Engaging Men from Diverse Backgrounds in Preventing Men's Violence Against Women

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Bionote

Dr Michael Flood is a researcher and educator who has made a significant contribution to both scholarship on and community understanding of violence against women and its prevention. Dr Flood also is a trainer, community educator and activist.

Introduction

In this presentation, I first briefly outline the rationale for involving men in efforts to prevent and reduce men's violence against women. I offer an *intersectional* analysis of gender, difference and violence. I first offer an intersectional account of men and masculinities, and I then also offer an intersectional analysis of violence against women. I then spend the remainder of the paper exploring effective ways in which to engage men from diverse backgrounds in violence prevention.

Why involve men in preventing violence against women?

There is a growing consensus in violence prevention circles that to end violence against women, we must involve and work with men. While men have long been addressed in secondary- and tertiary-based based interventions as perpetrators, now they are also being addressed as 'partners' in prevention (Flood 2005-2006). There are growing efforts to involve boys and men in various capacities associated with the prevention of violence against women: as participants in education programs, as targets of social marketing campaigns, as policy makers and gatekeepers, and as activists and advocates.

There is a powerful feminist rationale for addressing men in ending violence against women, with three key elements. First and most importantly, efforts to prevent violence against women must address men because largely it is men who perpetrate this violence. Thus, to make progress towards eliminating violence against women, we will need to change *men* – men's attitudes, behaviours, identities, and relations.

Second, constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in shaping violence against women: at the individual level, in families and relationships, in communities, and societies as a whole. A wide variety of studies have found for example that men's adherence to sexist, patriarchal, and/or sexually hostile attitudes is an important predictor of their use of violence against women (Murnen *et al.* 2002, Sugarman and Frankel 1996, Schumacher *et al.* 2001, Stith *et al.* 2004). While masculine attitudes are one factor, another is male dominance itself. Male economic and decision-making dominance in the family is one of the strongest predictors of high levels of violence against women (Heise 1998, Heise 2006: 35).

These first two insights boil down to the point that we have no choice but to address men and masculinities if we want to stop violence against women. However, violence prevention work with men has been fuelled also by a third and more hopeful insight: that men have a positive role to play in helping to stop violence against women. Violence is an issue of concern to women and men alike and men have a stake in ending violence against women. While men receive a 'patriarchal dividend' – a set of material and interpersonal privileges – from gendered structures of inequality (Connell 1995), men can be motivated by other interests (Expert Group 2003, Kaufman 2003). While men's violence against women expresses and maintains men's power over women, men in general also pay a personal price for this violence. Violence against women fuels women's distrust and fear of men, and hurts the women whom many men love.

An intersectional analysis of men and masculinities

Scholarship and activism on gender inequalities, and on violence against women, increasingly is based on an *intersectional* approach. This involves the fundamental recognition that gender intersects with ethnicity, class, age, and other forms of social difference and social inequality.

I first offer an intersectional account of men and masculinities.

Men's lives, like women's, are structured not only by gender but by various axes of social division and difference such as race and ethnicity. (There are multiple masculinities.)

At the simplest level, we must recognise that 'being a man' means different things in different cultures and among different ethnic groups. There are multiple masculinities, with some dominant and some subordinate or marginalised. In Australia for example, research among particular cultural or ethnic groups finds considerable diversity in constructions of masculinity (Pease 2002: 142-43). There are different ways of 'doing masculinity', and different masculinities stand in different relations to power.

Dominant images of masculinity involve a white masculinity.

The dominant image of masculinity with which we in Australia are presented, is of a *white* masculinity. Popular culture places the lives of white, Anglo-Celtic men at centre stage, while those of men from non-English-speaking backgrounds and men of colour are marginalised or made invisible.

Notions of masculinity are central to colonialism and to contemporary racism.

Ideas about masculinity are central to the history of Western colonialism. Mid-nineteenth-century ideas emphasised the white English gentleman as superior being, bringing civilisation to the world's inferior races (Segal 1990). Black men were imagined to be 'primitive' and highly sexualised beasts, savage and sexual. Similar notions of black men were central to the lynching of thousands of black men in the United States. Colonialism and imperialism have had a profound impact on meanings of 'race' and on the organisation of masculinities, and there is a two-way relationship between race and ethnicity in the metropole or centre and in the colonies or periphery (Morrell and Swart 2006: 92). Contemporary racisms continue to involve particular constructions of masculinity, based on associations between crime, violence, and race and ethnicity.

Men in different social locations have differential access to social resources and social status.

Men of different backgrounds have differential access to social resources and social status. This recognition complicates and unsettles our analyses of men's power. Gendered power is intersected by race power and class power. Aboriginal men, men of colour and from CaLD backgrounds are clearly not the beneficiaries of patriarchal capitalism in the same way as other men. As Clatterbaugh (1990) writes in the US context, "just as the dominant masculinity is shaped by privilege and racism, black masculinity is shaped by poverty and oppression."

Men share very unequally in the fruits of patriarchy. There are groups of men who face economic, political and legal constraints arguably which overshadow whatever privileges they may have as men. However, there is also a potential risk in this focus on diversities among men, of losing sight of men's power as a gender. Particular groups of men may be both oppressed and oppress*ing*, e.g. in oppressive relations with women (Morrell and Swart 2006: 96).

Men from marginalised ethnic groups often are portrayed in derogatory ways in media.

Men from marginalised ethnic groups often are portrayed in derogatory ways in media. As Schrock and Schwalbe (2009: 283-284) note,

> Males in marginalized groups are often represented in derogatory ways. […] Black men are often portrayed as lazy, violent, criminal, hypersexual, or naturally athletic […] Latinos too are often depicted as criminal or as illegal immigrants who cause social problems […] Arab men are often depicted as decadent sheiks, religious fanatics, or terrorists […] Such imagery implicitly affirms the hegemonic ideal as white, monied, and self-possessed. It also provides symbolic resources for crafting conformist and oppositional presentations of masculine selves.

Men of colour and from ethnic minorities sometimes resist these stereotypes, and sometimes take them up and try to redefine them for their own benefit. For example, black American males' stylised public displays of highly sexualised and aggressive postures have been described as "cool pose" – as therapeutically useful and as symbolic resistance to racism, but also as self-destructive (Messner 1997: 68-69). In Australia, in the context of social and economic marginalisation, young Lebanese men in Sydney adopt a 'protest masculinity', based in strong group solidarity and exaggerated claims of potency and hypermasculinity (Poynting *et al.* 2003).

An intersectional approach to men's violence against women

Approaches to men's violence against women increasingly adopt an intersectional analysis.

There is intensified attention to the intersectional character of men's violence against women – to the complex intersections of social difference and social location which shape women's and men's understandings of, experiences of, and involvements in violence. Gender intersects with such forms of social difference as class, race and ethnicity, sexuality, age, and disability, and gender relations and other forms of social relations are structured by local, national, and global contexts. In turn then, men's violence against women takes place within, is constituted by, and itself helps to constitute these multiple and fluid patterns. Feminist activism and scholarship increasingly has adopted this 'intersectional' approach to men's violence against women.

Attention to intersectionality is visible in both theoretical work on how conceptualise men's violence against women and in empirical examinations of the intersections of violence with particular social, cultural, and political contexts, processes, and populations. In Australia, one notable area of increased research activity is in relation to domestic and family violence in indigenous communities and among refugee and immigrant populations. There is also attention for example to the intersections of domestic violence and homelessness.

Women in immigrant and CaLD communities and refugees face a heightened vulnerability to violence.

There is mixed evidence regarding whether women in CaLD communities face higher rates of domestic and family violence than women in other communities (Bartels 2010: 5). While some studies shower higher rates, others show similar or lower rates (Flory 2012: 45). At the same time, there is certainly evidence that CaLD women are less likely than other women to report family violence to the police (Flory 2012: 45).

There are various ways in which women from immigrant and CaLD communities in Australia face a heightened vulnerability to violence relative to non-immigrant and English-speaking-background women. A recent review identifies factors including:

- dependency on their spouses or fiancés for visa status;
- social isolation and lack of support networks;
- language barriers;
- cultural factors; and
- limited knowledge of services, legal rights and options (Flory 2012: 46-49).

Note too that perpetrators may exploit these factors, deliberately isolating women from support networks or using women's language difficulties to spread misinformation (Flory 2012: 46-47). (Also see Poljski's (2011) useful overview.)

Immigrant and CaLD women's heightened vulnerability to violence is shaped by intersections between ethnicity, class, and disadvantage. Immigrant-specific factors "exacerbate the already vulnerable position — as dictated by class, gender, and race — of immigrant women in domestic violence situations" (Menjivar and Salcido 2002). Social and political forces and circumstances, including histories of racial and ethnic discrimination and prejudice, limit immigrant and minority women's abilities to find housing, employment, or training and thus their ability to leave abusive relationships (Kasturirangan *et al.* 2004). Immigrant women often live with an uncertain legal status and harmful legal consequences (such as loss of legal status, or deportation with the abuser) if they end a violent relationship or file charges (Menjivar and Salcido 2002). Focusing on sexual violence in particular, various factors are said to increase the risks of sexual violence towards women from culturally diverse backgrounds, including non-recognition of or tolerance for rape in marriage (Taylor and Putt 2007: 3).

There are sub-groups of CaLD women who have a heightened vulnerability to family violence, including refugee and newly arrived CaLD women without permanent residency (Flory 2012: 49). While it is difficult to establish with certainty whether refugee women experience higher rates of intimate partner violence than migrants or the Australian born, there is an expert consensus that this is highly probable (Pittaway 2004; Kaplan and Webster 2003). Both men and women from refugee backgrounds have a higher rate of exposure to many of the risk factors for intimate partner violence identified earlier. In addition to those associated with the migration process and exposure to culturally specific norms associated with the perpetration of partner violence (factors affecting all new settlers), these include exposure to generalised and state sanctioned violence and associated trauma, and disruption to family, community and cultural connections and relationships which might otherwise be protective (Pittaway 2004; Kaplan and Webster 2003). There is strong evidence that refugees are particularly vulnerable to social and economic marginalisation both prior to and in the early years of settlement.

Men's violence-supportive attitudes are shaped by gender, ethnicity, and other factors.

This presentation is focused on engaging men in prevention, and in particular in engaging men from CaLD backgrounds. We have to acknowledge here that there are particular challenges here, given the evidence that attitudes towards violence against women are poorer among men than women, and poorer among members of some CaLD communities than in other communities. As a recent review notes, members of CaLD communities are more likely to show lack of recognition of family violence as a crime, have traditional views of gender roles, see separation and divorce as stigmatising, and believe in family violence as a 'private' or 'family' matter. Furthermore, in the context of fears that their cultural identity is under threat, members may affirm traditional values and beliefs (Flory 2012: 47-48).

> Attitudes shape men's involvements in violence against women, whether as bystanders or perpetrators.

Attitudes towards violence matter. They shape men's involvements in violence against women, whether as bystanders or perpetrators. Men who have more violence-supportive attitudes are more likely to respond in inappropriate and harmful ways to victims and perpetrators of violence: to fail to offer support, to blame the victim, and so on. And men who have more violence-supportive attitudes are more likely to perpetrate violence themselves.

> Community attitudes towards violence against women are shaped above all by gender: Men have worse attitudes than women.

Community attitudes towards men's violence against women are shaped above all by gender. A nationally representative survey of attitudes in Australia towards violence against women found that, "The strongest predictors for holding violence-supportive attitudes were being male and

having low levels of support for gender equity or equality" (VicHealth 2010: 54).

<u>Attitudes are shaped also by culture and ethnicity.</u>

However, VicHealth's survey found that attitudes towards violence against women are shaped by culture and ethnicity. The survey sample had three components: (1) over 10,000 people across Australia, the general sample; (2) an additional 2,500 first and second-generation members of five particular communities – the Italian, Greek, Chinese, Vietnamese and Indian communities – known as the 'selected culturally and linguistically diverse' or 'SCaLD' sample; and (3) 400 Indigenous Australians. The results from the SCaLD sample cannot be said to represent the attitudes of all Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, nor can they be said to represent the individual communities from which the samples were drawn (VicHealth 2010: 20). However, they do give us at least *some* basis for comparison between these communities, treated as a group, and non-CaLD populations.

The national survey found that attitudes towards some aspects of men's violence against women are poorer in the selected CaLD samples than in the general community. At the same time, women in both the general community and SCaLD communities have better attitudes than men in either.

I won't run through all the differences documented in the VicHealth survey, but just to highlight one, attitudes towards sexual violence also were poorer in the SCaLD samples. People from SCaLD backgrounds showed less recognition of rape in marriage and intimate relationships, and greater willingness to see rape as an expression of an uncontrollable need for sex. For example;

- 42 percent of the SCaLD sample, and still over a third (34 percent) of the general community, agreed that rape occurs because of men 'not being able to control their need for sex' (VicHealth 2010: 37).

- 19 percent, compared to only five percent in the general sample, agreed that 'a women cannot be raped by someone she is in a sexual relationship with' (VicHealth 2010: 39).

- One-third (34 percent) of the SCaLD sample and 16 percent of the general community sample believed a women is partially responsible for rape if she is drunk at the time (VicHealth 2010: 41).

Other Australian data shows similar patterns.

- In a national survey among young people aged 12 to 20, about one-fifth agreed with the use of violence by both sexes. These young people were more likely to be male, in the youngest age profile (12-14), of lower socioeconomic status, and of Middle Eastern or Asian background. This cluster was also significantly more likely to hold traditional views about gender roles (National Crime Prevention 2001: 81-90).

There is an obvious danger in acknowledging such patterns, that we reinforce racism. Violence prevention efforts which address ethnicity run the risk of reinforcing the racist ideologies which are already pervasive in Australia. This was illustrated in the experience of the NSW campaign "Violence Against Women — It's Against All the Rules", run over 2000 to 2003. While more than half of men correctly perceived that the campaign was aimed at men in general, one in eight (12.5 percent) thought it was aimed at particular ethnic groups (Hubert 2003: 36-37). So one man said for example, "I reckon the campaign is aimed at ethnics (sic) who treat their women like dogs."

<u>Community attitudes towards violence against women are shaped also by age, language, migration, education, etc.</u>

Gender and culture or ethnicity are not the only influential factors here. VicHealth's national survey found that among both those in the general community and SCaLD samples, there was less justification for physical violence among those who expressed high support for gender equality, spoke English at home and had completed more than 12 years of education (VicHealth 2010: 38). In addition, "For the SCaLD sample, length of time in Australia, whether English was spoken at home and whether respondents were born in Australia influenced whether violence-supportive attitudes were more likely to be held." (VicHealth 2010: 54)

Experiences of immigration and resettlement shape men's experiences of violence.

Experiences of immigration and resettlement also can shape men's *use* of violence, their actual perpetration. As Flory's report notes:

> The experience of resettlement, particularly changes in women's social and economic status can increase tension and the risk of violence by men towards women. Whilst women often felt empowered by changes to their social and economic status, men reported feeling disempowered and attributed conflict within the relationship to these changes. […] these changes in the gender dynamics within families often results [sic] in increased efforts by men to maintain or regain control, including through violence. (Flory 2012: 8)

Experiences of resettlement may contribute to men's use of violence against female partners in refugee communities. James (2010: 280) highlights a series of potential dynamics here. For example, in the context of shifts in their dominant status within families, men may use violence in efforts to make their wives and children obey and show respect. Men may fear separation and divorce from their wives. As a result of war trauma, they may experience physiological arousal and respond more readily with violence.

When men *do* use violence against women, their ethnicity also makes a difference. Male perpetrators are more likely to be held accountable and criminalized, and their crimes are more likely to be seen as linked to their ethnicity, if they are poor, black or men of colour (Russo 2001: 147-162). On the other hand, white men are less likely to be held accountable, less likely to be arrested and charged, and their use of violence is less likely to be seen as linked to their ethnicity and cultural heritage. A recent and powerful example of this is the differential treatment of group sexual assaults by young men of Lebanese or Middle-Eastern backgrounds and alleged group sexual assaults by white members of Australian rugby league teams (Grewal 2007: 126). While the behaviour of the former was attributed by political and media commentators to their ethnicity or culture, the behaviour of the latter was not.

More widely, race and racism shape community and institutional understandings of and responses to men's violence against women. Recent events in Sydney – gang rapes in Sydney and riots in the beachside of Cronulla in Sydney – have been represented in ways which intensified racist associations between ethnicity, violence and crime and which fuelled backlash against particular ethnic groups and communities.

There have been moral panics at various times in the UK, Australia, and elsewhere, linking particular groups of men to crime and violence (Warner 2004: 344-45). Moral panics typically show "a high level of concern over the behaviour of a certain group or category of people, an increased level of hostility towards the group regarded as a threat, and disproportionality or an exaggeration of the threat" (Warner 2004: 345). Such a moral panic was visible in media and community discourse regarding gang rapes in Sydney and the legal trials which followed. As Warner (2004) argues, political and media portrayals misrepresented the facts of these crimes, used the victims in the service of populist racism and political gain, attributed criminal behaviour to cultural factors, and demonised and criminalised the 'other'. This fuelled backlash against the Arab-Muslim-Lebanese community and led to increases in attacks and racial hatred. Grewal

(2007) offers a similar analysis, with both noting the ways in which the sexual assaults were racialised by conservative media commentators. As a result, "the figure of the "Lebanese/Middle-Eastern/Muslim gang rapist" has gained a certain acceptance within Australian public discourse" (Grewal 2007: 120).

Engaging CaLD men in violence prevention

Some general principles and strategies for violence prevention in CaLD communities

Reflection and research on violence-related interventions among CaLD communities has concentrated on tertiary responses, particularly the delivery of services and other aspects of intervention into and the management of intimate partner violence (and other forms of domestic and family violence). This suggests that 'one size' does not 'fit all'. Instead, domestic violence services and responses should be tailored to, and even developed specifically for, particular CaLD communities (Department of Community Development 2006; Flory 2012: 51-59).

There has been very little investigation of effective strategies of primary prevention in immigrant and CaLD communities in Australia (Poljski 2011: 31). Nevertheless, some guides to effective practice are available. A literature review recommends that community education strategies should be targeted in such communities; education on intimate partner violence, the law, and services should be provided; interventions should engage key community and religious leaders; men in particular should be targeted; and all this should be part of a comprehensive package of family support for migrant communities and refugees (Department of Community Development 2006). Another research paper and overview suggests that community education efforts should be framed in culturally and linguistically relevant ways and address community issues and values, and provides recommendations regarding their development (Partnerships Against Domestic Violence 2000). It notes that "positive messages reinforcing community values, such as family harmony and healthy relationships, may be much more effective than confronting and aggressive messages". A report by the Immigrant Women's Domestic Violence Service (2006: 38) emphasises that key priorities for action include building relationships and networks among immigrant and refugee women themselves and between such women and their local communities and services. Whether in immigrant and CaLD communities or elsewhere, effective violence prevention in communities depends on documenting local conditions, engaging community members, addressing communities' perceived needs, involving leaders, and changing the social and community conditions which lead to violence.

Challenges

Intensifying racism?

There are challenges in violence prevention work which are heightened in addressing violence in indigenous and immigrant communities. One is to do so without intensifying racism. Community reactions even to general violence prevention campaigns illustrate the ease with which existing racist assumptions about violence and ethnicity can be reinforced (Braaf and Ganguly 2002; Flood 2002).

Support or undermine cultural traditions?

Another challenge is associated with support for and celebration of cultural diversity. One the one hand, if we support cultural traditions which normalise or justify intimate partner violence we may be complicit in abuse. On the other hand, if we intervene to undermine particular cultural traditions, we may perpetuate colonialism and paternalism. Solutions lie in both respecting cultural diversity and rejecting notions of violence as culturally legitimate (Braaf and Ganguly 2002). Community members themselves are likely to draw on cultural values and beliefs in articulating a rejection of violent behaviour, and an important strategy is to assist women (and

men) to draw on such values. Prevention initiatives may be designed to support cultural sustainability, particularly among cultural groups and communities undergoing rapid change, and some strategies based for example in traditional sanctions may not do enough to protect women's safety (Braaf and Ganguly 2002).

Ethnocentrism and culture

There are two wider problems with any discussion of 'culture' and violence against women. In common accounts of culture, culture first is seen as associated only with minority ethnic groups. The culture of the dominant group becomes normalised and invisible. This is particularly misguided given the feminist analysis of dominant culture as a 'rape culture', that is, as characterised by social norms and relations which feed into sexual assault. Second, culture often is portrayed in redutionist, homogenised and essentialist ways, as immutable and fixed.

These problems are one source of resistance for example in some ethnic communities to discussions of the role of culture in sanctioning men's violence against women. Another source is that 'culture' sometimes is used by members of minority communities to diminish men's responsibility for their violence.

Some general principles and strategies for violence prevention with men

Just as there are general principles and strategies which have proven more effective when working in and with CaLD communities, there are principles and strategies which have proven more effective in working *with men.*

I have written elsewhere of the roles men can play in prevention (Flood 2010), the spectrum of strategies for involving men in prevention (Flood 2011), ways to engage and change men (Flood 2009), and principles for best practice in violence prevention education (Flood *et al.* 2009). Here however, I briefly highlight the principles which should guide any work with men. Above all, this work must be pro-feminist. It must be guided by feminist content and framed with a feminist political agenda. It must be done in partnership with, and even be accountable to, women and women's groups. And it must involve the protection of 'women's space', women-only, and women-focused programs. Second, this work must be committed to enhancing boys' and men's lives. Third, work with men must acknowledge both commonalities and diversities, and the complex ways in which manhood and gender are structured by race, class, sexuality, age and other forms of social difference.

Engaging CaLD men in prevention

How best can men from CaLD backgrounds be engaged in the prevention of violence against women? There has been very little attention to this question in Australia. There is little documentation, let alone evaluation, of such efforts. Bartels (2011) documents a range of crime prevention initiatives in CaLD communities, but only three include strategies directed at men and boys in particular or addressing all-male groups, including 'men's business' forums on camps with indigenous and African participants and a fathers' and children's program (although such strategies may not be visible in the summaries provided). Where this question *has* been posed is in relation to work with perpetrators. The need for services for men to be accessible to and culturally appropriate for CaLD and indigenous men is emphasised in various guides to work with perpetrators (Department of Community Development 2006: 26-28), and a handful of perpetrator programs have been developed for culturally specific groups of men (ibid: 44-48; Flory 2012: 57-59).

Nevertheless, we can identify some essential elements of primary prevention addressing men in CaLD communities.

Address the social and economic conditions of CaLD men and communities.

We must first address the social and economic conditions of CaLD men and communities. Writing in the US context, West (2008) argues that consistent risk factors for Black men's perpetration of dating violence include lower socioeconomic status, childhood exposure to family violence, and being involved with or exposed to community violence (West 2008: 246-47). Therefore, to reduce this violence, we should work to improve the employment status, job conditions, and economic well-being of African Americans (West 2008: 249).

A similar argument can be made in Australia, that improving the material conditions of CaLD men and CaLD communities also will feed into lower rates of intimate and family violence. Community education work with newly arrived men from immigrant and refugee communities should address their pre-arrival experiences of war, torture and trauma (Flory 2012: 56).

Include culturally relevant content. And acknowledge racism.

Violence prevention efforts with CaLD men should use culturally sensitive content. There are very few primary prevention initiatives in Australia directed specifically at men or boys from specific cultural or ethnic backgrounds. However, overseas research does suggest that in violence prevention work with racially diverse groups of men, culturally relevant interventions are more effective than 'colourblind' ones. In an American study, white and Black men took part in two versions of a violence prevention program. One was designed to be culturally relevant in terms of both its form and content: it was facilitated by Black and white educators, it included information on race-related rape myths, and it discussed sexual violence in a cultural context. The other was a generic or 'colourblind' program (Heppner *et al.* 1999). Black men found the culturally relevant program to be more relevant and engaging than the colourblind intervention, although the study was unable to test whether they were more likely to improve than men in the 'colourblind' program (Heppner *et al.* 1999: 24). In addition, the study did *not* support the claim that including racial and cultural material in the program will alienate White participants.

In the US context, West (2008: 250) calls for content exploring the intersections of racism and sexism, stereotypes about Black women, and the ways in which Black popular culture encourages violence against women. In the Australian context, relevant content might address the stereotypes of Islam and of Muslim men as backwards, sexist, rapists. In fact, including culturally relevant content will make CaLD participants more motivated to participate and listen to the message (Heppner *et al.* 1999).

Violence prevention with men from CaLD backgrounds should highlight the links between racism and sexism and between racist and sexist violence. It should celebrate the men of colour for example who have worked to end men's violence against women (Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, and James Baldwin) (Funk 2006: 188).

Men of colour – African American, Latino, Asian, and Native American men – face particular myths related to violence. These include the notions that they are more likely to perpetrate violence than European American men, and that they pose a greater threat than their white male counterparts to European American women (Funk 2006: 182). Work with men from minority ethnic and racial backgrounds should address these myths. It should highlight for example that most rapes are intraracial – perpetrated by men against women of their own ethnic or racial class. In turn, whereas most interracial rapes are perpetrated by white or European men against women of colour (Funk 2006: 189).

Address culturally specific supports for violence and gender inequality.

Violence prevention efforts also should address culturally specific supports for violence and gender inequality. For example, Christian men may defend gender inequality by claiming that

male dominance is mandated by God and legitimated in the Bible. This can be undermined by finding *other* Christian accounts which reject such privilege, including Biblical references which state that God created man and woman equally, that a Christian marriage should be a partnership, and so on. Other aspects of this work include placing 'tradition' in its social and historical context, showing that 'tradition' has varied over time and is shaped by many forces and factors, and inviting assessment of the positive and negative aspects of tradition (Greig and Peacock 2005).

Supports for violence and gender inequality also may come from the forms of media popular in particular communities. In the US context, West argues for challenging sexist and violence-supportive beliefs and messages in hip hop music and culture (West 2008: 251). She notes the evidence that the misogynistic content of hip-hop and rap music and music videos is associated with greater endorsement of rape myths and gender role stereotypes about rape (West 2008: 251).

Draw on local resources and texts in promoting non-violence and gender equality.

A further strategy is to look for and build on local resources, texts, and norms in promoting non-violence and gender equality. In working with CaLD men, we may make comparisons with other forms of inequality or unjust power, draw on culturally appropriate texts and stories in critiquing gender inequality such as religious texts, local myths and fables, and, on the other hand, use the language of human rights, fairness, justice, and so on.

One example here is a local media campaign which used high-profile men from a variety of cultural and professional backgrounds to dissuade men from their communities from perpetrating violence against their families. The campaign, called "Family Men Don't Do Family Violence", involved two television commercials, in which men from a variety of backgrounds told men to "Knock it off mate" (44-45). (See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ifna0AsLQdE.) (Poljski also describes various other communications and social marketing campaigns directed at particular communities, and notes some of the features of campaigns likely to be more effective in immigrant and refugee communities (44-49).)

Be sensitive to *gender* cultures.

Cultural relevance or cultural appropriateness typically are understood to refer to a sensitivity to ethnic diversity, but they should refer also to a sensitivity to *gender* cultures. As I have argued elsewhere:

> Among men, there is enormous diversity in the constructions of masculinity and sexuality which are dominant in particular social contexts and communities. This diversity certainly is shaped by ethnic differences, but also by many other forms of social differentiation. There are social groups, workplaces and social networks of men in which violence against women is frequent and viewed as legitimate and other contexts in which this violence is rare and seen as unacceptable. [...] One of the first steps in working with a particular group or community of men should be to map their gendered and sexual culture, in order to see what aspects of this culture contribute to violence against women and what aspects can be mobilised in support of non-violence. (Flood 2005-2006: 31)

Engage (male) community and religious leaders

One strategy recommended in the literature on violence prevention in CaLD communities is involving community and religious leaders – building their capacity to respond to disclosures of family violence, to provide information and assistance to women and men, and to address family violence in their communities at a broader level (Flory 2012: 9, 58-59; Poljski 2011: 35-39). Most community and religious leaders are *men*, so again, gender-conscious strategies are required here.

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There are challenges in faith-based organisations and their leaders becoming champions for gender equality. There are questions about

> the extent to which religious institutions, which have historically excluded women from leadership positions and roles, and which concern themselves via forceful and public mechanisms with the regulation of women's sexuality, reproduction and conjugal roles and the reinforcement of traditional family relationships, might become effective conduits for change in gender relations (Poljski 2011: 37)

In Australia, at least from anecdotal evidence, involving faith-based leaders has had some positive effects, but has also in some instances involved male leaders weakening responses to domestic violence (Poljski 2011: 37-38). There are other promising initiatives which equip immigrant and refugee women and men to take leadership roles in violence prevention, and these should be complemented by programs specifically for men (Poljski 2011: 41-42).

<u>Address men's experiences of changing gender dynamics in families.</u>

In working with CaLD men, one key task is to address men's experiences of changing gender dynamics in families (Flory 2012: 8). In helping men to cope with their changing gender and family roles and to improve their relationships with their partners and families, one useful strategy is bilingual health education (Poljski 2011: 53). One example is a program on family and gender roles for Southern Sudanese young men. Another important education strategy is parenting programs, through which to "highlight the equal importance of female and male children, encourage parents to treat all their children equally and educate their children about the value of respectful relationships" (Poljski 2011: 54).

<u>Improve CaLD men's access to services.</u>

A small body of Australian research on CaLD men's difficulties in accessing domestic violence services suggests that some of the barriers they face are similar to those for CaLD women, including

> communication and language difficulties; a lack of multilingual and culturally appropriate information; a lack of knowledge of services available; a lack of appropriate outreach programs; counselling may be an alien concept; employment commitments, particularly shift-work; traditional gender roles, which make it difficult for men to admit they need help; and; a belief that family issues should be dealt with within the family. (Department of Community Development 2006: 51)

At the same time, there are further issues which CaLD men emphasise. Research in Western Australia suggested that CaLD men

> often feel particularly marginalised and are reluctant to approach any government department with any problem or issue in case it reflected on their permanency or residency status…. [particular among recent migrants]; Most CaLD men felt that their role as head of the family had been diminished, and they were deeply concerned about the resultant feeling of anomie, particularly in relation to family discipline; There was a perception that service providers often lack cultural sensitivity. Many CaLD men already felt isolated, and it was perceived that seeking help for any issue such as domestic violence would increase their sense of isolation. (Department of Community Development 2006: 51)

Conclusion

Preventing men's violence against women will require sustained and systematic efforts at the levels of families and relationships, communities, institutions, and societies. Men must be engaged in this work. Prevention strategies must address the complex intersections of race,

ethnicity, class, region, and age which shape women's and men's experiences of and involvements in violence. We must erode the cultural and collective supports for violence found among many men and boys and replace them with norms of consent, sexual respect and gender equality.

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