and women in sport. Some students drew on broader discourses derived from

media representations of sport to argue this. For instance, a 6 year old boy justified his claim that only men and boys play soccer by drawing on his knowledge of sport in the media, and questioned whether girls playing soccer was shown on television. An emphasis on sport in this way is reflective of the Australian context, and the dominance of men's sport evident in the media (Australian Sports Commission 2010).

Broader discourses of individualism

While some students were aware of gender inequality, and several designed thoughtful posters, a discourse of individualism was often drawn on to downplay constraints relating to gender. For example, approximately 40% of students from the older age group wrote that their own gender had no restrictions (the younger students were not asked explicitly about gendered restrictions): "I don't feel any [restrictions]. I do what I want." (Zach, age 12, Year 6/7 class, St Catherine's Primary)

A discourse of individualism was also espoused by a number of the teachers and parents. One of the junior primary school teachers was teaching her students "choice theory", which emphasises individualism and personal choice. Sometimes teachers and parents drew on a discourse of individualism in ways that could build gender equality, such as by supporting diversity in gender practices. However, discourses of individualism can be used to defend positions which are sexist or racist (Bulbeck 2009, 37). In one of the older classes, a girl was offended by a boy's negative comment about girls. Rather than addressing the boy's comment, the class teacher instead told the girl "you're taking it personally sweetie. Just ignore what they're saying, everyone's entitled to their opinion alright". Thus, alternative ways for students to be able to critique gender inequality are difficult to imagine considering some of the messages they receive from their broader environment.

Australian education context

While my research highlighted possibilities for engaging boys and girls in building gender equality, the current education context in Australia must be acknowledged. Here, feminist-informed work about gender equity and equality[4] has often been overtaken by concern for boys in regards to

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[4] There is a large body of existing work in Australia advocating for feminist-informed teaching and education from early childhood through to high school (for some key examples, see, Davies 2003,; Gilbert and Gilbert 1998,; Kenway, Willis,

their "disadvantage", perceived low academic achievement, and the suggested need for "male role models" (for discussions, see, for example, Gill 2005; Lingard and Douglas 1999; Mills, Martino and Lingard 2007). Thus, there are likely to be difficulties for individual educators and schools in implementing gender equity and equality programs and activities. Education systems need to have strong policy commitments to gender equity and equality based on research in schools examining the socially constructed nature of gender, which, in turn, will allow educators a better space to be able to deconstruct gender with their students (for related arguments see, for example, Martino, Lingard and Mills 2004).

Looking forward… engaging boys in building gender equality

Despite potential barriers, looking at the positive practices amongst primary school boys highlights some topics and strategies for engaging them in building gender equality. Several of the activities used in my research, such as designing posters, may be useful for educators to explore issues about gender equality in their classes. If possible within the contexts of particular classrooms, schools, and education systems, such activities need teaching to accompany them and could complement lessons about critical literacy and deconstructing gender, which have previously been advocated for to build gender equality (Davies 2003; Martino 1998). In addition, the media and popular culture are frequently discussed by primary school students and interact with how they negotiate, construct, understand, and even critique gender (Buckingham 1993; Willett 2006). Therefore, critical literacy in relation to the media and popular culture appears particularly useful for building gender equality at primary school age (Woodcock 2008; Young 2000). The issues discussed in this chapter are small examples but ones from which ideas about how to engage primary school boys (and girls) in discussions about gender equality can grow from their existing understandings and experiences.

Blackmore and Rennie 1997,; MacNaughton 2000,; Martino, Lingard and Mills 2004).

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CHAPTER TWENTY

MALE KINDERGARTEN TEACHER ASSISTANTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF CARING PRACTICE:
MOVING AWAY FROM THE MISERY
RATIONALE TO BUILD GENDER EQUALITY
IN CHILDCARE EDUCATION

LEIF ASKLAND

Current scholarship tends to describe men's practices in kindergarten in a dichotomizing manner: what can men do that women cannot? What do men do that women do not? Such studies and descriptions foster stereotypes and derogatory contradictions that are, in general, not fruitful if the intention is to develop a relational tool in kindergarten work. In this work my aim is to describe and present images that men have of their own practices in work with kindergarten children. This chapter aims to trigger discussions about strategies to enhance vocational training, by which male kindergarten teacher assistants may be given an opportunity to reflect upon their own practices and, subsequently, develop more advanced and nuanced caring practices.

Focus: Men's practices

The discourses that have dominated the work concerning recruitment of male kindergarten teachers have to a great degree been steered by the dichotomy female-male. What is it men can do that women cannot (Roething 2006)? Would having more men in kindergartens really make a difference when it comes to the marginalisation that boys and men are exposed to in lieu of the so-called "misery stories"; that is, the marginalisation that rise from the stories that underpin many discussions which focus on the overrepresentation of boys and men in, for example, violence statistics, prison and special education (Raundalen 1998). Less

articulated, but still underlying many discussions of men's participation in kindergarten work is also the issues connected to sexual abuse. Menka-Eide (2011) has shown in his thesis that unarticulated, preventive practices exist in kindergartens and influence men's everyday routines. Little attention has been given to the qualities that men's work with children might contain. How do men understand the concept of care and how do they practise care? Are the qualities implied in their practices examples of good enough care for the girls and boys in kindergartens? This chapter is a contribution to the descriptions and analyses of men's practices.

The data for this study is made up by 29 texts, in which male kindergarten teacher assistants wrote about their ways of caring for young children aged one to six years. The men wrote these texts as part of their participation in an extensive in-service course, after being recruited via the county service network of kindergartens. The interpretation and presentation I give here is strongly influenced by my own 40 years background as a kindergarten teacher, a kindergarten teacher educator and an activist of many years on field of "recruiting men for work in kindergarten". My interpretations and presentation of the actual texts are strongly influenced by me situated in the kindergarten tradition and being an insider.

Before writing their texts the assistants had had a lecture at an in-service course about care, play and learning, primarily based on Askland (2009). For most of the men it was a novel experience to write a formal text, something that might have led to the fact that many perspectives on their own practice disappeared. Critical reflection on caring and practising rules and limits might have become more nuanced if the data had been collected through other methods, such as interviews.

Perceptions of care

Care is about wanting the best for others (Thyssen 1991). Care is a relational phenomenon and it is what you actually *do* that means something (Noddings 1984; Loevlie 1990). These perspectives dominate my interpretations of the texts. In addition my perception of care is strongly influenced by the works of Rask Eriksen (1992), Sommer (1997) and Mahler, Pine and Bergman (1975), describing qualities in the mutual adult-child relations and Daniel Stern's work on intersubjectivity and ways of tuning in mutual attentions have influenced my own work to a great degree. However, none of these sources are discussed explicitly here.

Interpretations of the men's texts

The male kindergarten teacher assistants' written accounts provide a rich source of information regarding their information of care. The joy of experiencing close contact with children, the connecting and reciprocity are factors expressed as vital for the satisfaction that the assistants experience in their work. They all express a wide understanding of care. Care is more than the physical, wiping noses and changing nappies, it is also to wish the best for the child in a future prospect.

The texts reflect attitudes that can be called generous and inclusive. This is in contrast to constricted patterns of interaction. In her research, Bae (2004) found two specific qualitative attributes in adult-child interactions: generous and constricted patterns of interaction. The generous patterns of interaction are among other things characterized by focused attention, listening attitudes, kind interpretations and tolerance. These are also ways of interaction that repeatedly are found in the assistants' descriptions of their own ways of caring, as:

> I have a child in the group who shows very little interest in mastering the task of getting dressed/undressed. […] This particular day I have made my mind up to commit myself totally to this child when dressing/undressing. […]. I have in advance decided for myself not to use words like "no" or "wrong". When I see that he's stuck, I explain to him that he can do things differently. I get his total attention and give him praise for each piece of clothing that he overcomes. … He was the last one out, but with a good feeling of having done things himself.

In the texts there are very few examples of constricted interactions according to Bae's (2004) descriptions . This does not mean that the assistants are free of such interaction patterns in their repertoire of actions, such as moral responses to the children's acting-out behaviour, defining accusations or being mentally absent in situations. Since the participants were asked to write about their own *positive* qualities, it is expected that such qualities and examples also are put forward.

Out of the personal descriptions, *five key terms* that provide useful perspectives of care qualities emerged: personal ways of being; to be active and intervening; to inspire safety and confidence; to strengthen relations and to encourage independence. These perspectives constitute the following descriptions.

Personal ways of being

The men's texts emphasised traits of care that are tied to the carer's person, his or her personality and ways of being, and to a less degree what is a result of knowledge and learning. What the assistants describe, touch personal qualities as they experience themselves, and their projects are about being aware and reflective of the traits of their own care giving. One of the participants describes himself in this way:

All the time since I was a little boy, I've been told by my mother that I have a security and calmness by myself…, I think this is a state of being that infect the children, including keeping stress down.

The men express various ways to balance external and internal control in their relations with the children. They point at *calmness* as an important quality. When situations grow chaotic, it is important to be able to calm the speed to make the children listen. Using *time*, both in the specific situation and in a longer time frame, is important to create trust. Along with calmness, qualities such as *patience*, being *understanding* and *flexible* are very important. To be real and to "be one self" are traits that are repeatedly mentioned, and underline that care is about something personal. Routines and techniques are not in themselves qualities in care, they must be personified. *Humour* is also a quality often mentioned, and the assistants underline the importance of being open, honest, social and extroverted, traits that can be connected to being self secure. *Spontaneity* and the ability to grab things when they happen are also traits following what has already been mentioned. Some also experience that being curious and able to wonder together with the children gives much joy during the working day.

Men as kindergarten workers have a reputation of being physically active and rough-and-tumble play partners. What these assistants express in their writing certainly contrasts with this. Ravaging can be a strategy for contact that identifies a novice in the working area. Most of the men in this study have worked in kindergartens more than three years, a fact that might have promoted many more and various ways to interact with children. But they mention the importance of physical contact, both when comforting, encouraging tumble play and to have eye contact as a tool for commenting, correcting or to signal humour and joy.

Several of the texts emphasize the importance of the ability to reflect on one's own ways of being. In addition they note that one must not take oneself too seriously and one must be willing to do something with personal traits, such as mastering irritation that might be negative.

To be active and intervening

Intervention and the control of impulses are recurring themes in the men's texts. They emphasize the necessity and the importance of being a distinct adult who is capable of practising simple rules and setting clear limits. One of the participants explains this very clearly: "An indistinct adult, one who is just "well-meaning", is to me a person who has misunderstood parts of the concept of care."

Some of the participants believe that they can be misunderstood by the children when their intentions have been to be clear and consequent. In some cases they might be perceived as harsh or strict. Intervening is tied to practising rules. Rules should be considered according to the child's personality, knowledge of the kindergarten, gender, language etc., many of the men claim. Intervention is one of the obvious ways to show how to be responsible, and it is a difficult but important exercise to manage the balance between being consequent and having clear rules and being authoritarian and rule ridden. Being intervening includes to consider "what is it this child needs right now". The episode above, with the boy receiving thorough assistance during dressing, is an example. Many of the participants put forward encouragement and support the child when struggling with autonomy and mastering new things. They use words like mentoring, supporting, finding new ways and overcoming when describing such processes.

How to balance "all must try" and "pushing" is important for judging care quality, and is often referred to in the texts. Situations can develop to be more serious than just trying. One assistant describes making a four-year old boy ski quite far, ten kilometres. The ski walk is voluntary, but the four year old might not have realised how far it really is. The story ends with mastery and an exhausted, but happy, little boy. My own impulse is that such serious pushing should not take place in a kindergarten; it is quite hard to know whether the experience will end up with mastery or with a great sense of failure.

The area of being active and intervening needs experience, professional and humane judgments to understand where the limits are for the size of the challenges given to children. This care category is also tied to efforts to inspire and encourage children to try, to join play and activities and to foster children's health. This category is, in my interpretations, about fostering *autonomy*.

To inspire safety and confidence

The skill to inspire safety and confidence preoccupies the men in their writings. They identify especially two basic dimensions for this. One is to be able to meet new children when they are introduced to the group in a way that make them obtain trust with the staff and the other children. The second is to maintain and make oneself deserve the trust the child places in them on a longer term basis. This require delicacy, empathy and understanding for where the child is in her or his experience of the surroundings The sensitivity the child has for new situations and new persons is tied to conditions including age, maturity, relational conditions at home, attachment issues, culture and experiences with people other than the parents or guardians.

"To give care it requires that you know where and how. You must observe the children of whom you have a responsibility." This quotation touches the relational aspect of care, as for instance Ulla (2011) describes: "People of all ages can in various ways both give, reject, let down, and receive care". Interpreting Ulla, there is a claim of respect for the other part's wishes to be a caring subject to make the care real. We must both have a mutual understanding of the caring situation. The texts demonstrate this understanding of giving interest, attention and care at the right time and the right place.

"I'm living according to the principal to do to others what you want them to do to yourself." This golden rule is directly articulated by several of the assistants. This implies that one can show understanding and respect and to be clear in communication. It is about listening with all your senses and being able to give the right sort of comforting and to be physically close. In connection with this one of the assistants bring forth the importance of digging in one's own memories of childhood.

Many of the men see predictability as an important factor that can engender a feeling of safety in children. This means that one act and in a stable and predictable way regardless of day to day conditions. One must also find a balance between freedom and structure. Structure gives predictability; freedom can challenge and be a gate for new experiences.

To strengthen relations

Quantity of time is an important criteria speaking of quality in care. Establishing relations founded on trust, safety, reciprocity and joy needs stability over time. It is also about being together without intentions, just the mere joy of being together: "I use much time for spontaneous play,

with no other intentions than joy or the wish to arrange something."

The participants write about being playmates and showing initiative and good-will towards the children's own initiatives in activities and social company. In that way one can contribute to the fact that the children become attentive towards each other and build friendships. This shows respect and recognition of children as being equal in the relation, even though one as an adult has a responsibility that means that the relation is asymmetric. Recognition, praise and positive eyes are concepts repeatedly used by these men. To make the children proud of what they are doing and all the time achieve new mastery are examples of this.

Good relations also grow forth through interaction with the child and the child's family. The child observe the interaction between the grown-ups and sense the respect, interest and good will the staff show towards their parents/caretakers, and often this lead to a deeper trust towards the staff in kindergarten.

Building relations is about sensitivity. Many of the assistants express insight and understanding when it comes to the importance of developing one's own skill in being sensitive to the individuality of each child and to respect that children are different. One has to have a varied repertoire of ways to get and stay in contact when building relations with the children in the group.

To encourage independence

Self-mastery and independence is about giving the children self-confidence and supporting the children's development of a substantial positive self-image. The men's texts are in general giving points to the importance of training independence. Training routines that enable the children to gradually master more by themselves and, subsequently, develop trust in their own capacities are seen as an important strategy. This implies that the children's experiences are taken seriously. An assistant tells about the joy he experience when a child joyfully exclaim: "Look, I did it!" and at the same time not being tempted to correct eventual faults, because it's the child's effort that is most important.

Children's participation is an important tool when making room for the children to express themselves. A dialogue in which the children are allowed to express, verbally or bodily, their thoughts, experiences, feelings and wishes are premises when supporting their independence. In turn this requires that one has the ability to decentre one self and have empathy in the child's experiences. Many of the assistants write about showing attention and support to the experiences of each child in their projects of

independence, such as going to the toilet or getting dressed. This attention is being shared with the other children in such a way that the children also can enjoy their friends' achievements.

Closing reflections

In this chapter I document men's caring practices that are complex and insightful. The men express warmth and close relations in the care-context of the kindergarten. They express joy in being together with children and convey that this joy is valuable in its own right. In writing the texts on which this research focuses, these men have put words to how everyday care can be expressed. The qualities in their practices are not specifically masculine; they reflect important qualities in all caring, regardless of the caregiver's gender.

The report *What does life in kindergarten mean for children under three years?* (Bjoernestad *et.al.* 2012, 27) discusses core-qualities in kindergartens: Kindergarten with enough trained staff, kindergartens that give children sensitive and responsive care, mutual interaction and low stress are important criteria for quality. These male assistants prove in their texts that they possess caring abilities for the girls and the boys in their kindergartens and also perform a professional responsibility in developing and improving their own practices. They even contribute to giving the children more complex experiences of care.

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PART VII:

NEGOTIATING GENDERS AND SEXUALITIES

Chapter Twenty One

"The Problem is that he's a Man, Not that he's Bisexual": Women Discussing Bi-Masculinities and Bi-Misogyny

Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli

If a woman is having a shit time with her bi partner, the problem is that he's a man, not that he's bisexual. The problem is that he's an old-fashioned sexist bastard, a misogynist, who thinks he can do whatever he wants whenever he wants cos it's a man's world, and then come home to be Mr Powerful Hubby, and she's there to be Mrs Housekeeper and Nanny. Being bi hasn't taught him anything
(Naomi, 40, 9 year relationship)

Compared to the many married men I know and hear about, there is no way I would give him up. He is a wonderful husband and father and my best friend. Other women envy me because he is just so caring. And if they knew the truth [about his bisexuality], they'd spit at him.
(Soulla, 44, 17 year relationship)

Soulla and Naomi are two of the women who participated in an Australian semi-structured interview project with 78 culturally, sexually and geographically diverse women, aged 19 to 65, who were in monogamous, open and polyamorous marital and defacto relationships with bisexual men, abbreviated as MOREs (Mixed-Orientation Relationships). The following definition of bisexuality was used:
Bisexual persons are sexually, emotionally, and erotically attracted to both men and women, usually in varying degrees that may fluctuate over time; and may or may not have sex with partners of both genders, in the same time period or over time; and self-identify as bisexual (Buxton, 2006, 109-110)
The interviews were undertaken by either myself or Sara Lubowitz, co-

ordinator of the Women With Bisexual Partners Project at the AIDS Council of New South Wales (see Lubowitz, 1995, 1997). Initial discussions of the project were published in Pallotta-Chiarolli and Lubowitz (2003), and Pallotta-Chiarolli (2010, 2014). The larger project (Pallotta-Chiarolli, forthcoming), will provide more detailed analyses and insights into the research methods, participants' demographic data, the themes and issues that recognise the border existences, boundary demarcations, devastating oppressions, exhilarating affirmations, and innovative negotiations of the women and their partners as they relinquish destructive relationships, or "design", maintain and/or regain healthy sexual, emotional and social relationships. These journeys also entailed navigating a route through sometimes converging, sometimes conflicting external codes, such as those of straight peer groups, gay communities, ethnic and religious communities (for pioneering work on MOREs see also Buxton 1991, 2001, 2006, 2011; Gochros 1989; Whitney 1990).

Steinman states that although there is a rich multidisciplinary scholarship on masculinity, there is:

> great need for research integrating critical gender studies and bisexuality studies, and especially a need for empirically oriented research to learn how the relationship between masculinity and bisexuality is played out in various communities and social contexts (2011, 405).

For example, proving one's manhood to self and others commonly involves sex with, and often conquest over, women. This means that bisexual inclinations and behaviour are foundationally at odds with claims to hetero-hegemonic or dominant masculinity (Burleson 2005; Connell 2005). Sheff's (2006) research on poly-hegemonic masculinities, or the hegemonic masculinities performed by heterosexual men who are polyamorous, is very applicable to what I term bi-hegemonic masculinities, as well as her application of Connell's (2005) terms of marginalized, subordinate, and complicit masculinities. For example, she refers to what Connell terms "complicit masculinity", meaning men who do not themselves live up to the ideal of hegemonic masculinity, yet benefit from its dominant position in the patriarchal order (2005, 79; see also Pease 2010). The men in Sheff's sample occupied conventionally privileged positions in hierarchies based on race, class, and gender, while others fit additional norms such as hypermasculinity, hypersexuality, and/or competitiveness. Thus, if this theorisation is applied to bi-hegemonic men, my research shows that although they may not have the socio-cultural capital of hetero-hegemonic men, they may compensate for their supposed inferior sexualities by adopting or hyping certain traditional masculinist

traits. This supports Buchbinder and Waddell's (1992) analysis of two broad categorisations of the bisexual male: as "hyper sexed and hyper masculine heterosexual" (thereby being hegemonic) or as a "failed heterosexual" (thereby being subordinate and marginalised) (1992, 180). For example, bi-hegemonic men may use their misogynist treatment of women or performance of abusive or aggressive masculinities to display a superior masculinity. They may display "emotional ineptitude, and power disparities in intimate relationships" as strategies of complicity to hegemonic heterosexual masculinity (Sheff 2006, 627). Thus, as with poly-hegemonic men, bi-hegemonic men may paradoxically retain traditional gender roles within non-normatively gendered MOREs.

Sheff also distinguishes polyamorous heterosexual men who were not "complicit" with dominant hegemonic masculinity. This can also be applied to bisexual men in my research who displayed "subordinate and resistant masculinities" by espousing, and to varying degrees practicing, "more egalitarian, sex-positive, and gender-neutral relational styles" than are characteristic of dominant hegemony (2006, 632). Men who wished to engage in long-term MOREs could not operate on emotional "auto pilot" as could some traditional heterosexual men who relegate the responsibility for relationships' emotional maintenance to women. Non-hegemonic and resistant bisexual men attempted to subvert hegemonic power distribution and relationship structures by acknowledging their own emotional needs and cultivating emotional connections with other men and women. As Sheff writes, by repudiating "hegemonic strictures, some poly [bi] men attempted to enlarge the emotional code of masculinity", thereby eroding traditional masculinist privileges (2006, 636). Thus, research with these understudied groups of poly-masculinities and bi-masculinities, which sometimes overlap, extends Connell's masculinities framework to include poly-hegemony, bi-hegemony and resistance, while offering a deeper understanding of the implications alternative masculinities hold for constructions of hegemonic masculinity: "At worst they were complicit with dominant hegemony, and at best they actively countermanded some of its strictures" (Sheff 2006, 639; see also Pease 2010).

Four major themes became apparent in the research as women discussed how constructions of masculinity, gender normativity and patriarchal privilege and inequities impacted on their partners, themselves and their relationships:

1. Bisexuality did not necessarily mitigate against an abusive misogynist masculinity: Many women spoke about the use of gendered power and privilege by their partners, whereby the men displayed what could be

termed "bipatriarchy" and "bimisogyny". Significantly, some women could also identify bipatriarchy as a compensatory response or result of their partner's frustrations within a heteronormative system of stigmatisation, subordination, and the limitations of sexual identity dichotomies.

2. Bisexuality was significant in the resistance to gendernormative and patriarchal performances and privileges of masculinity: Many women praised their partners for performances of what could be termed "resistant bimasculinity" that critiqued and surpassed limited heteropatriarchal constructions of masculinity. This was particularly evident in their sexual relationships and what I call "energy management" in the pragmatics of domestic work, childrearing, and work/home negotiations.

3. Bisexual masculinities were compared to heterosexual masculinities in predominantly positive ways: Some women compared their bisexual partners to their previous heterosexual partners in their heightened level of examined and self-reflexive constructions and performances of more gender equitable masculinities. However, the varying behaviours of heterosexual men and bisexual men were not seen as being in opposition but often on a continuum from misogyny to pro-feminism, and framed within a dominant heteropatriarchal socio-cultural framework within which all men were externally positioned or positioned themselves.

4. Bisexual masculinities were relevant to women challenging or being constrained by prescriptive and limiting constructions of femininity: In analysing their partners, many women discussed their own femininity in relation to their masculinity, and how either bimisogyny constrained their own gender and sexual expressions, or bimasculinity encouraged and enhanced their own resistances to normative submissive femininity and passive sexuality.

What also became evident and is beyond the scope for deeper analysis within this chapter is how women often resorted to essentialist homogenising dichotomous language and constructions of masculinity and femininity even as they endeavoured to identify, scrutinise and problematise these very constructs and address the socio-cultural frameworks within which these "gender rules" and scripts were being adhered to and performed (see Pallotta-Chiarolli, forthcoming). There were some women, however, who were aware of these "gender regimes". Zoe (27, 7 year relationship) remarks that the terms 'masculinity' and 'femininity' represent:

an amusing, antiquated language. It's just so dissatisfying … because I think it's perpetuating this whole dualistic nature of everything to even talk about having feminine and masculine aspects to yourself because you don't, you have human aspects of yourself.

"They say they're bi but then start acting all sexist": women describing bipatriarchy and bimisogyny

Women are a bit sick of men who say they're bi but then start acting all sexist because they believe that with women, you can just get away with anything and are there to serve you… I don't want to stereotype but I think that's how I see bi guys now. (Susanna, 28, 5 year relationship)

Many women related experiences of patriarchal power and a sense of entitlement to masculinist privilege displayed by their partners, whereby the men displayed "bi-patriarchy" and "bi-misogyny" as a form of complicity to heteropatriarchy. Simultaneously, many women also identified bi-patriarchy as a response to or result of their partner's sexual and gendered frustrations within a heteronormative system of stigmatisation, subordination and the limitations of sexual identity dichotomies (Connell 2005; Pease 2010). Some of the manifestations of bi-misogyny and bi-patriarchy included the following:

- men going out whenever and for as long as it suited them without negotiation and agreement with female partners;
- female partners not having the same rights to independent socialising and/or outside sexual partners;
- holding certain expectations regarding their female partner's undertaking domestic chores, parenting, and providing for and attending to their needs as central;
- women partners having minimal say in their expenditures and financial decisions;
- inattentiveness or indifference to female partners' sexual, emotional and mental health;
- indifference, harassment or neglect in response to their women partners' sexual needs and desires; and
- domestic violence, sexual assault, and aggression manifested in various forms toward female partners and/or children.

It was also evident that the exploitation and disempowering of women was more likely to occur under certain conditions. It was more likely when male partners had not disclosed or "come out" as bisexual; were not secure

or comfortable with their own bisexuality; or were experiencing internal conflicts and mental ill health due to bi-phobia and homophobia, and their desire to be "a real man". Exploitation of women was also more likely to occur if the male partners held traditional expectations of women and were invested in maintaining a heteronormatively defined "successful" lifestyle replete with being able to claim heteropatriarchal privilege; and either perceived or coerced their female partners into being "weak", "less confident", "naïve", and adhering to traditional femininity.

The above findings illustrate what Gochros (1989, 110, 126) refers to as two interwoven syndromes that may create dissonance for women in how they feel about their husbands as men, and how their husbands may feel about their female partners and demand their "rights": "male chauvinism and liberation ethics". In other words, a bisexual husband may claim as his right, as a man or an oppressed minority, to "discover and fulfil his desires, meet his needs" and that it is the wife's duty, as a woman or a "symbolic oppressor", to help him "cheerfully". As Raven (45, 12 year relationship) comments,

> if the guy's got to be in control, which is sort of the typical patriarchal thing, and in a heterosexual relationship, and then if he's going to go out and be bisexual as well, then he's just going to be a bigger arsehole isn't he? … and he hasn't gotten over hurdles and so he's still being the control freak and keeping her really intimately controlled.

Kate (44, 15 year relationship) offers a similar account:

> I think men are not socialised to hear the word 'no' so I think it's very difficult for men to imagine that they have to deny themselves anything, and there's also that stuff about "we don't control our sexual urges, they're driven from the brain". You know, "have penis, will seek orifice"… So being bisexual I think is hugely difficult for some men in that they're not accustomed to being denied anything.

In her research, Atwood (1998) found that bisexual married men can be extremely effective at keeping their wives in a position of dependency. "As their self-esteem wanes it becomes easier to control them. Wives eventually become immobilised… They feel unlovable" (1998, 154). Indeed, some women who had initially been attracted to their partners for their transgression of "blokey" norms found it extremely difficult adjusting to the fact that these non-gendernormative men could also display a form of bipatriarchy and bimisogyny, whereby certain masculinist assumptions and behaviours were given an extra complexity or dimension due to the bisexuality. Susanna (28, 5 year relationship) describes the shift

in her partner's masculine performance:

> he can be really emotional and feminine. There was a time when that
> wouldn't bother him at all, but then that changed about 2 years before we
> broke up. … He became really blokey. He started to get tougher. That's the
> way it felt to me and yeah, mean and selfish. …. We had big talks about it
> now and then but a wall came up for him. He really couldn't handle the
> fact that I really liked him because he was like that [emotional and
> feminine] and then he started to get really nasty. Like, he started to punish
> me for it but I always kind of saw it for what it was… I felt like a second
> class citizen.

Kris (30, 5 year relationship) describes her partner's need to display
power via his class, material collections, and heritage, as well as
denigrating her class background:

> it's the power. Like he has to get somebody down and out and he's very
> flashy. He likes to be displaying antiques and that sort of thing, but it's the
> power that he needs. […] he used to say to me like when we were fighting
> and after I found out [about this sexuality] "I should have known better
> than to pick a woman from the suburbs" because I was from the sort of
> rough end of town, and he used to talk about how his ancestry went back to
> the King of Scotland or something. Anybody that came in the house he had
> to go and show them all his stuff and his blue blood and to throw it at me.

Many women discussed feeling resentful and disempowered that they
either complied with or were coerced into complying with gendernormative
roles in the household, with childrearing, and in maintaining good family,
friend and community networks:

> this thing that women seem to do, about taking responsibility for
> everything. … Like, I'm responsible for making sure that the family stays
> together and the children are all right, and that nobody knows about this
> [his bisexuality] and the church, they shouldn't know about it. It was very
> totally disempowering." (Felicity, 49, 23 year relationship)"here I was with
> a new born baby, trying to deal with it, breast feeding in the middle of the
> night and he was going out clubbing. Doing things like that and then being
> really tired and wanting to sleep the whole next day, and I'd be feeling
> like, "You're tired? What about me?" … and he went out and bought a
> two-seater Mercedes just after our second child was born, where we really
> should have been looking at a less expensive more of a family car. (Sue,
> 38, 19 year relationship)

Some women acknowledged how their complicity with or upholding of
dominant constructions of gendernormativity, gendered roles and dominant
definitions of success, status and privilege for women within a

heteropatriarchal socio-economic framework, gradually came to work against them. For example, Helena (50, 26 year relationship) described very clearly the seductiveness of being married to a wealthy, powerful and sophisticated husband, as well as the costs and expectations placed upon her in return for being "the beautiful wife doing all the right things":

> I felt that I became just another prop. You know, the beautiful wife doing all the right things, cooking the exquisite dinners, producing the beautiful children. So, I became this sort of accessory and didn't know how to manage it … I said to him, "You know I'm not the hired help" … Oh, he'd give me gifts. I mean, a pair of pearls and other stones, he always brought me back things.

Schnarrs *et al* (2012) found that many bisexual men were often attracted to women depending on how well they performed the "traditional feminine role". They sought out traditional femininities and were more likely to describe the women they were attracted to as nurturing, more open emotionally, caring and attentive, and attractive, as these traits were "a representation of their own masculinity" and high status (2012, 259). As Rachel (38, 10 year relationship) explains below, some women provided the "stable" mainstream heteropatriarchal home within which their partners could perform the normative husband while they also lived queer, non-normative lives away from home:

> I was becoming very responsible and I wanted to pay the mortgage off and start getting somewhere, and also I had to support him through his ups and downs of employment … he was going out to parties all the time and started doing lots of drugs, and meeting lots of gay men, and pretty much living the high life–and he then would come home to me…. Being pregnant and about to have the child, it was really hard. … he often just wouldn't come home. When he did, after I hadn't seen him for a couple of days, he'd be wearing someone else's clothes and he would have lost clothes I'd bought him and he'd have no excuse.

Sometimes, such misogynist and patriarchal entitlements did not surface until the men wanted to become fathers. As Barbara (44, 26 year relationship) notes, "he did say to me he had wanted children, and he spotted me and thought, "Well, she looks like a good breeder". Then, as life brought more responsibilities and challenges such as raising children, the men increasingly reverted to bi-hegemonic modes of masculinity:

> he cut up the keycard for the bank account denying me access to money and that was when things really had to change … I was in the crisis point,

things were volatile at home, I was worried about the kids and about the angry outbursts from him. He was never violent but always physically intimidating, being much taller than me and very angry. One time he set fire to the kitchen curtains (Jodie, 33, 12 year relationship)

Many women also discussed how, when men begin to articulate, understand and weave their bisexuality into the relationship, their behaviours became less domineering and sexist. This supported some women's explanations: their partners' denigration and disempowerment of their women partners arose to varying degrees due to the levels of frustration and internal conflict and stress over their hidden bisexual selves in comparison to hetero-hegemonic constructions of masculinity. When allowed to express their transgressive sexuality and masculinity openly rather than maintaining the charade of heterosexuality, they also stopped trying to live up to the rules of heteropatriarchy:

He really had a lot of baggage [about] the bisexuality … a lot was verbal and emotional abuse, just attacking my character basically… one time he punched a hole in the wall, the first time he grabbed my arms so hard I got bruises and the other three times he grabbed me around the neck… in my view he hated himself. At other times it just seemed like he was not comfortable in his own skin. He just seemed so messed up… he did sometimes have a pretty pessimistic sort of a view as far as the world goes, quite disgruntled with humanity. He got really irritable with people being fake and insincere. (Maxine, 30, 6 year relationship)

I think that from the beginning he was probably sort of like trying to come across as "Hey, I'm a man and these are the things that I'm supposed to do and these are the things I'm not supposed to do", but because we were able to explore our sexuality and we were able to sort of communicate a lot more, we've come to realize now that we're equals. (Christine, 38, 3 year relationship)

Sexual relationships were another area where men often asserted their masculinist privileges and power, showing indifference, harassment or neglect toward their women partners and having gendernormative assumptions about women's passive sexual needs. As Steph (47, 25 year relationship) explained: "He was getting sex and I wasn't. I was quite happy for him to go off and have his relationships, but I found it lonely, extremely lonely. I've never been so lonely in my life".

Here are some other reflections and experiences from women in our research:

I've met some really offensive bisexual men who think that bisexuality equals free love and equals "I get to come on to whoever I want and if they don't agree with me and have sex with me, then they're just frigid" and it

can be used as another way to oppress women or other men. (Sabina, 26, 4 year relationship)

When we were having sex, I mean, I may as well have been a big blob of plasticine as far as he was concerned, because he was completely just focused on his pleasure and was a little bit sort of rough and self-serving and I had a revelation at that stage, "Well, this man's not here for me. This man's here to cum". … I remember being in a great deal of pain about the sexual relationship breaking down, yes. (Sascha, 28, 1.5 year relationship)

He continuously told me the reasons why he wasn't attracted to me was that I was fat, that I wasn't a good lover etc. … So I started going out to have some fun. He changed once I was seeing someone, becoming possessive. … he started throwing him [her new partner] out the house. He became progressively more angry about the situation, usually when things were not going well with his lovers. (Jodie, 33, 12 year relationship)

"Bisexual men make better lovers": women's positive experiences and perspectives of bimasculinities

I think in some ways bisexual men make better lovers because they've got a greater repertoire to their sexuality because it involves men as well as women. Often they can be more thoughtful about a woman instead of just being the same old, you know, I stick my penis in, and then I come, and then sex is finished. … So, I don't know whether that's a considerate lover thing or whether it's just a bisexual thing. But I think that there may be a tendency for bisexual men to look more into that kind of stuff because sexuality is an issue for them. They are more likely to research it and to think about it. (Sabina, 26, 4 year relationship)

I have to say being very happy to go and walk around art galleries instead of having to go to the footy, although he will happily go to the footy sometimes. You know what I mean? It's a sort of a wider range of interests than a blokey bloke. Not just the beer and the football, whereas it's the beer and the wine and the football and the art gallery and it's the sailing and it's painting and whatever. So, it's perhaps a wider range of interests that I find appealing. (Jane, 52, 30 year relationship)

In this section, we will explore women's experiences and perspectives regarding how bisexuality in their partners was significant in resistance to gendernormative and patriarchal performances and privileges of masculinity. Many women, such as Sabina and Jane above, praised their partners for performances (behaviours and outlooks) of what could be termed "bimasculinity" which critiqued, resisted and went way beyond limited heteropatriarchal constructions of masculinity. Whitney's (1990) also

found that 54% of the women in her research in relationships with same-sex attracted men admitted having a special attraction to gay or bisexual men because they believed that they possessed certain positive qualities: "sensitivity, humour, warmth and compassion, creativity, interest in women as being more than sex objects, willingness to express emotion, spiritual and intellectual depth, and liberated behaviour" (1990, 43). More recent studies on this topic have also shown that heterosexual women express a desire for androgynous men or men who display both so-called masculine and feminine characteristics (see for example Hill 2006).

Many women believed being bisexual had placed their partners in situations of heightened social and self-scrutiny about their own marginalization and "difference", which gave them a heightened awareness of and sensitivity to the machinations of gendered power and privilege. As Simone (54, 5.5 year relationship) explains:

> I think his sexuality has made him very honest with himself and with challenging what people view as right and wrong. Luke became very much of a loner because he has sat on the outside with most people with this secret he had to keep to himself knowing that it would alienate him from most people if he chose to share it.

For some women, a positive bimasculinity was seen in their partners' equitable participation in domestic work and childrearing: "more sensitive, absolutely passionately committed to equality in the relationship. I mean, he loved housework, just loved it" (Kathryn, 54, 22 year relationship). For other women, a positive bimasculinity was particularly evident in their sexual relationships wherein women's sexual desires, fantasies and needs were more attended to and encouraged, and where men's sexual practices were broader, more varied and exciting, such as desiring penetration from a woman; BDSM (bondage and discipline, sadism and masochism); non-monogamy for women; women having women partners; checking out men together and/or sharing a male partner:

> we worked out over the years a number of different variations where you control as a woman so we can both get our satisfaction. Like, we've done all kinds of variations on it [penetrating each other and BDSM], … he approached relationships like a woman does and that's how come he's always interested in this and that kind of sexual act. Yeah, I think the sensitive new age guy that everybody says they want is a bi guy. (Jacinta, 34, 15 year relationship)

> he was great in bed… I mean, I never had better sex, it was amazing. He was really involved, and I think he understood the erogenous zones on the body and how to manipulate them and as I said, I think that all comes from

knowing yourself so much better anyway. (Lyn, 33, 10 year relationship)

For a long time, I have almost had a decision that I was only going to sleep with bisexual men, which sounds really bizarre… They've usually had some guy try to take advantage of them, kiss them, get drunk and be stupid with them, and they're usually much more understanding of how that feels from the other end, and therefore they don't tend to do it so much, don't end up sort of with their tongue half-way down to your stomach, you know. (Rosanne, 29, 7.5 year relationship)

Whatever I want to do or be or watch or listen to or try it's completely open for me to try without any judgment or anything… it gives me permission to be everything I want to be, as naughty as I want to be, as creative or suggestive, and maybe bi men are a lot more creative. (Simone, 54, 5.5 year relationship)

Other women talked about partners' levels of demonstrativeness, affection and communication, particularly if their partners could be open about their bisexuality and/or have male partners, as Verna (43, 24 year relationship) describes below:

He's much more relaxed. He was sensitive before but he's more attuned [since he came out] to what he's feeling and picks up on what I'm feeling. He doesn't hold things in. He'll just walk up and give me a nice cuddle. It's more of a relaxed feeling within himself. He's more attuned to an emotion probably that he was never able to express before. …he's not struggling within …And he's more, what's the word I'm looking for? Patient, a lot more patient with absolutely everything, which is just astounding, because he was very short- fused, usually.

Peterson attributes this increase in emotional openness to the fact that coming out in mid-life meant experiencing feelings was a new phenomenon. "Having denied their sexuality for most of their lives, they also lost the ability to 'feel'… After coming out, they suddenly find that they can express their feelings, and for the first time, some of them cry and love easily" (2001, 206).

Another quality that women often commented on was their partner's attention to "grooming" and "cleanliness" which they found very attractive even if others around them may have defined it as "looking gay":

people said, "Oh, he looks gay", but he dresses very well and was always really well groomed… I think that quality is what attracted me to him. Well spoken, confident, well groomed, always sort of aware of his appearance, not that it was obsessive, and the cleanliness. (Beth, 37, 10 year relationship)

What was also very telling was the number of women who said that now they had been in a relationship with a bisexual man, they would never be able to go back to or try to be in a relationship with a heterosexual man. As Jacinta (34, 15 year relationship) states:

> having m*et al*l these bi guys and if anything ever happened to Corey I think I would only want to have a relationship with a bisexual guy ever again because in my perception they are better communicators, they are more empathetic, they are more equal, egalitarian, they are more creative lovers. They are interested in your clothes and your hair, they notice, they make comment.

Anne (37, 8 year relationship) comments about heterosexual men that:

> they're insecure bloody un-self-aware men, because they've never had to examine themselves because they are part of the dominant culture. Whenever anything comes up, there is a glib dominant culture answer to it, and they have managed to live on that all their lives. You get women to support you all your life and you never have to think about it.

As both Gochros' research and this research illustrate, there are woman that expect and will not settle for anything less than gender equality and interpersonal connectedness in MOREs:

> If there was any 'different' profile suggested by the study, however, it was one of a well-educated professional woman in a high socio-economic status, who had had good family and peer relationships, who held at least 'average' interests in heterosexuality, who was well able to attract heterosexual men, who rated herself (and appeared) highly self-confident and assertive… [and who had] an emphasis on non-sexism in choice of mate (Gochros, 1989, 40).

Alice (65, 40 year relationship) echoes this profile:

> I'm not a doormat. I'm very strong and independent. I always had my own professional life, great confidence in myself. I was a feminist even before feminism became a household word. I demanded his honesty, his love, his equal parenting and domestic sharing, and a good sexual, affectionate relationship but sexual ownership was something I worried about only for a few months after he began his first relationship with a man, and then I realised I was worrying because society said I should.

Likewise, Rosie (27, 4 year relationship) also emphasises her control in and choice of her relationship:

> I'm entitled to love and honesty, and a good relationship emotionally and

sexually. And that's what I'm getting with him. I'm in control. I chose to get married, I choose to be in this relationship with him. I guess some people think I'm naïve. I'm not naïve, I know what I want in a husband and father for my kids, and I feel very strong and loved. I won't put up with any crap and Josh knows that. …Very definite and thought out decisions about a lot of things so-called normal marriages never talk about until it all collapses or gets boring.

Conclusion

From the most misogynist hegemonic masculinity displayed by abusive bisexual male partners with a sense of entitlement to patriarchal privilege, to the most pro-feminist anti-masculinist behaviours and attitudes displayed by other bisexual male partners, this chapter has shown how women's perspectives range from never wanting to be in another relationship with a bisexual male to never wanting to be in another relationship with anyone else. For most women, it is ultimately the way their partners perform their masculinity, rather than their bisexuality, that becomes a determining factor as to whether the women are satisfied with their relationships. Indeed, many women refuted the stereotype that all women who are in relationships with bisexual men are passive, meek and naive, and have no power in the relationship. While some women definitely recount experiences of bi-misogyny, abuse and disempowerment, many also strongly explained and demonstrated that women in relationships with bisexual men, and who indeed choose bisexual men as partners, are very independent, very feminist, and this is supported and encouraged by a non-hegemonic bi-masculinity.

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A D ECLARATION OF C ARING:
T OWARDS E COLOGICAL M ASCULINISM

P AUL M. P ULÉ

Where are all the ecomasculinists?

When ecofeminist scholar Richard Twine (Twine and Russo 2010) raised the question "Where are all the ecomasculinists?" on the Essex Ecofem Listerv, he called attention to the need for a new discourse on masculinities (within gender studies), sustainability and ecophilosophy. This comment added to Shepherd Bliss's earlier coining of the term 'ecomasculinity' in his seminal paper titled *Revisioning Masculinity: A report on the growing men's movement.* An ecomasculinist discourse did not ensue, but for a preliminary ecocritical review (Allister 2004). In this chapter, I introduce a theoretical framework for ecological masculinism (or an ecologically-inspired agenda for thinking about men) that then guides us towards a plurality of ecomasculinities.

Men's oppression

Modern Western masculinities have been shaped by the perpetration of oppressive ways of being, thinking and doing. There are copious critiques in feminist discourse of the damaging impacts of patriarchy on human society. Similarly, in ecological feminist discourse there are astute critiques of masculine assaults on Nature. However and until recently, little academic work has been done to formulate ecologically-inspired masculinities (Pulé 2013), which help to rectify the ways that patriarchal oppressions assault all of life on Earth beyond human societies. This blind spot has resulted from what is referred to throughout this chapter as a paradoxical 'men's oppression' that is defined as the systematic mistreatment of men by the very mechanisms of oppression that are intended to

advantage them. This oppression makes it difficult for men to notice the cost of their own institutionally supported superiority by numbing them to the loss of their innate relational connection to other humans and all of life. 'Men's oppression' makes it difficult for many men to critique the patriarchal systems that support their primacy. In other words, this oppressive socialisation renders many men blind to the costs of patriarchal domination on all of life, socialising men instead to:

> oppress others who have less status than we do. ['Men's oppression'] creates a pecking order and a sense of superiority [amongst men]. We especially oppress racial minorities, homosexuals, the poor and women [along with non-human Nature]. Psychologically we have to do this in order to have some feeling of superiority in the absence of any real accomplishments. When we are prevented from making any actual difference in the world [by obscuring men's innate humanness], we create illusions of difference in order to have any self-esteem at all. (Rohr 1990)

Men's oppression is taken here to be a key cause of our species' struggle to forge a truly life-sustaining future. At the foundations of men's oppression is the hypermasculine societal pressures placed on men to be better, higher, stronger, more virile, smarter, richer, more powerful, outwardly composed, in control of one's emotions, in possession of more stuff and adored by others. These hypermasculine mores are the precursors of men's oppression and are referred to as 'malestream norms'; a term borrowed from feminist scholar Mary O'Brien (1981). For many men, becoming aware of and then actively countering the damaging impacts of men's oppression on women, Nature *and* themselves, is difficult to comprehend. It is for this reason that a men's liberation movement that harmonises with women's liberation and the liberation of non-human Nature has not gained popular support (Smith 1972). Malestream norms bind modern Western masculinities to logics of dualism, dominance and colonisation that encourage classism, sexism, racism, homophobia and the exploitation of Nature, effectively eroding the fecundity of all life (Plumwood 1993).

Men are lulled to reinforce malestream norms through eight institutions that drive capitalist growth and profit motifs. They result in the exploitation of labour, effectively locking many men into addictive relationships with behaviours, substances and unhealthy relationships that sustain men's oppression. Shedding further light on the medicating and dehumanising nature of men's oppression, the institutions that oppress men are the very same as those that privilege them over others. They are:

- Alcohol and drug industries (including nicotine and pharmaceuticals)
- Criminal courts, police and prisons
- Sex industries
- Sport industries
- Education institutions
- The Armed Services
- The Family
- Religious Institutions (Sydney Men's Network, no date; Jackins 1999, 14).

These institutions collectively support men to accumulate wealth and power; they encourage competitive, aggressive and at times violent behaviours from men towards other men, along with women and Nature. If we are to dispel this paradox of modern Western masculinities, there is a pressing need for more relational masculinities and a suite of accompanying praxes to emerge, which will effectively redirect modern Western masculinities towards greater care for all life on Earth. This ecological (read as synonymous with relational) approach to masculinities and its resulting praxes are of particular importance in the modern Western context, since Western societies hold the lion's share of responsibility for the future state of humanity on Earth. If we are to create a truly sustainable world, we need an ecologised masculinities theory, which stands parallel to liberation movements that support and validate the innate sovereignty of women and Nature.

An Ecologised Masculinities Theory

I take my lead from ecological feminism in constructing an ecologised masculinities theory and its plurality of praxes. In order to do so, I begin by noting an important nexus between studies on men and masculinities, sustainability and ecophilosophy which is where I locate a new contribution to ecophilosophical discourse that I refer to as ecological masculinism (see Figure 22-1).

Fig. 22.1: Locating ecological masculinism
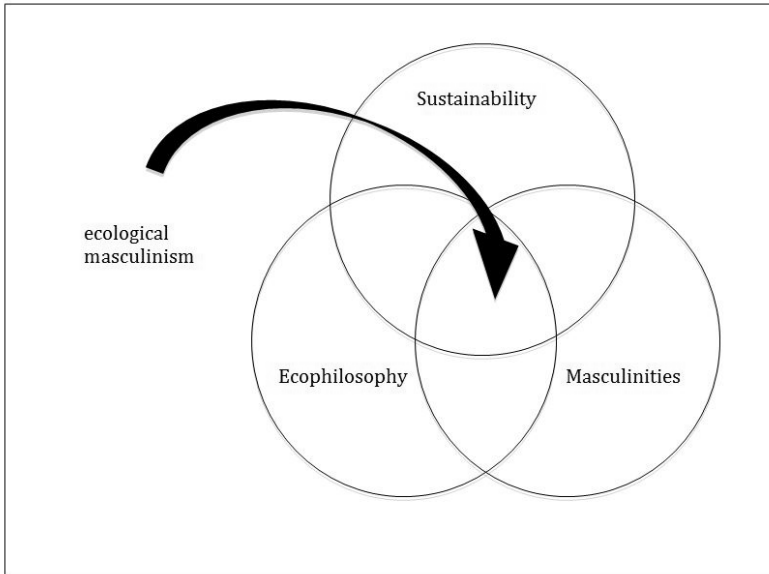
Ecological masculinism is located in the intersecting terrain between the discourses of sustainability, studies on men and masculinities and ecophilosophy

Ecological masculinism is introduced here to contradict malestream norms. This new contribution to studies on men and masculinities aims to usurp men's oppression by supporting men to engage in caring relational exchanges with all others and the self since there are various sub-discourses or 'positionalities' in studies on men and masculinities, but there was, until this work, no ecological masculinism.

A 'Broad Church'?

There have been various attempts to politicise and socialise men towards more integrated, caring lives (Connell 1995; Pease 2002; Synnott 2009). However, it is notable that studies on men and masculinities have paid little attention to the intersection between men, masculinities and ecology as a relational science. I argue here that an ecologised masculinities theory lays sound foundations for men's increased caring for all others and the self.

These various studies on men and masculinities reflect a 'broad church' of ideological and practical insights on the modern Western masculine persona. Collectively, they run a politically diverse gauntlet from issues of labour centred on critiques of capitalism, challenges to heteronormativity, pro-feminist academic analyses, deconstructions of men's racism, as well as pop-psychology and mythopoesis, to arguments for men's rights and policy reform that advocate for fathers in family courts as well as Christian family values that reify traditional gendered divisions of labour in the home and community (Clatterbaugh 1997). Each of these views within studies on men and masculinities shares in common expressions of care from support of justice for all through to protecting and providing for one's family. However, none explored a relational ecology. This omission of masculine care towards *all* others may help explain why sustainability has at best remained reformist on the national and international scales. Community care and Earth care have not been integrated into the broader malestream understanding of modern Western masculinities.

Studies on men and masculinities are enriched by the pluralism demonstrated here. Indeed, there are many different ways of being a man and expressing one's maleness in the modern West. I argue that this 'broad church' in studies on men and masculinities is enriched by an ecologised masculinities theory precisely because all men, even the most conservative of masculine constituencies, possess an infinite capacity to care for others and themselves. Ecological masculinism is then a unifying discourse that presents the opportunity for men and masculinities of various political affiliations to amplify and share in common their caring capacities for all of life.

Towards ecological masculinism

Ecological masculinism is constructed on a three-part programme. Firstly, ecological masculinism begins with a fundamental premise that all

men are born good and have an infinite capacity to care. Secondly, as a new contribution to ecophilosophy, ecological masculinism is constructed on five precepts or nested stages of development that I refer to as the ADAMN model, with each stage building on the next to guide modern Western men and masculinities towards greater care for all others and the self. Thirdly, ecological masculinism creates a theoretical framework for a plurality of ecomasculine praxes to emerge.

Step One: All Men are Born Good

I am not the first to claim that all men are born good and have an infinite capacity to care. While the concept of ecological masculinism is constructed on this declaration, the sentiments of innate goodness and infinite care may be credited to the extensive theoretical and practical expressions of humanistic psychology, which were then adapted to the peer-oriented popular therapy called Co-Counseling or Re-Evaluation Counseling (RC) developed by Harvey Jackins captured in the following affirming words about men:

> Men, like all human beings, are inherently good, caring, gentle, and warm. Their excellent real nature is obscured and apparently distorted by heavy conditioning society puts upon them, but it remains undestroyed and recoverable. Men's *inherent* attitude, as men, is to oppose and prevent any enforced inequalities with regard to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and to support all efforts towards liberation from oppression. As human males, they inherently strive to achieve and provide universal access to information and to the basic resources needed by all living things.

The integration of the basal with the higher self that humanistic psychologists pioneered is consistent with an ecologised self, a caring self, and a self that acknowledges and embraces a desire to preserve the flourishing of all men, all women, and all of Nature. RC's understanding of the human condition creates opportunities for men to have their inner thoughts, feelings and intuition equally attended to, facilitating the integration of the intellectual, emotional and intuitive aspects of the masculine self. The actual ways that any one man develops this relational self is subjective. My intention is not to prescribe a specific path that dictates how all men ought to pursue a path towards a more integrated and caring self. Rather, I encourage individuals to pursue their innate goodness in ways that allow them to uniquely recover their fuller humanness so that a plurality of proactive, caring and engaged modern Western men and masculinities can emerge.

The ecological masculinist accesses his unique and innate goodness when he is provided safe settings to support the growth of his mature masculine self. When feelings, thinking and intuition are aligned, safety is created throughout one's relationships and within one's self, and in so doing, a man is better able to access his full humanness and thereby develop strategies that support the flourishing of all life. From this place of aligning head and heart with intuition, the ecologised man becomes inwardly congruent. This first stage in masculinist ecologisation encourages men to come home to themselves as good human beings who are authentic and accountable and are therefore more able to express their care for all others and themselves.

Step Two: The ADAMN Model

The second part of the ecologised masculinities theory explores what I consider to be the transitory stages through which a plurality of ecomasculine praxes emerge. The following five precepts illuminate how the aforementioned premise of innate masculine goodness can be awakened. I refer to these precepts as the ADAMN model, drawing on the vernacular encouragement of men to 'give a damn' about all others and themselves:

A: Accept the central premise that all men are born good and have an infinite capacity to care

D: Don't separate yourself from others; instead strengthen and rebuild your sense of connection with your masculine identity through caring thoughts, words and actions that nurture the relational space between yourself and others. Achieve this by developing inner congruency by unifying head with heart and intuition and then seek a life of service to the common good in ways that inspire you

A: Amend your own past hurts and any you have caused to all others

M: Model mature modern masculinity as an authentic and accountable formation of men's gender. Construct your masculine identity through caring thoughts, words and actions that nurture the relational space between yourself and others, beginning with deep care for yourself.

N: Normalise men's care; support all men to show their care as central features of being a mature modern man

The ADAMN model sets the stage for a plurality of ecomasculine praxes that are elaborated in stage 3 of ecological masculinism. The ADAMN model is drawn as a nested diagram since each stage forms the

foundations of and is imbedded within the next, taking an individual on a step-by-step journey that charts a course towards masculine ecologisation (see Figure 22-2).

Fig. 22-2: The ADAMN Mode
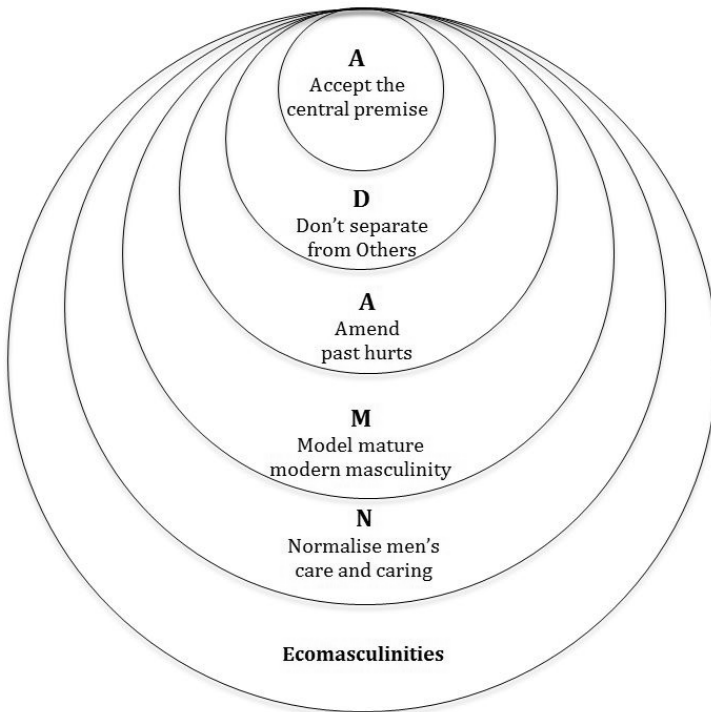
The five precepts of *ecological masculinism*, providing a pathway to a plurality of ecomasculinities.

This brings me to the third stage of ecological masculinism that explores ecomasculinities.

Step Three: Pathways to ecomasculinities

Ecological masculinism is not restricted to a conceptual declaration of caring. This third stage of ecological masculinism builds on stages one and two above by exploring a plurality of ecomasculinities. This pluralistic path towards ecomasculinities follows in the footsteps of Arne Naess's

reference to *ecosophy* (Naess 1973). Karen Warren (2000) similarly emphasised pluralism through her 'quilted ecofeminisms'. In other words, there is no single ecoman but rather many different ecomasculinities. There are however some consistent values to disclose. Ecomasculinities are sensitive to the needs, wants and intrinsic rights of present and future generations of all life. They offer broad and diverse expressions of care for those they are in immediate relationship. Ecomasculinities encourage transparent emotional vocabularies, emphasises the value of grounded thinking and offers a strong and engaged intuition in relational exchanges. Ecomasculinities engage with communities, in relationally caring ways. They prioritise the welfare of all others and the self –concurrently. Ecomasculinities are flexible, responsive, and attentive to inner beliefs and those of others. These ecomasculinities express care for all of life beyond individual political affiliations.

Modern Western masculinities cannot remain defined by men's conformity to malestream norms. Ecomasculinities will not easily arise in the subconscious of the man addicted to alcohol, drugs, pornography or violence. Nor will such men easily emerge through the charismatic fog of sex appeal, money and material success that will similarly medicate him from his deeper and broader contributions to the common good of his closest relationships, his family, employee, or the impact that his work has on the world. These men embrace their own unique interpretations of ecological masculinism. Such men are dedicated to living lives of service to all life. These ecomasculinities begin by encouraging a man to come home to himself, such that he prioritises inner congruency and from there, defines and acts to manifest his life of service for all. Such a man is relational. He is an ecomasculinist; one who makes tangible contributions to the pressing need for a truly sustainable future.

In Summary

As we come to terms with the needed social and environmental transitions ahead, the discourses of gender identity, nature awareness and sustainability are generating resilience in our communities, our minds, and our hearts. Central to the promise of a truly deep green future that includes men is hope–hope that we will adapt to the social and environmental challenges ahead with haste; hope that our responses will be creative; hope that those responses are inclusive of all life and are adaptable. I have argued throughout this chapter that this hope hinges on the willingness and ability of modern Western masculinities to permit men to care for all others and themselves concurrently. I have introduced ecological

masculinism as a new and combined approach to studies on men and masculinities. This new conversation is fundamentally ecophilosophical and gives priority to the liberation of women from sexism, Nature from ecocide, and men from the internalised superiority that characterises men's oppression. I look forward to sharing with others as their unique ecomasculinities emerge.

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CHAPTER TWENTY THREE

CHALLENGING MALE SUPREMACY
IN PRACTICE

ALAN GREIG, GAURAV JASHNANI
AND R.J. MACCANI[1]

In her contribution to last year's Kilburn Manifesto (Rustin 2013), an online statement in twelve monthly instalments about the nature of the neoliberal system which now dominates most of the 'Western' world and the need to develop coherent alternatives to it, Beatrix Campbell (2013) made clear the extent to which "a neoliberal neo-patriarchy has emerged as the new articulation of male domination." Some of the key elements she identified as composing this "new articulation" include neoliberal retrenchments in welfare provision, the increasing double shift of productive and socially reproductive labour performed by women combined with persistent gender inequalities in pay, the growth of (para-)militarised masculinities "vital to the new modes of armed conflict that are proliferating across the flexible frontiers of globalised capitalism, between and within states," and continuing high rates of violence against women and lamentably low rates of conviction for the mostly male perpetrators. As Campbell (2013) concludes, "sexual assault is a crime that by and large escapes justice."

Less than three months later, in what the organisers described as a

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[1] This article is based on the collective work of the Challenging Male Supremacy Project (Aazam Otero, Gaurav Jashnani, RJ Maccani and the author,) and on the contributions made by all the participants in the Study-into-Action workshops that CMS led (with Siddhartha Sanchez.) It draws on the discussion of this work presented in our chapter in *The Revolution Starts at Home: Confronting Intimate Violence within Activist Communities* (South End Press: 2011) entitled "What Does It Feel Like When Change Finally Comes?: Male Supremacy, Accountability and Transformative Justice.")

ground-breaking weekend, men of all ages and from many walks of life were invited to come together in London at the BAM (Being a Man) festival (Anonymous 2014) to "explore all facets of masculinity and male identity." These included subjects ranging from "fatherhood, heroism and the tribal nature of sport to online addictions, sex, war, race and the aspirations men have." The disjuncture between the issues discussed by Campbell and those highlighted by the organisers of BAM is striking. A preference for masculinity talk over patriarchy analysis when men are invited to discuss 'their' gender and its problematic effects is hardly new though. As Jeff Hearn (1996, 207) cautioned nearly two decades ago in his "A critique of the concept of masculinity/masculinities," the danger with this preference is that:

> While men's practices are criticised, it is masculinity that is seen to be the problem. Calls for masculinity to be 'redefined', 'reconstructed', 'dismantled' or 'transformed' become common. Instead of wondering whether they should change their behaviour, men 'wrestle with the meaning of masculinity'.

But if wrestling with "all facets of masculinity" often seems to be a way for men to avoid some of the harder questions that confront them in the struggle against "neo-patriarchy," must this always be the case? After all, we can use masculinity, as Connell (1995, 77) proposes in her definition of "hegemonic masculinity," as a way to explore and understand our relationship to "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy."

It was partly out of a desire to confront our own gender practice, and the ways in which it did and did not challenge the legitimacy of patriarchy, that a small group of us came together in 2008 to form the Challenging Male Supremacy Project (CMS). As an all-volunteer collective in New York City, we have since that time created spaces and developed tools for working with men and masculine-identified people to challenge male supremacist practices and cultures as part of a broader movement for collective liberation.

The push to work together as CMS came from a range of people and experiences in our lives. All of us, at different times, have been called upon by women, whether in our intimate relationships or political communities, to do more not only to change our own sexist attitudes and behaviours but also to work more actively on supporting liberatory practices and spaces within our communities, in part by engaging and supporting other men in being accountable for their oppressive behaviour.

Simply by growing up as boys and being men in societies such as the USA and UK, which remain structured by the patriarchal exploitation and violence outlined by Campbell, our lives have been constantly marked by gendered privileges. We have not only seen but also participated in the harm and injustice produced by institutionalised male supremacy.

We have also experienced, in different ways, the violence of men, whether at home, at school or in the street. At the time when we first met together to discuss forming CMS, one of us had begun to speak publicly about his own experiences of being sexually abused by a young man when he was a boy. We recognised in our own lives some of the costs of male supremacy to men as described by bell hooks (2001,41), who writes of men that "the terrible price they pay to maintain "power over" us is the loss of their capacity to give and receive love[.]" She observes that "all visionary male thinkers challenging male domination insist that men can return to love only by repudiating the will to dominate."

Some of us were being asked to participate in processes to hold accountable men in our activist communities who had abused or assaulted women. We saw the violence being done to women and gender non-conforming people by men within social justice movements, and how this violence was weakening movement struggles for greater justice in the world. We recognised that left unaddressed, male violence within our communities reinforces the status quo of existing oppressive systems and undermines the belief that a better world is within our collective grasp.

The joint statement "Gender Violence and the Prison Industrial Complex" issued in 2001 by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence and Critical Resistance (INCITE! and Critical Resistance 2001) inspired us, as when it urged:

> all men in social justice movements to take particular responsibility to address and organize around gender violence in their communities as a primary strategy for addressing violence and colonialism.

We also saw that male supremacist behaviour within our organisational spaces often goes unchecked and even unnoticed because many of us have internalised the male supremacist notion that the "real struggle" is elsewhere, whether in the streets or the halls of government. In addition, some of its most obvious manifestations, such as male sexual violence, can feel especially difficult to address for those of us who recognise that the police and prisons not only fail to prevent this violence but are themselves institutions whose coercive authority is deeply infused with a patriarchal logic of control through violence.

It became increasingly clear as we met and talked that our everyday

practices of male supremacy are the hardest to acknowledge, let alone address, because they are so thoroughly normalised. And because too often we have operated within a good/evil binary, in which "we", the radical activists, saw ourselves as different from "them", the sexists and patriarchs. The words of US anti-racist organiser Chris Crass resonated with us, in his account of being called upon to change by a woman in his life (Crass 2009):

> What do you mean I'm sexist?" I was shocked. I wasn't a jock, I didn't hate women, I wasn't an evil person. "But how can I be a sexist, I'm an anarchist?" I was anxious, nervous, and my defenses were up. I believed in liberation, for fighting against capitalism and the state. There were those who defended and benefited from injustice and then there's us, right?

But as Paul Kivel, co-founder of the Oakland Men's Project whose work continues to inspire us, never tires of emphasising, we need to get beyond these binaries of "us" and "them," the Good Men vs. Bad Men set-up. Instead we must focus on what we as men can do to challenge the male supremacist practices and ideas which privilege us and produce so much injustice and suffering in the lives of women and those whose gender identities and sexual desires reject the heteronormative, hierarchical masculine/feminine gender binary that patriarchy demands.

Naming and framing our work

Our initial conversations focused on how to name and frame the work that we wanted to do. Some of us were familiar with and inspired by the work of the Challenging White Supremacy (CWS) Workshops, founded in the San Francisco Bay Area by Sharon Martinas and Mickey Ellinger in 1993, and from 2000 onwards taken forwards by the Catalyst Project as the 'Anti-Racism for Global Justice' workshop series as part of its work to mobilise grassroots anti-racist organisers working for racial justice and seeking to challenge white privilege in all their social justice work (Catalyst 2014). The CWS emphasis on consciousness raising and skills building toward transformative organising, and the focus on mobilising the people most privileged by a system of oppression to challenge that oppression in solidarity with those targeted by it, influenced us profoundly.

In articulating our work as CMS we not only sought to suggest an affinity with the strategies of CWS, but more specifically to highlight the importance of necessarily linking projects working for racial and gender justice because of the interlocking nature of white supremacy and male

supremacy in US history and contemporary society. In the same way that "white supremacy" is used as the analytical and organising framework in struggles for racial justice, rather than a discourse of "racism" which can be reduced to a practice of interpersonal or inter-group discrimination, we too saw in the use of "male supremacy" a way of emphasising our commitment to understanding and addressing the systemic nature of gender oppression. In practice, this involved both the men of colour and the white men within the spaces and conversations convened by CMS looking at the ways in which the power, prestige and benefits accorded to men are affected by men's locations within the system of racial hierarchy operating in the US, and at the uses of racist representations of men of colour in maintaining this hierarchy.

From the outset, we also wanted to question the binary assumptions that still inform so much work on gender justice–that there are simply two genders, female and male, and that justice is about greater equality between them. This gender binary framework erases from view the experiences of transgender and gender non-conforming people, and renders natural the social act of gender identification. Thus, we made a conscious decision to use the still somewhat unfamiliar term "cisgender" in doing our work, a term coined by transgender activists and used to describe those of us who identify with the sex and gender identity we were assigned at birth and are therefore accorded certain privileges by society. We found the explanation and discussion of "cisgender" and related terms by Julia Serrano (2009) extremely useful.

Taking steps to challenge male supremacy

As noted above, we took inspiration from the emphasis given by the Challenging White Supremacy workshops to consciousness raising and skills building toward transformative organising, and focused much of our energies in the first three years on developing and running a nine-session Study-into-Action process. Over a period of nine months in 2009-2010 and six months in 2011, we ran two Study-into-Action processes for a total of 25 men, chosen through our personal and political networks on the basis of their social justice activism and their desire to transform their own and other men's gender practices. In its first iteration, we confined the group to cisgender men only, largely because we as the CMS organisers, being cisgender ourselves, did not feel skilled enough to hold the space adequately for the trans men who sought to participate in the process. However, the competence and experience we gained from the first round of the CMS Study-into-Action, together with our ongoing conversation

with trans men in our lives and communities who wanted join the Study-into-Action, led us to open the second round of Study-into-Action to both cis and trans men.

A key aspect of our approach to the Study-into-Action process was to draw on the teachings and tools of Somatics, an integrative approach to healing and transformation that understands and treats human beings as a complex of mind, body, and spirit. With support from Generative Somatics (2014) co-founder Staci Haines who co-facilitated the first session of each Study-into-Action, we used Somatics as a tool to explore the ways in which privilege and power are embodied. We incorporated Somatics not as a practice of self-improvement, which is often socially decontextualised and strongly individualistic, but because we believe that we cannot just think and talk our way out of male privilege and male violence. Challenging male supremacy requires fundamental transformations in the ways we act, individually and collectively, and the Somatics exercises that we used proved to be powerful ways of getting in touch with not just the concept but also the felt experience of what such transformation could be.

In the course of preparing for the Study-into-Action, we approached some of the groups in New York City that do related work in order to formally partner with them in planning this project. We were very clear that we wanted our work as CMS to be in collaboration with and supportive of the work done primarily by cisgender women, transgender, and gender non-conforming organisers to challenge male supremacist violence in transformative ways. In the role of Accountability and Support Partners, these organisations gave us feedback on a curriculum outline several months before our first session, helped to shape its structure and content, and met with us halfway through the first nine-month program to again offer insightful feedback. The groups included the Safe OUTside the System (SOS) Collective of the Audre Lorde Project (SOS 2014), Sisterfire NYC, a collective affiliated with INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (INCITE! 2014), Third Root Community Health Center (ThirdRoot 2014), the Welfare Warriors Project of Queers for Economic Justice (QEJ 2014), CONNECT (CONNECT 2014), and individual members of the Rock Dove Collective (RockDove 2014) and an emerging queer people-of-colour anti-violence group.

Incorporating our partners' suggestions, we fashioned a nine-session Study-into-Action process which opened with group-building activities and an introduction to Somatics, followed by activities mapping the history of our experiences with masculinity and how structures of privilege and oppression have shaped us as cis and trans men. From there, we

focused on political education, historicising male violence, and developing a shared, intersectional analysis of male supremacy and male representations in media. The second half of the Study-into-Action moved toward a more experiential focus on what accountability, desire, and transformation felt like and (could) be like in our personal and political relationships. We all shared one or more commitments to a specific course of action that we would take to challenge how male supremacy manifests in these relationships. Over sessions six through eight, we explored how male violence manifests in our communities; how, when we observe male privilege and/or violence, to intervene as bystanders without reproducing male supremacist dynamics; what accountability for male violence can look like outside of the criminal penal system; and how to relate differently as men, both cis and trans, to desire, connection, and intimacy. In our final session, we evaluated our process together and discussed our concrete commitments to challenging male supremacy in our intimate relationships and political work.

Taking our work forward

Accountability, as a practice and a process that can truly generate transformation in harmful behaviours and oppressive systems, was a key theme throughout the Study-into-Action. Given the violence perpetrated by the police, courts and prisons of the criminal penal system against communities of colour and low income communities in the US, and especially women and gender non-conforming people within those communities, it is clear that we need to find other ways to respond to male violence. The question we still face is how to respond to the harms of male violence in ways that build solidarity and create community, whilst supporting the healing of those who have been harmed and demanding accountability from those who have caused the harm–all in the context of challenging the male supremacist climate within which the harm occurred.

Since the end of the Study-into-Action process, CMS members have continued to be active in co-facilitating or supporting accountability processes with men within our social justice networks who have sexually assaulted or abused women. One framework we have found particularly inspiring is the "Transformative Justice Collaborative" model initiated by generationFIVE (2014), a Bay Area-based organisation focused on ending child sexual abuse in five generations. This model highlights the importance of responding to individual incidents of violence and harm in ways that help to transform the conditions that generate such violence and harm. In collaboration with feminist, queer and trans justice groups

throughout New York City and the Bay Area-based Creative Interventions (Creative Interventions 2014), we are currently part of a network of over a dozen collectives, social justice and anti-violence organisations throughout New York City who are integrating transformative justice into their work.

In common with other activist groups, we still struggle with the challenge of how to sustain our work while sustaining ourselves. We have looked for different ways to push the conversation about challenging male supremacy as a contribution to the work of collective liberation–through workshops at the US Social Forum and Allied Media Conference, presentations at social justice events and informal consultations with social justice organisations in New York City. We are developing a website (CMS 2014) to make our work more widely accessible, and to share lessons that we have learned in the course of designing and running the Study-into-Action processes. And we continue to try and deepen our practice of reflection and relationship among all those who have participated in our work, through get-togethers over brunch and short workshops on specific themes (e.g. Pornography, Men of Colour and White Women in the Movement.)

But questions about where best to focus our energies persist. Living, as we do, at the heart of the neoliberal neo-patriarchy described by Campbell, we like many others face the similarly urgent tasks of creating more liberatory practices and spaces within our own communities and holding the State to account for its policy failures and abuses of power. We know that we can only do this collectively, and our commitment as CMS is to continue to offer our work on challenging male supremacy as part of the broader struggle for collective liberation.

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