CHAPTER SIX Theory underpinning practice: Masculinities

6.1 Introduction

Another area for which a careful consideration of theoretical perspectives is important is that of masculinities. As Bob Pease argues "Establishing a theoretical basis for discerning ... different masculinities and their different implications for the oppression of women allows for a more realistic base for the political strategy of recreating men." [226] Just as feminism draws on theoretical and academic analyses in order to understand, tackle and dismantle male dominance[227] and in order to impact on real women's actual lives, those seeking to engage men and boys in equality must draw on pertinent theory regarding masculinities to inform and guide their work. Referring to the important link between theory and practice in this area Robert Connell argues that the theory that comes out of social research can have 'major value' when it provides an understanding of 'where we have come from', describes 'where we are now' *and* concerns itself with 'strategic issues: with where it is possible to go and how it is possible to get there.'[228]

In this chapter I will pay attention to theory pertaining to the issue of masculinities.

6.2 Defining Masculinities

"'Man': the word seems as easy to define as 'dog' or 'stick'..." writes Catherine Simpson. "However we often do not know what we think we do...'Man' is complicated."[229] Similarly defining the frequently-used term 'masculinity' proves more

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[226] Bob Pease, *Recreating Men: Postmodern Masculinity Politic*, Great Britain, 2000, p.39

[227] Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell, 'Masculinty, power and identity' in *Understanding Masculinities, ed.* Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, , Buckingham, 1996, p.104

[228] R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power*, California, 1987, p. xiv

[229] Catherine Stimpson, 'Foreword' in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, ed. Harry Brod , USA, 1987, p. xi

challenging than might be expected. Lynne Segal states that "[d]espite the explosion of writing on the topic, the category of 'masculinity' remains deeply obscure. ...it is in fact becoming more obscure."[230]

Masculinity has been variously defined or described as: constructed definitions of manhood[231]; men's behaviour and identity[232]; a quality of being which is always incomplete[233]; men's characters[234]; something men have[235]; "a specific gender identity belonging to a specific male person", something owned by an individual that can be deployed, used or performed[236]; something "constructed in the context of class, race and other factors ... interpreted through the prism of age"[237]. For some, 'masculinity' is a term applicable only to men but can include a variety of attitudes and behaviours from, for example, aggressive to peaceful. For others 'masculinity' is something independent of women or men (can be expressed by either women or men) but necessarily refers to qualities and behaviours that are aggressive, unemotional and so on- qualities and behaviours traditionally associated with males. The dictionary definition of masculinity concurs with the latter, defining masculinity as: "Something traditionally considered to be characteristic of a male."[238]

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230 Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities Changing Men*, U.K., 1990, p. x

231 Michael Kimmel, 'Global Masculinities: Restoration and Resistance' in *A Man's world? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalised World*, Bob Pease and Keith Pringle (eds), New York, 2001, p. 22

232 Don Sabo, 'Gazing into Men's Middles: Fire in the Belly and the Men's Movement' in *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement (and Mythopoetic Leaders Answer)*, Michael Kimmel (ed.), Philadelphia, 1995, p.65

233 Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion*, p. 123

234 Michael Kimmel (ed.) The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement (and Mythopoetic Leaders Answer), Philadelphia, 1995, p. 84

235 Robert Morrell, 'The Times of Change: Men and Masculinity in South Africa' in *Changing Men in Southern Africa* , Robert Morrell (ed.), South Africa, 2001, p.4

236 Ibid. p. 7 and p. 208

237 Ibid. p. 8

238 Answers.com, the world's greatest encyclodictionalmanacapedia, available from: http://www.answers.com/topic/masculinity , accessed on October 6 2006

It is not surprising that pro-feminist scholar Jeff Hearn should, despite two decades of writing about men and developing the concept of masculinity, come to query the usefulness of the concept and the way it is utilized.[239] His concern is that the concept of masculinity is used variously and imprecisely; it is used as "a shorthand for a very wide range of social phenomena, and in particular those that are connected with men and males but which appear to be located in the individual; and it is used as a "primary and underlying cause of other social effects."[240] Mc Mahon is similarly concerned about the lack of explicit definition and about the fact that "many descriptions of masculinity are really descriptions of popular ideologies about the actual or ideal characteristics of men"[241], a mere "list of traits". McMahon argues that just as in the past the 'male role' (in sex-role theory of gender) became an explanatory cliché, the concept masculinity is at risk of suffering the same fate.[242]

In terms of practice the implications of the constant use of the term 'masculinity' despite the imprecision of its definition include the fact that masculinity becomes 'some kind of thing-in-itself':

> Men's practices are the result of, or the expression of, masculinity. While men's practices are criticized, 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'. Domination is an aspect of masculinity rather than something men simply do.[243]

Leading scholar in the field and author of *Masculinities*, Bob Connell acknowledges the difficulties involved in providing a brief but comprehensive definition of 'masculinity', as well as the problems associated with failure to do so. He suggests that masculinity be

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[239] Jeff Hearn, 1996, ' Is masculinity dead? A critque of the concept of masculinity/masculinities' in *Understanding Masculinities*, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), , Buckingham, 1996, p. 203

[240] *Ibid.* p.203

[241] A. Mc Mahon, (1993) Male readings of feminist theory: the psychologisation of sexual politics in the masculinity literature, *Theory and Society*, 22(5): 675-96, p. 690-1

[242] *Ibid.*
[243] *Ibid.*

defined as "simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture".[244] This is the definition that I adopt for the purposes of this study.

Central to Connell's definition is the idea that masculinity – as a place, practice and effect – is socially and historically constructed and is formed in relation not only to femininity, but also to real women and 'women's' work:

> There is... convincing evidence from ethnographic and life history research that masculinities are constructed in *interaction* with women. It is not just that cultural images of 'masculinity' are always defined in relation to images of 'femininity'. Real women, real women's work (in child care, housework, emotional support work, etc.) are intimately involved in making and re-making men's characters.[245]

In connection with this fact Jeff Hearn warns - in seeking to define and understand masculinity- against an overemphasis on masculinity in isolation and without due regard for these interactions and relations.[246]

> ....[A]n overemphasis on masculinity and a neglect of social relations between women and men can lead on to a redefinition of men as victims of historical, cultural and gendered processes, to which men are bound. ...

6.3 Multiple masculinities

An understanding of the concept of masculinity as "a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture"

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[244] Bob Connell, 'The Social Organization of Society', *Masculinities*, p.71, available from: http://ssr1.uchicago.edu/NEWPRE/GenFam2/Connell.html, accessed October 6 2006
[245] Robert Connell, 'Men at Bay' in *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement (and Mythopoetic Leaders Answer)*, Michael kimmel (ed.) , Philadelphia, 1995, p. 84
[246] Jeff Hearn, Is masculinity dead? p. 203

necessarily leads to a recognition of the existence of a multiplicity of lived masculinities.

> The notion of a single masculine template is ethnographic and historical nonsense. Abundant evidence shows that cultural representations of masculinity, and men's actual ways of life, vary widely between cultures. They change in history, and they are diverse within any one culture at a given point of time.[247]
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> 'Masculinity' is best viewed as a multifaceted mosaic and not a cultural monolith.[248]

Over recent decades it has become increasingly accepted that "masculinities do not have a one-dimensional identity" but "embody multiple dimensions"[249] and that even among men who share a common nationality or culture, there may be huge differences in terms of "class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, bodily facility, religion, world views, parental/marital status, occupation and propensity for violence"[250], all or any of which may impact on the lived masculinity of a given man or group.

There has been a move away from categorical theories that assume men and women are "unitary, rational subjects occupying predictable power positions" and an increased focus on the "multidimensional social subject". This helps in "understanding the local social and cultural contextual specificity in the production and reproduction of masculine identity formations." [251]

To acknowledge a multiplicity of masculinities however is not to suggest that all masculinities enjoy equal 'status', or access to power.

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[247] Robert Connell, Men at Bay p. 83
[248] Don Sabo, Gazing into Men's Middles, p.66
[249] Christian Haywood and Martin Mac an Ghaill, 'Schooling Masculinities', in *Understanding Masculinities*, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), Buckingham, 1996, p.51
[250] Bob Pease, *Recreating Men*, p.29
[251] Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, 'Introduction', in Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), *Understanding Masculinities*, Buckingham, 1996, p.1

6.4 Hegemonic Masculinities

Hegemony is defined as: "1.Leadership or predominance, esp. by one member of a confederacy or union.2. Dominance or undue influence exercised by a country... over its weaker neighbours."[252] This term was employed by the Italian writer and politician, Antonio Gramsci in his analysis of class relations early in the twentieth century[253], and subsequently by Bob Connell in his analysis of gender relations:

> Translating Gramsci's notion of hegemony that was used in the context of class relations into the realm of gender relations, Connell has produced valuable analytic insights about the nature of masculinity. Not only are different masculinities worked out in relation to other masculinities. These relations as part of a hegemony are mediating oppression and domination. Power is differentiated so that particular styles of masculinity become ascendant or dominant in certain situations. Their ascendancy is achieved through processes of persuasion, having the power to define what normal and 'ordinary' male behaviour...[254]

Hegemonic masculinity, then, is a 'structured relationship' that distributes power among men and between women and men, in highly complex and unequal ways.[255] Hegemony is constructed through "articulation of differences with a variety of 'others' – racial or sexual minorities (subordinate masculinities), and, of course, women.[256] Kimmel likens the creation of the hegemonic ideal and historical constructions of the meanings of masculinity, to economic development, arguing that it is created against a "screen of 'others' whose masculinities [are] ...problematized and devalued" resulting in the emergence of the hegemonic and the subaltern in a "mutual but unequal interaction in a gendered social and economic order."[257]

Thus the study of masculinities is a study of power relations.[258] Different masculinities within the hierarchy have "differential access to power, practices of power and

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[252] Lesley Brown (ed.) *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary,* Oxford, 1993, vol 1 p. 1212.
[253]Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, Antonio Gramsci, available from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antonio_Gramsci, accessed October 6 2006.
[254] Christian Haywood and Martin Mac an Ghaill, Schooling Masculinities, p. 52
[255] Robert Morrell, The Times of Change, p. 10
[256] Michael Kimmel, Global Masculinities, p.22
[257] Micahel Kimmel, Global Masculinities, p.24
[258] Bob Pease, *Recreating Men,* p. 32

differential effects of power."[259] Hegemonic or culturally ascendant masculinities "constitute the implicit yardstick by which the 'Other' is judged." However hegemony does not denote a "straightforward hierarchy of 'categories'". Rather, as noted above, the relationships between hegemonic masculinities and whatever their definition excludes, are complex and constantly changing.[260]

Additionally, hegemonic masculinities are constructed in such a way that except for a very few individuals, they are unattainable ideals and often conjure feelings of disappointment and failure in those who strive, and fail, to achieve them. As Connell writes:

> ...the cultural ideal (or ideals) of masculinity need not correspond at all closely to the actual personalities of the majority of men. Indeed the winning of hegemony often involves the creation of models of masculinity which are quite specifically fantasy figures, such as the film characters played by Humphrey Bogart, John Wayne and Sylvester Stallone.[261]

6.4.1 Hegemonic Masculinities in Diverse Cultures

Kimmel observes that "[t]ypically, each nation constructs a model of masculinity against which each man measures himself." Despite the increasing impact of globalisation hegemonic masculinities from diverse cultures often vary significantly. In this section I will compare and contrast hegemonic masculinities from various cultures, exploring their commonalities and differences. What is clear from this brief comparison is the importance of historical processes in the development and definition of masculinities.

In Nicaragua the dominant masculinity which "dictates the attitudes, values and behaviour that men should adopt in order to be considered men and to feel themselves that they are men" is 'machismo'. In the past machismo was associated with "images of

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[259] Christian Haywood and Martin Mac an Ghaill, Schooling Masculinities, p.51

[260] Sara Wilcott and Christine Griffin , 'Men, masculinity and the challenge of long-term unemployment' in *Understanding Masculinities*, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), Buckingham, 1996, p.80

[261] Robert Connell, *Gender and Power*, California, 1987, p.184

gun-slinging, heavy-drinking cowboys"[262]. Modern versions promote a quest for power at all levels of society. According to Patrick Welsh, only a few men are able to resist internalising "their sense of maleness" within the framework of machismo, and all but a few respond to the social pressure not to develop significantly divergent alternatives. [263]

In Japan, by contrast, the "dominant (self)-image, model and representation of men and masculinity"[264] has been the salaryman. The salaryman as ideal was related to community values that assigned importance to "character, social standing, earning capacity, [and] lineage".[265] Significantly, more recently, young Japanese men (and women) have begun to challenge this model of ideal masculinity, associating it with an older generation of men. They are critical of the salaryman model's emphasis on "standardization, order, control, rationality and impersonality." The hegemony of the salaryman model is increasingly subject to ridicule and caricature. Young Japanese men, writes Laura Miller, "are increasingly concerned with their status as objects of *aesthetic* and *sexual appraisal*... [T]he ideological sphere of reference for masculinity has widened to include a greater diversity of physical styles, with beautification as another component of masculinity."

Writing of men and masculinities in South Africa, Robert Morrell observes that "[i]n a transitional society ... the question of which discourse is hegemonic is a complex one. The pre-existing, formerly hegemonic white masculinity continues to exert influence via media images and through institutions ... in which such masculinity remains embedded."[266] Among other things, hegemonic white masculinity emphasizes achievement and appearance – features of a commoditised society – and these permeate other masculinities. However specific groups of whites and of blacks within South

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[262] Patrick Welsh, 'Unlearning Machismo: Men Changing men in Post-Revolutionary Nicaragua' in A Man's world? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalised World, Bob Pease and Keith Pringle (eds), New York, 2001, p.178
[263] *Ibid.*
[264] James E Roberson and Nobue Suzuki, 'Introduction' in *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan: Dislocating the salaryman doxa,* James E Roberson and Nobue Suzuki (eds), London, 2003, p.1
[265] Laura Miller, 'Male Beauty work in Japan', in *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan: Dislocating the Salaryman Doxa,* James E Roberson and Nobue Suzuki (eds), London, 2003 p. 37, (emphasis added)

[266] Robert Morrell, The Times of Change: Men and Masculinity in South Africa' in *Changing Men in Southern Africa* , Robert Morrell (ed.), South Africa, 2001, p25

African society aspire to/have aspired to various ideal masculinities. For example, a powerful masculinity among black South Africans has been dubbed a 'heroic masculinity' and centres on Nelson Mandela.[267] For Afrikaaners the ideal masculinity stressed "independence, resourcefulness, physical and emotional toughness, ability to give and...take orders, of being moral and God-fearing."[268] Responding to their oppressive and violent circumstances, black Sotho mineworkers promoted an ideal masculinity based on the claim that "all BaSotho men were physically tough and strong and able to undertake the most dangerous and arduous mining jobs"[269].

For Arab men in occupied territories the dominant masculinity

> is acquired, verified and played out in the brave deed, in risk taking, and in expressions of fearlessness and assertiveness. It is attained by constant vigilance and willingness to defend honor, face, kin and community from external aggression and to uphold and protect cultural definitions of gender-specific propriety.[270]

For Arab men, according to Julie Peteet, virility and paternity are also important signifiers of manliness, along with the sacrifices demanded of fathers which include denying one's own needs to provide for others and can be manifest in the form of resistance to the occupation and in suffering the consequences.[271]

Despite the diversity of the population of the United States, the masculinity repeatedly identified as hegemonic is indicated in the words of sociologist Eric Goffman who argued that

> [i]n an important sense there is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual, Protestant, father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in sports...Any

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[267] *Ibid.*
[268] *Ibid.* p. 15
[269] *Ibid.* p.12
[270] Julie Peteet, 'male gender and rituals of resistance in the palestinian intifada: a cultural politics of violence' in *Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity And Culture In The Modern Middle East*, Mai Ghoussoub and Emma Sinclari-Webb (eds), Saqi, London, 2000, p.107
[271] *Ibid.*

> male who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself – during moments at least – as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior.[272]

From the above it is clear that hegemonic masculinity can vary according to location and historical time. Within any given place and time however there is usually a dominant model of masculinity that serves as the ideal and at the same time restricts the range of options open to men who are anxious to achieve or preserve their status as 'a real man'.

6.4.2 Maintaining Hegemonic Masculinity

It is clear from the above examples that hegemonic masculinities may vary from one geographic or historic location to another. Yet by definition hegemonic masculinities are dominant, 'ideal', impact on men (and women's) lives in powerful ways and have a certain solidity. How then, is this position of dominance and centrality maintained? David Marriott writes

> ...the way in which a class achieves dominance or total social authority in a particular sociopolitical situation is *not so much by either coercion or consent but by a combination of the two*, so that it gains acceptance for its way of looking at the world over the whole social formation at the level of the economic, the political and the ideological.[273]

In order that an ideology may continue undisturbed to sustain an existing class structure and the subsequent power relations among social groups, it must make itself more-or-less invisible.[274] An ideology that promotes domination by some people/groups over others must be based in a "system of beliefs and practices that seem natural and inevitable"[275]. Even those privileged by the dominance must be at least partially blind to its arbitrariness for "if ideology were really self-evident, it would be easily resisted by those who, though privileged by it, reject its inequities, as well as by those who suffer its oppression."[276]

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[272] E. Goffman, *Stigma,* New Jersey, 1963, cited in Michael Kimmel, 'Global Masculinities: Restoration and Resistance' in *A Man's world? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalised World,* Bob Pease and Keith Pringle (eds), New York, 2001, p.22

[273] David Marriott, 'Reading black masculinities', in *Understanding Masculinities,* Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), Buckingham, 1996, p. 188 (emphasis added)

[274] David Buchbinder, *Performance Anxieties: Re-producing masculinities,* Allen and Unwin, 1998 pp. 3-4

[275] *Ibid.*

[276] *Ibid.*

Hegemonic masculinities then, like men's collective interests and their disproportionate power and influence "are not maintained through active and self-conscious male conspiracies...Instead, the processes by which [some] men maintain their dominance are much more complex, indirect and subtle... [Hegemonic masculinity] does not declare its own partialtiy. ...Instead it presents itself as *the* way of seeing the world; as entirely natural, normal and staighforward."[277]

And so, while coercion, or as Connell expresses it 'contests of brute power' have a role to play, social ascendancy is achieved in a play of social forces that extends into the organization of private life and cultural processes.[278]

However hegemony's "dominance is never secure but must be won."[279] It is an "ideological battlefield"[280] and as Lynne Segal argues, hegemonic masculinity is "surrounded by its enemies" – femininity, women, male homosexual desire[281] as well as various alternative masculinities. The dominance of men over women and of particular groups of men over others requires the constant reconstitution of gender relations as a system within which that dominance is generated. As Carrigan et al state: "Hegemonic masculinity might be seen as what would function automatically if the strategy were entirely successful. But it never does function automatically"[282]

An important part of maintaining dominance is the making of small concessions to accommodate the dominated, while maintaining privilege and power: "The dominant group may make superficial changes to accommodate the demands of marginalized groups, but in essence, it is working to hold on to its privileges. That's one of the

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[277] Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell, 'Masculinty, power and identity' in *Understanding Masculinities, ed.* Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, , Buckingham, 1996, p. 108
[278]Sara Wilcott and Christine Griffin , 'Men, masculinity and the challenge of long-term unemployment' in *Understanding Masculinities*, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), Buckingham, 1996, p.80
[279] Christian Haywood and Martin Mac an Ghaill, Schooling Masculinities, p.52
[280] Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell, Masculinty, power and identity, p. 106
[281] Antony Easthope, *What A Man's Gotta Do,* London, 1985, p. 166
[282] Tim Carrigan, Bob Connell, and John Lee, 'Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity' in *Themes and Theses in The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies,* Harry Brod (ed.) , Australia, 1987, p.98

"techniques" for keeping hegemony in place. The dominant group will adjust its relationship but not reform it."[283]

As noted above, consent *and* coercion are both employed in maintaining hegemonic masculinities. Thus, violence and brute force, (as well as the threat of violence or force), also play an important part in maintaining hegemonic masculinities. In fact a consideration of violence in the context of maintaining hegemonic masculinities sheds important light on the relationship between men and violence more generally. As Carrigan and colleagues argue, men's violence in gender relations is not an essential part of masculinity. It is rather "a measure of the bitterness of [the] struggle" against resistance from subordinate groups[284].

The relationship between violence and masculinities is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

6.5 Multiple Masculinities and the Dangers of Relativism

As was articulated above, a multiplicity of masculinities exists in any given time and place, with complex relations among them, and with a general subordination of 'alternative masculinities' to the hegemonic masculinity of that time and place. The existence of masculinities that are marginalized by or subordinate to hegemonic masculinities, however, in no way guarantees the construction of masculinities that are more gender equitable, pro-feminist, or pro-woman. It is important that scholars, activists and development workers who reject the notion of a homogeneous category of men, who recognize that men are divided among themselves along ethnic, class and other lines and who recognize that men enact competing versions of masculinity[285], do not fall into the trap of failing to see the forest for the trees.[286] That is,

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[283] Kathleen Trigiani, 'Masculinity-Femininity: Society's Difference Dividend', Out of the Cave: Exploring Gray's Anatomy, 1998, available from: http://web2.airmail.net/ktrig246/out_of_cave/mf.html, accessed October 23 2006

[284] Tim Carrigan, Bob Connell, and John Lee, Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity in *Themes and Theses in The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, Harry Brod (ed.), Australia, 1987, p.98.

[285] Bob Pease, *Recreating Men: Postmodern Masculinity Politics*, Great Britain , 2000, p. 31.

[286] James E Roberson and Nobue Suzuki, Introduction in James E Roberson and Nobue Suzuki (eds), *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan: Dislocating the salaryman doxa*, London, 2003, p.3

> [t]he emphasis on variety and difference [among masculinities] ... bring[s] with it some dangers. The most significant of these is the possible retreat to relativism; that there are simply varieties of social arrangements that may be constructed as 'masculinities' or 'manliness' or 'manhood'. Such relativism presents a very partial picture of men. ...Not only are there differences between men but men are also bound together as a gender class in power relations with women.[287]

Pease states that an emphasis on diversity and difference need not degenerate into a diversified pluralism that gives insufficient attention to structured patterns for gendered power, control and inequality. He argues that if the differences among men are understood with reference to the structure of the gender order, as they must be, then the sociology of masculinity is not reduced to a "postmodern kaleidoscope of lifestyles" by the recognition of multiple masculinities. In line with Collinson and Hearn's exhortation that "both the unities and differences between men and masculinities as well as their interrelations"[288] should be examined, Pease proposes that men be simultaneously theorized "along two axes, the male-female axis of men's power over women within the marginalized groups, and the male-male axis of non-hegemonic men's relative lack of power vis-à-vis hegemonic men".[289]

Just as the category 'woman' embraces a multiplicity of experiences but is still identifiable, so too acknowledgement of the diversity among men need not negate the existence of a category 'men' whose privilege and dominance over women must cease.

6.6 No Masculinities

While in a vast majority of cultures – or as some anthropologists argue, in all cultures[290] - the concept of masculinity is relevant and meaningful, some (pro-feminist) scholars/researchers propose that there are cultures in which the term 'masculinity' has no application. Indeed Jeff Hearn argues that there are "innumerable examples" and

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[287] Jeff Hearn, 'A critique of the concept of masculinity/masculinities' in *Understanding Masculinities*, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), Buckingham, 1996, pp.210-211

[288] Bob Pease, *Recreating Men: Postmodern Masculinity Politics*, ,Great Britain, 2000, p. 31

[289] *Ibid.* p.31

[290] Robert Morrell, 'The Times of Change: Men and Masculinity in South Africa', in Robert Morrell (ed.), *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, South Africa, 200, p.5

states that he has been led to wonder: "to what extent masculinity is an ethnocentric or even Eurocentric notion".[291] He warns against making assumptions about "what masculinity might be or even whether masculinity is relevant or meaningful in a particular society".[292] In his critique of the concept of masculinity/masculinities in *Understanding Masculinities*, Hearn refers to Anna Meigs study of the Hua in New Guinea. Meigs found that among the Hua there is no dichotomous gender system, but rather 'multiple gender ideologies'. The Hua distinguish between *figapa* meaning 'uninitiated' or 'like women', and *kakora*:

> Figapa is to be found with children of both sexes, premenopausal women, postmenopausal women who have borne two children or less, and – significantly- old men. These groupings all contain what are assumed to be called female substances. On the other hand kakora is to be found with initiated males and women who have borne three or more children. Thus figapa and kakora are not strict opposites. There is more of a continuum: males become more figapa as they get older – through sexual activity, food prepared by women, casual contact and the gaining of female substances, and females lose figapa through childbirth and the loss of female substances.

Thus, argues Hearn in this cultural scheme, masculinity is not applicable. In response to this particular example I would suggest that the concept of masculinity can be meaningful even in the absence of dichotomous gender system and that while kakora and figapa are 'not strict opposites' they could be regarded as corresponding with 'femininity' and 'masculinity' in other cultures.

However anthropologist and author of *Manhood in the Making* David D Gilmore supports Hearn's position. From his comprehensive cross-cultural survey of masculine ideals Gilmore concluded that the concept of masculinity is "not always necessary" and is, for example, entirely without significance to the Tahitians.[293]

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[291] Jeff Hearn, A critique of the concept of masculinity/masculinities, p.209
[292] *Ibid.* p. 210
[293] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, New York, 1999, pp.14-15

6.7 Crisis of Masculinities

Since the 1970s, in many regions of the world, masculinity has been increasingly seen as in 'crisis'.[294] There is, in many parts of the world, widespread confusion over the meaning of manhood.[295] This is by no means merely an academic or theoretical concern. It impacts in significant ways on real men's (and women's) lives. In Japan for example "suicides, especially among men in their prime, have become phenomenal", most particularly among salarymen holding managerial positions. In 1999 alone, over twenty-one thousand Japanese men committed suicide.

While there are, no doubt, various catalysts for this 'crisis', the rise of the women's movement, as well as the gay and lesbian movement have certainly been central to its origins and development.[296] Writing of the impact of these two movements in the United States, Kimmel and Kaufman argue that

> By the late 1960s, the civil rights movement had already challenged the dominant view that the public arena and the workplace were virtually preserves for whites. With the rise of the women's movement, there was a challenge to older and even more fundamental beliefs about men's place in society. Old certainties and gender divisions were challenged, a process augmented by the gay and lesbian movement, which challenged the heterosexual assumptions of those older gender arrangements.[297]

6.7.1 Causes of the Crisis

Research and other work undertaken in a wide variety of cultures including at least North and South America, Japan, the Middle East, and Southern Africa, has shown thatmen's contradictory experiences of power are foundational to the current 'crisis'.

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[294]This is not unique to the current period. Similar crises have been observed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as well as in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in England and the USA respectively Harry Brod, 'Introduction' in *Themes and Theses in The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, Australia, 1987, p. 4

[295] Michael Kimmel , 'Introduction' in *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement (and Mythopoetic Leaders Answer)* , Michael Kimmel (ed.), Philadelphia, 1995, p.16

[296] Michael Kimmel and Michael Kaufman, 'Weekend Warriors', in *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement (and Mythopoetic Leaders Answer)*, Michael kimmel (ed.), Philadelphia, 1995, p. 17

[297] *Ibid.*

I believe these contradictory experiences are manifest in three main ways.

Firstly as Michael Kaufman argues, there is a direct link between the power that individual men may exert and the pain they may experience. By this is not merely meant that current definitions of masculinity and its manifestations in gender relations cause men to experience both power and pain. Rather that the two are bound together. An example of this is men's relationship to raising children. Unequal gender relations bestow on men the power to largely avoid the drudgery and exhausting constancy of the work of raising children in their early years. However it is the exercise of this power that may result in the pain of being deprived of meaningful relationships with their own offspring in later years.[298]

Secondly, men's contradictory experiences of power are reflected in the fact that "...men are simultaneously the producers and the products of culture; the masters and the slaves of ideology."[299] As Epstein and Johnson write, human agents "cannot stand outside culture and wield power precisely as they wish. Power is always limited and shaped by systems of knowledge which also shape the subjects and objects of power..."[300] Patriarchy's rigid and limiting definitions of how femininity should be manifest and the suffering women experience as a result has its counterpart in patriarchy's rigid and limiting definitions of how masculinity should be manifest.

Not only are these definitions limiting they are largely illusory and lacking in substance. "The empty compensations of a 'feminine mystique' are transforming into the empty compensations of a masculine mystique, with a gentleman's cigar no more satisfying than a ladies' bake off, the Nike Air Jordan no more meaningful than the Dior New Look.[301] Thus while male-dominated societies have controlled and defined women and gender

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[298] Michael Kaufman, 'Transforming our interventions for gender equality by addressing and involving men and boys: a framework for analysis and action', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p.22

[299] Nigel Edley and Margaret Wetherell, Masculinty, power and identity, p. 109

[300] R. Johnson and D. Epstein, *Schooling Sexualities*, Buckingham, 1998, cited in Robert Morrell, '*The* Times of Change: Men and Masculinity in South Africa' in Robert Morrell (ed.) *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, South Africa, 2001

[301] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, p. 40

relations, men's identities are also restricted by and suffer at the hands of the same system. Moreover, for sometimes dissimilar reasons women and men cannot, or choose not to recognize the ways that patriarchy, while supporting men's power and domination at the institutional level, can simultaneously shackle them.

> Women see men as guarding the fort, so they don't see how the culture of the forts shapes men. Men don't see how they are influenced by the culture either; in fact, they prefer not to. If they did, they would have to let go of the illusion of control....Culture...is the whole environment we live in; to acknowledge its sway is to admit that men never had the power they imagined. To say that men are embedded in the culture is to say, by the current standards of masculinity, that they are not men.[302]

It is the potent combination of being a 'slave' of patriarchy and at the same time being unable to analyse or deconstruct and thus challenge that slavery due to society's presentation of one as a 'master', that contributes to a state of crisis. Should men experience discontent/distress it is assumed that their problems are internal. "Yet clearly masculinity is shaped by society."[303] This experience is directly linked with the third way that men experience power in contradictory ways.

Bob Pease writes:

> On the one hand, it is widely acknowledged that men dominate most forms of organizational, institutional and social power, thus constituting men's gender power. On the other hand many men experience feelings of personal disempowerment. While for some men this may be a reflection of their position in class or race hierarchies, for others it is a recognition that their social or institutionalized power may not always correlate with their experience as individual men and their *feelings* of powerfulness.[304]

Comparing men's experiences of gender-related inequalities of power with women's experiences of and feminist challenges to those inequalities, Michael Kimmel argues that the

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[302] *Ibid.* p14
[303] *Ibid.* pp.14-15

[304] Bob Pease, *Recreating Men* p 9

> [t]he feminist understanding of men having the power rested on a symmetry in women's lives. At the aggregate level, women were not *in power.* Just look at those corporate boardrooms, those collegiate boards of trustees, those legislatures and executive mansions. At the individual level, women did not *feel powerful.* Feminism, then, was a political movement to challenge women's social powerlessness and their individual feelings of powerlessness. But the symmetry breaks down when applied to men. Sure, men are *in power* at the aggregate level. But individual men feel powerless.

Susan Faludi spent many weeks as an observer in a group for male perpetrators of domestic violence. The group facilitators were striving to get the men to recognize themselves as dominators and to take ownership of their violence. She writes however that there "was something almost absurd about these men struggling, week after week, to recognize themselves as dominators when they were so clearly dominated, done in by the world." One of the participants, an unemployed engineer, told the counsellors: "That 'wheel' [the Power and Control Wheel] is misnamed...It should be called the Powerlessness and Out-of-Control Wheel."[305]

And so there is conflict between the power that men-as-a-group, or male-dominated institutions have and the powerlessness that individual men feel in their daily lives. Complaints that men just 'don't want to give up the reins of power' would seem to have little applicability to the situations of most men, who individually feel "not the reins of power in their hands but its bit in their mouths."[306]

These contradictory experiences of power, in their various manifestations, have contributed to the current 'crisis' of masculinity.

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[305] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, pp. 8-9
[306] *Ibid.* p.41

6.7.2 Responses to the crisis

General society's response to this 'crisis' is often unsympathetic. Referring to the constraints placed on men by patriarchal society and the suffering that results, Susan Faludi writes: "Men feel the contours of the box too." But, as Faludi goes on to observe, men are told: "that box is of their own manufacture, designed to their specifications. Who are they to complain?" The box, says society, is there to showcase the man, not to confine him. The box, says society, was built by the man and it is his to destroy if he wills. "For men to say they feel boxed in is regarded not as laudable political protest but as childish and indecent whining. How dare the kings complain about their castles?" Men's grievances come to seem hyperbolic, almost hysterical, as if they are battling "phantoms and witches that exist only in their own overheated imaginations." [307]

Writing specifically of American men's responses to the 'crisis' in masculinity, Michael Kimmel has identified three responses which, I believe, also have relevance to other cultures: antifeminist, promale, and profeminist.

> Groups of men suggest a return to traditional gender differences (through a distortion of "scientific" evidence of "natural" differences); others seek a reinvigorated masculinity and support for wounded men...; and an increasing number of men are recognizing the ways in which their ability to transform masculinity is inspired by, and made possible by, the women's movement, and have begun the difficult and painful process of dismantling masculinity in order to implement a vision of sexual equality and gender justice.[308]

Despite the widespread confusion and frustration and the "increasing number of men" recognizing the need for a profeminist transformation of masculinity, men have so far not responded to the 'crisis' in the form of a social movement. Wondering why men have refrained from engaging in their own struggle, Susan Faludi asks: "Why, despite a crescendo of random tantrums, have they offered no methodical, reasoned response to their predicament? Given the untenable and insulting nature of the demands placed on

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[307] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, p.13

[308] Kimmel , Michael, 'The contemporary "crisis" of masculinity in historical perspective', in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, Harry Brod, (ed.), Australia, 1987, p.153.

men to prove themselves ... why don't men revolt?" She likens the current crisis of masculinity to the "collapse of the feminine mystique [in Western cultures] a generation earlier" saying that this collapse was

> not just a crisis but a historic opportunity for women. Women responded to their 'problem with no name' by naming it and founding a political movement, by beginning the process of freeing themselves. Why haven't men done the same? This seems to me to be the real question that lurks behind the 'masculinity crisis'...: not that men are fighting against women's liberation, but that they have refused to mobilize for their own, - or their society's – liberation. Not that traditional male roles are endangered, but that men themselves are in danger of not acting. [309]

Reflecting further on this Faludi wonders if the reason for the failure to form a movement and to provide a "methodical, reasoned response to their predicament" is that "their society has proposed no route for them to venture down...[or] alternative vision of manhood". But, she validly responds "did feminists wait upon men to craft their revolt for them? Didn't the women's movement make its own way...with much resistance...from the dominant culture? So why can't men act?"[310]

Michael Kimmel argues that men have responded to the crisis with a movement – "an organized and self-conscious exploration of men's lives and masculinities."[311] While referring to this process as a social movement Kimmel acknowledges that its focus on therapy, personal growth and healing is unusual compared to other movements that usually focus on social change. But, he argues, the focus is shifting as "more and more men realize that personal growth and the reconstruction of individual masculinities are useless without an accompanying shift in the social relations, institutions and ideologies which support or marginalize different ways of being men."[312] Some wings, he notes, are increasingly focused on political activism. This 'movement', he observes, is unusual also in that it

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[309] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, p. 40

[310] *Ibid.* pp. 41-42

[311] Michael Flood, Presentation to the Relating to Men Forum, hosted by the Australian Association of Social Workers (WA) and Relationships Australia (WA), Perth, 27-28 November 1998, unpaginated, available from: http://www.xyonline.net/relate.shtml, accessed October 7 2006

[312] *Ibid.*

> represents a movement by members of a dominant or privileged group. It is more typical for people on the subordinate or oppressed side of a set of power relations to generate social movements (such as people of colour, gay men and lesbians, working-class people, or indeed women). So the parallel would be to have a 'whites' movement' or a 'heterosexuals' movement'.[313]

While other scholars endorse Kimmel's perception of a developing men's movement in some parts of the world[314], others argue that the results of men's political activism "hardly [measures] up to announcements of 'our own birth as a movement'. A network is closer to the truth." I agree with the latter view.[315]

6.7.3 Moving forward and out of the 'crisis'

For at least two centuries, feminists have, with determination and passion, pursued their dream of a freer, more humane world. In order to move out of this 'crisis' of masculinity men will need to face their historic opportunity with similar strength and courage, to "forge a rebellion commensurate with women's and, in the course of it, to create a new paradigm for human progress that will open doors for both sexes."[316]

Drawing on the tools developed by profeminism, men (and women) will need to develop the capacity to adequately analyse men's aggregate power, while also understanding the ways in which that power at the social level both privileges individual men and renders them powerless. Acknowledging men's pain is important but must go hand in hand with recognition of the fact that that pain has its roots in men's power. As Michael Kimmel argues: "Men's pain is caused by men's power. What else could it be? Would we say that the unhappiness of white people was caused by black people's power? The pains and sexual problems of heterosexuals were caused by gays and lesbians? Profeminism requires that both men's social power and individual powerlessness be understood as

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[313] *Ibid.*
[314] Harry Brod, Introduction, p.9

[315] Peter Filene, 'The Secrets of Men's History' in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, Harry Brod (ed.), Australia, 1987, p.9
[316] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, p. 607

mutually reinforcing, linked experiences, both of which derive from men's aggregate social power."[317]

And so, from a theoretical perspective, the way forward depends on the development and propagation of a theoretical framework and subsequent strategies that will take men forward. As Pease articulates:

> Whilst I have been inspired and influenced by feminist theorizing about men, this did not in itself provide a theoretical framework for this project as the subject of 'men 'has not been a central priority in feminist theorizing....[F]eminist analyses have made significant contributions towards understanding men...[but] they have not theorized or suggested strategic ways forward for men. This is a task that profeminist men can undertake.[318]

And so profeminist theorizing can contribute to men's struggle to free themselves from their crisis, the task of which is not figuring out "how to be masculine" but rather, recognizing that "their masculinity lies in figuring out how to be human."[319]

6.8 Masculinities and Gender-Based Violence

Reflecting on the link between men and violence, Michael Flood observes:

> Historically, wars have been intensely masculine endeavours. The vast majority of the world's soldiers are men. So are most of the prison warders, the police, and almost all the generals, admirals, bureaucrats and politicians who control the systems of collective or institutional violence. Most murderers are men. Almost all armed robbers and muggers are men. Nearly all rapists, most domestic bashers, and most people involved in street fights and riots are men.
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> So, whether you are looking at the organized violence of states and governments, or unorganized violence between individuals, most of it is at the hands of men.[320]

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[317] Michael Kimmel, 'Afterword' in *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement (and Mythopoetic Leaders Answer)*, Michael kimmel (ed.), Philadelphia, 1995, p.366
[318] Bob Pease, *Recreating Men*, pp. 18-19
[319] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, p.607

Speaking specifically of gender-based violence, one scholar refers to it as "the longest epidemic the people of our planet have known."[321] It is understandable then that some who work in this field have both despaired of ending male violence and/or resorted to biological determinism to explain it. Pro-feminism challenges both this despair and this explanation of male violence.

Pro-feminists argue that men's violence against women and other gender-based violence is based on a "complex and contradictory range of factors deeply embedded in culture, economy, law and, most intractably, the psychic structures of masculinity."[322] Anthropological research has leant support to this view by revealing, generally, a spectrum of levels of gender-based violence across various cultures, and specifically, a direct link between cultural definitions of ideal masculinity and levels of violence against women.[323] Pro-feminist scholars argue then that male violence is not biologically determined – at worst men as a group have greater potential tendencies toward violence, which are activated by social constructions of manhood[324] - and as such male violence is eradicable.

An important part of the process of eradication involves augmenting knowledge of and redefining masculinities. With regard to the former Connell states: "Knowledge about masculinity is relevant to the prevention of masculine violence, in contexts ranging from domestic and sexual assault to institutional violence and war."[325] And with regard to the latter Kaufman posits: "If the ability to dominate is a display of manhood, only by

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[320] Michael Flood, 'Men, masculinity and violence', Speech for Thursdays in Black launch, Canberra, Australia 21 October 1993, available from: http://www.xyonline.net/speechmascyviolence.shtml, accessed October 3 2006.

[321] Michael Kaufman, 'The White Ribbon Campaign: Involving Men and Boys in Ending Global Violence Against Women' in *A Man's world? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalised World* , Bob Pease and Keith Pringle (eds), New York, 2001, pp.50-51

[322] *Ibid.* p.44

[323] Michael Kimmel, 'Global Masculinities: Restoration and Resistance' in *A Man's world? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalised World,* Bob Pease and Keith Pringle (eds.), New York, 200, p.35

[324] Michael Kaufman, The White Ribbon Campaign, pp.50-51

[325] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities,* California, 1995, p.xv

involving males in a redefinition of manhood will we effectively challenge these patterns of domination and control."[326]

6.8.1 Gender-based violence as expression of impermissible emotions

In *Violence, A Thoughtful Consideration Of The Origins Of Violent Male Behaviour In America*, Dr James Gilligan, a former mental-health director of a prison system in the United States, concludes that the emotion of shame is "the primary or ultimate cause of all violence." The purpose of violence, he argues, is "to diminish the intensity of shame and replace it as far as possible with its opposite, pride, thus preventing the individual from being overwhelmed by the feeling of shame." According to Gilligan, sources of male shame often include downward social mobility, unemployment, dependency and "the suspicion that the world discredits your claim to manhood, finds it useless, even risible." Violence in this context is "a reaction to being caught out, exposed as weak and insufficient." [327] Michael Kaufman concurs:

> The personal insecurities conferred by a failure to make the masculine grade, or simply the threat of failure, is enough to propel many men, particularly when they are young, into a vortex of fear, isolation, anger, self-punishment, self-hatred and aggression. Within such an emotional state, violence becomes a *compensatory mechanism.* [328]

Research has shown that verbal and physical violence against women whom men resent abstractly for 'taking their jobs away' or personally, as intimate partners, for abandoning them, draws on a "well of shame and fear."[329] However, while shame is one of the emotions often expressed by men through violence, there are many others. In societies where dominant forms of masculinity do not permit men to acknowledge or express their feelings of fear, hurt, insecurity, pain, rejection or other similar sentiments, this range of emotions may be channelled into anger and expressed through violence. [330] Norwegian social anthropologists Signe Howell and Roy Willis conducting their research in the late 1970s found that in societies which permitted men to acknowledge fear, levels of

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[326] Michael Kaufman, The White Ribbon Campaign, p.44
[327] James Gilligan, *Violence*, New York, 1996, p.64
[328] Michael Kaufman, The White Ribbon Campaign, p.39 (emphasis in original)
[329] Susan Faludi, Stiffed, p.88
[330] Michael Kaufman, The White Ribbon Campaign, p.39

violence were significantly lower than in those societies that promoted masculine bravado and the repression or denial of fear.[331]

An important part of ending violence then is encouraging men to heal their own pain as well as to find more appropriate ways of expressing their pain, so that they will not continue to inflict that inexpressible hurt on women, children and other men.[332]

It is interesting to note that in contexts which are clearly identified with hegemonic masculinities and when men are engaged in activities unambiguously proclaiming their identification with hegemonic definitions of masculinity, their need to conform to hegemony's rigid rules, and the use of gender based violence, may decrease.

For instance, Susan Faludi notes that during the period when American soldiers were fighting in the "most 'acceptable' war in American history, World War II"[333] and in the decade immediately following that, the culture in the American Citadel Military Academy was "kinder, gentler"[334] and women's participation in the army was received more willingly than during subsequent periods. A former Citadel commandant, graduate of 1953 said that during his training there was neither the yelling, nor the violence, nor the general humiliation of cadets, whereas now when training does not guarantee one a place in a battle zone and fighting in a war does not guarantee one's status as a hero in the broader community, the Citadel has become a place notorious for its violence against cadets, and particularly female cadets.[335]

Lynne Segal similarly observes that "it is only when men are seen at their most unquestionably masculine – as soldiers in combat, as footballers in action – that they can embrace, weep, display what Western manhood depicts as more feminine feelings and behaviour."[336]

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[331] Michael Kimmel, 'Global Masculinities: Restoration and Resistance' in *A Man's world? Changing Men's Practices in a Globalised World,* Bob Pease and Keith Pringle (eds), New York, 2001, p.35
[332] Michael Kaufman, The White Ribbon Campaign, pp.50-51
[333] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, p.138
[334] *Ibid.* p. 138
[335] *Ibid.* Chapter 3
[336] Segal, Lynne, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities Changing Men*, U.K. 1990, p.103

Joan Wardrop also noted that members of the Soweto Flying Squad who engage in extremely dangerous and challenging police work in a black township of Johannesburg permit weeping from their co-workers but not boasting or arrogant behaviours, rampant egos, or macho attitudes. The dangerous and challenging nature of their work underpins and permits the construction of the unmacho utilitarian masculinities without threatening the members' position in the hegemonic hierarchy.[337]

6.8.2 Violence as over-compliance with society's norms

> "...I know the only time I feel like a man is when somebody draw [sic] a knife on me, and I can take out my own knife out of my pockets, and say okay *pêl*, come on! Then I am a man...But I have to out think you, very quickly, and the moment I get my knife into your body I am a great guy..."[338] [Mr A.O., South Africa]

Violence is usually regarded as a manifestation of deviance: Violent men are perceived as those who have "failed to internalise society's condemnation of violence".[339] However this assumption fails to recognize that in many cultures, including or even most particularly Western cultures, boys and men are socialized not to condemn violence but to endorse, promote and exhibit violence. Violence is learned in tribes and communities, gangs, sports teams and military training. It is internalised through media images. Older males model violence and 'discipline' their sons, brothers and other younger males through violence. 'Boys,' declares society in response to male children fighting, 'will be boys', which repeated declaration, through its tolerance or even approval of violence in boys, conveys the message that violence is an appropriately masculine means of conflict resolution. All of which leads Harry Brod to the recognition that "violent men are not

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[337] Joan Wardrop, 'Simply the Best': The Soweto Flying Squad, Professional Masculinities and the Rejection of *Machismo*, in *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, Robert Morrell (ed.), University of Natal Press, South Africa, 2001, p.264

[338] Mr A.O. in Sean Field, 'Disappointed Men', in *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, Robert Morrell (ed.), South Africa, 2001, p.219.

[339] Harry Brod, 'A Case for Men's Studies' in *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*, Michael S. Kimmel (ed.), USA, 1987, p. 270

deviants or *non*conformists, but o*ver*conformists."[340] Violent men are those who have been more than usually successful in internalising the messages of the male socialization processes.

The question then when working with violent men is not "What is wrong with these men and how can we bring them up to par?" but rather "How can we strengthen the mechanisms of resistance by which nonviolent men have avoided acting on society's prescriptions for male violence?" And addressing the matter at societal level we must ask, "How can we stop society from prescribing and rewarding male violence?"[341]

We must come to recognize that "the problem of *what boys [are] doing in the world* [is] rooted in *what the world [is] doing to boys.*"[342]

6.9 Sport and Masculinities

An exploration of the relationship between sport and masculinities reveals a mutual impact that is interesting in its variety and inconsistency. The variety of ways in which sport and masculinities affect one another is evident even in a consideration of the issue within the confines of just one location. In this section I consider the multiplicity of relationships between sport and masculinities in South Africa.

In many social contexts, within and beyond South Africa, sport supports and reinforces hegemonic and violent masculinities. Perhaps for this reason Máirtín Mac an Ghaill refers to it as a "bastion of male domination".[343] For example, rugby, a sport highly esteemed and traditionally dominated by white men in South Africa, promotes toughness, physical confrontation and winning. [344] This contributes to and reflects the historically hegemonic

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[340] *Ibid.* p. 270
[341] *Ibid.* p. 270
[342] Susan Faludi, Stiffed, p. 46
[343] Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), 'Introduction', in *Understanding Masculinities*, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, (ed), Buckingham, 1996
p.8
[344] Robert Morrell, The Times of Change, p. 23

masculinity of South Africa, manifest in tough, violent, politically economically and socially victorious white males. Sports fields then have been places where violent conduct is legitimated, and sport has fuelled violent masculinities.[345]

At the same time sport has provided an alternative for men who seek the rank, power and/or security associated with conforming to hegemonic masculinities, but who desire less dangerous ways of establishing their social position. In Windermere, South Africa, for example the gangster or the sportsman were the two salient masculinities for those seeking 'respectability'. 'Mr. GB' -a man who grew up in a coloured community there- explained that the only way he endured the tough social circumstances of his upbringing in Windermere was by being good at sport: It was his ability on the field and the renown resulting from this that contributed to his social *and* physical and emotional survival.[346]

In some social contexts sport is not merely a somewhat safer way of conforming to hegemonic ideals of masculinity. It can offer an escape from these ideals and the opportunity to construct different ways of being. For young African men serving at the Thekwini Surf Lifesaving Club, lifesaving is at once a sport, a community service, and an occupation. It provides its own rites of passage – tests at different levels, seasonal work and entry into full-time employment.[347] Most notably, the culture built up around the sport of surf lifesaving is "generating a new masculinity which in significant ways diverges from the black oppositional masculinity of their township peers". It creates the possibility for men to "explore a sense of masculine dignity and autonomy", providing an escape from the mono-racial environment of black townships and the tough, divisive, misogynistic masculinities that dominate within them.

African surf-lifesavers asked to identify values important to them (in connection with masculine qualities, manhood, and attitudes towards women and other men) articulated the following list of qualities as important for a man to attain: he should be patient,

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[345] *Ibid.* p.40
[346] Sean Field, Disappointed Men, p.217
[347] Crispin Hemson, '*Ukubekezela* or *Ukuzithemba*: African Lifesavers in Durban' in *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, Robert Morrell (ed.), South Africa, 2001, p.57

forbearing, long-suffering, genuine, sincere and proud. He should trust himself, be self-confident, and be able to take care of himself and his body.[348] This compares favourably with traditionally hegemonic South African masculinities that emphasize violence, heterosexual activity and dominance over all women and some men.[349]

Sport in South Africa, as in other parts of the world, can provide the kind of bonding and camaraderie, which may otherwise be rarely experienced by men outside the context of war.[350] 'Mr. GB' mentioned above, refers to himself as a loner who had difficulty socializing with others. However, he also recounts heroic stories of being a gifted sportsman. Connecting these two facts Sean Field argues that Mr. GB "constructed meaningful relationships within organized sport."[351] This is in line with the thinking of Messner who claims that "[f]or the boy who seeks and fears attachments with others, the rule-bound structure of organized sports can promise to be a safe place in which to seek non intimate attachments with others within a context that maintains clear boundaries, distance and separation."[352]

At the same time sport can be a prime vehicle for ensuring the continuation of "features of masculinity that start wars and make their waging possible".[353] That is, sport can be used to promote dogmatism, belief in divine support, willingness to take risks, as well as the capacity to ignore danger, put up with discomfort, and disregard the rights of others.[354] In South Africa, an historically national obsession with sport has made it a particularly powerful tool for the promotion of these values. In South Africa foul play on the sports field has elicited admiration. The greatest rugby heroes have "tended to be those known to instill terror in their opponents through the violence of their dirty tricks."[355]

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[348] *Ibid.* p.64
[349] Robert Morrell, The Times of Change, p. 22
[350] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed,* p.180

[351] Sean Field, Disappointed Men, p. 217
[352] Michael Messner, 'Boyhood, organized sports and the construction of masculinity' in *Men's Lives*, Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner (eds) New York, 1992, cited Sean Field, Disappointed Men, p.217
[353] Robert Morrell, The Times of Change, p.15
[354] *Ibid.* p. 15
[355] *Ibid.* p. 15

And so, within just one location or nation sport can simultaneously promote violent hegemonic masculinities; serve as a less dangerous avenue of expression of such masculinities; challenge hegemonic masculinities and provide positive alternatives; provide opportunity for men to bond; as well as promote attitudes and behaviours that contribute to a culture of war.

CHAPTER SEVEN Theory underpinning practice: A culture of contest

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter on masculinities considered the way individuals are faced with choices – or a seeming lack of choices- about the way they construct their identity as males. These choices and identity formations have clear implications for the engagement of men in gender equality. However, it is important to keep in mind that gender relations are not only learned and played out through individuals but also through societies' institutions, structures and processes.

This chapter, considers the way "our economic, political and legal systems, as well as many of our other social institutions and practices, are competitive and conflictual" [356] and the implications this has for gender equality and for men's engagement with it. Understandings and insights gained through a consideration of the 'culture of contest' in which men (and women) of East Timor (and other countries) live and are socialised, are important to understandings and insights into the development of masculinities and of gender relations. The title and much of the substance of this chapter is drawn from the inspiring and insightful work of Dr Michael Karlberg – *Beyond a Culture of Contest.*

"We live in a culture of contest," states Michael Karlburg. A culture of contest surrounded by a culture of protest. That is, the economic, political and legal systems of our societies[357] as well as many other social institutions and practices are competitive and conflictual, and in response to the problems created by such institutions and practices we

[356] Michael Karlberg, *Beyond the Culture of Contest: From Adversarialism to Mutualism in an Age of Interdependence*, Oxford, 2004, p. xiii

[357] Dr Karlburg bases his analysis on and draws his examples from western-liberal societies. However, I believe that much of his analysis has applicability in other societies, including East Timor.

engage in "protests, demonstrations, strikes and other oppositional strategies of social advocacy and change."

"These competitive and conflictual social norms have become so ubiquitous," argues Karlburg, as to "appear natural and inevitable to many people." This in turn has led to a belief that these social norms are inevitable reflections and expressions of human beings' inherently selfish and aggressive nature. The resulting social paralysis is described in The Promise of World Peace[358]:

> ...[S]o much have aggression and conflict come to characterize our social, economic and religious systems, that many have succumbed to the view that such behaviour is intrinsic to human nature and therefore ineradicable.
>
> With the entrenchment of this view, a paralyzing contradiction has developed in human affairs. On the one hand, people of all nations proclaim not only their readiness but their longing for peace and harmony, for an end to the harrowing apprehensions tormenting their daily lives. On the other, uncritical assent is given to the proposition that human beings are incorrigibly selfish and aggressive and thus incapable of erecting a social system at once progressive and peaceful, dynamic and harmonious, a system giving free play to individual creativity and initiative but based on cooperation and reciprocity. [359]

There is much evidence to suggest, however, that human beings have the potential for adversarial or mutualistic behaviour, and in fact do currently exhibit both to varying degrees in various cultures. Indeed adversarialism and mutualism are like "two contrasting strands that have been woven into the fabric of all human cultures" in various proportions. The culture of contest is neither an "inevitable expression of human nature" nor socially just. Most importantly in the context of this study, a culture of contest is neither conducive to gender equality nor to men's engagement with it. These concepts and ideas will be expanded and explored more fully in the course of this chapter.

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[358] The Promise of World Peace is a statement written by the Universal House of Justice in 1985 and delivered to leaders and grassroots people worldwide.

[359] The Universal House of Justice, (1985). *The Promise of World Peace* in Bahá'í Topics an information resource, available from: http://info.Bahá'í.org/article-1-7-2-1.html, accessed September 28 2006.

7.2 Defining culture

Referring to the complex history and many shades of meaning of the word culture, Michael Karlburg offers a sampling of definitions of the word:

> In its popular contemporary usage it often refers to the ensemble of arts, food, dress, and other aesthetic and ritualistic variations that distinguish one social group from another. In contemporary cultural studies it tends to refer to the systems of representation, meaning, belief and other ideological variations among social groups. And in its broadest sociological and anthropological use of the term also encompasses political, economic, legal and other structural variations among social groups.[360]

These definitions have in common the fact that they refer to "phenomena that are socially learned or constructed" and which vary between peoples and over generations.[361] It is this commonality that underlies the following broad definition of culture - the definition adopted in this chapter. Culture is

> ...the entire social heritage of a community, including its material expressions, its ideological expressions and its structural or institutional expressions – all of which are socially learned or constructed and therefore contingent and variable. [362]

The vast range of socially learned or constructed pheonomena can be divided into two categories. That is, culture is made up of psycho-structural aspects and socio-structural aspects. Psycho-structural aspects include the "shared attitudes, values, beliefs and response tendencies of structures of human consciousness acquired through processes of social learning."[363] The discussion of masculinities in the preceding chapter was one that focused primarily on the psycho-structural aspects of culture that contribute to inequality and limit men's capacity to engage with gender equality and related issues.

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[360] Michael Karlberg, *Culture of Contest*, p.1
[361] *Ibid.* p.1
[362] *Ibid.* p.1
[363] *Ibid.* p. 5

Socio-structural aspects of culture refer to the 'political, economic, legal and other social institutions or arrangements that constrain and cultivate human attitudes, ideas and behaviours.'[364] While these two aspects are tightly interwoven and impact directly on each other, it is helpful to separate them conceptually and address them separately. One of the reasons for this, particularly in terms of this study, is that the promotion of change to psycho-structural and to socio-structural aspects of culture often requires different approaches.

Interventions the focus of which is psycho-structural change draw attention to the structures of the mind by 'raising awareness, rethinking values or identities, or reforming attitudes and beliefs'[365]. This focus, while essential, can mask the role of social structures and organization in the creation of the problem, and their importance to the development of a solution. Thus, interventions targeting the socio-structural aspects of culture are also required.[366] Interventions that challenge individual East Timorese men to explore new ways of thinking about masculinity, women, relationships, communication or equality, for example, must be coupled with interventions that challenge the hierarchical, conflictual, often verbally and physically violent culture that permeates the institutions and social structures of East Timor, from families to the political, economic, legal and other systems.

7.3 Naturalization

> The fish are the last ...to discover the ocean[367].

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[364] *Ibid.* p.5
[365] *Ibid.* p.6
[366] Marc Howard Ross, *The Culture of Conflict: Interpretations and interest in comparative perspective*, London, 1993, chapter 10
[367] Don Sabo, 'Gazing into Men's Middles: Fire in the Belly and the Men's Movement' in Michael Kimmel (ed.) *The Politics of Manhood: Profeminist Men Respond to the Mythopoetic Men's Movement (and Mythopoetic Leaders Answer)*, Philadelphia, 1995, p.64

> It is often difficult to step outside of a discursive universe that you have been born and raised in. It is difficult to imagine what the world might look like outside it. Moreover it can be difficult even to recognize that you are living in a cultural and historically specific discursive formation at all.[368]

Human beings immersed in a given culture and primarily interacting with others who have always been immersed in the same culture, can come to internalise cultural practices and cease to be aware of the presence and impact of their culture on the way they think and behave. Human beings in any given culture can be unaware that they are engaged in a constant, sometimes subtle, process of interactive education. Thus practices, which may seem strange, amusing, or even repulsive to an outsider, come to appear natural and inevitable to those who have internalised them. The process by which socially created practices and understandings come to appear natural, inevitable and therefore impossible to change, can be referred to as naturalization.

The first step in the reformation of cultural practices then, is the process of "denaturalization" whereby the cultural contingency of such practices are demonstrated and the biological determination of their existence is challenged. The emancipation of slaves[369] and of women as a group, for example, began with challenges to the widely–held view that women of all races, and black men were biological inferior to white men and therefore best suited to certain low-status, powerless roles. The creation of an environment that fostered social change began with emphasis on the *social construction* of the inferior position of white women, and black women and men, in society.

Naturalization can be so powerful that it can inhibit oppressed populations' capacity to recognize and challenge their own oppression:

> Even when such changes may be in the widest popular interest, populations whose language, thought and actions have been largely prefigured by existing discursive or cultural formations, and who have therefore internalized views that may ultimately subordinate their own interest to other historically privileged groups, can be expected to resist

[368] Michael Karlberg, Culture of Contest, p.21
[369] Female and male slaves

> those very changes that might emancipate them from their own oppressive conditions.[370]

In relation to the examples above this has been expressed by some white women and some black women and men resisting change in the relationship between themselves and white men, arguing, for example, that a good God-fearing white woman should dedicate herself entirely to hearth and home, pouring all her energy into serving her husband and her children.

The importance of denaturalization to the process of creating social change is readily apparent. "[C]hanges [to cultural codes] ... are contingent upon our ability to recognize the historical specificity of our cultural environment and to step outside of it, if only in our imaginations at first." [371]

7.4 Vocabulary for talking about culture

In order to begin to understand the processes by which cultures form, change and adapt, it is beneficial to identify a set of core concepts by which to refer to the various components of a given culture. The terms defined and discussed below are drawn from Michael Karlburg's model for thinking and talking about culture with elaboration and support from other sources.

The concept that is central to this model is that of cultural codes. Cultural codes can be defined as "symbols and systems of meaning that are relevant to members of a particular culture (or sub-culture)".[372] It is through these widely shared rules of correspondence, some of which are explicitly stated, others produced without conscious knowledge, that people within a given culture can interact and communicate effectively.

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[370] Michael Karlberg, Culture of Contest, p.21
[371] *Ibid.* p.22
[372] Jenny Hyatt and Helen Simons, 'Cultural Codes - Who Holds the Key?: The Concept and Conduct of Evaluation in Central and Eastern Europe', Evaluation, Vol. 5, No. 1, 23-41, 1999, available from: http://evi.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/5/1/23, accessed October 18 2006

Cultural codes function within a series of increasingly expansive cultural phenomena, from isolated representations to more complex discursive constructs to integrated discourses to comprehensive discursive formations.[373] The most basic level at which cultural codes function is that of representation. Representation involves the connection of a sign to a meaning within a particular communicative community.[374] It is the social process whereby meaning is created and exchanged through language or 'signifying systems'. Representation is also the product of this process.[375] As representations are articulated together, or joined together, they take on depth and dimension and form discursive constructs, in the same way that words are joined together to form complex grammatical constructions.

Discursive constructs are thus socially constructed ways of thinking, talking and relating to a given phenomenon, such as 'human nature' or 'society'. A metaphor is an example of a discursive construct that can influence individual and collective human thought and action. For example an understanding of the relationship among people and communities using Hobbes' metaphor of "a war of all against all"[376] leads to very different thoughts, dialogue and action than does a metaphor to explain the same relationships using Confucius' metaphor of humanity as one large extended family[377].

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[373] Michael Karlberg, Culture of Contest, p. 9

[374] Janet Murray, 'Notes on Transmission Model, Semiotic Model, Conventions of Representation', Syllabus 6210: Media, Representation, and the Design of Information, available from: http://www.lcc.gatech.edu/~murray/6210_medium_notes2.html, accessed October 18 2006

[375] Michael Karlburg, Culture of Contest, p. 9

[376] Thomas Hobbes, 'War of all against all', *De Cive,* 1651, *available from:* http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/en/decive1.htm, accessed October 18 2006. " ...it cannot be deny'd but that the naturall state of men, before they entr'd into Society, was a meer War, and that not simply, but a War of all men, against all men."

[377] R. Rafael L. Dolor, 'Confucian Virtues: Confucianism and its relevance to the Filipino Family', *Diwatao,* Vol 1 No 1 2001, Available from: http://www.geocities.com/philodept/diwatao/confucianism.htm, accessed October 18 2006. "Properly seen, the virtue of Hsiao must not just be confined to one's family but must extend itself to the rest of humanity. For when children learn respect and reverence from their parents, that same love and respect must be given to their brothers and sisters, and when this has been accomplished, they can love and respect all humanity. In this sense, the state must be seen as an extension of the family and where the family is in harmony, the same harmony will likewise be felt in the whole state."

Discursive constructs in turn can be articulated together to form entire discourses – highly complex systems of representation that provide ways of thinking, talking and acting in relation to an entire class of phenomena.[378] An example of a discourse might be the dominant Western approach to medicine focused on disease and illness, or an alternative more holistic and preventative approach focused on maintaining good health and balance. An educational discourse might prioritise academic excellence over other forms of learning and development, while an alternative discourse for education might emphasise the development of the whole child, with academic achievement being one part of the process.

Discourses may vary in content but they share several common principles or characteristics. Discourses

> influence what is generally 'sayable' or 'thinkable' in relation to a given class of phenomena in any given cultural and historical context.
>
> They embody canons of 'knowledge' and they define authoritative producers of this knowledge, that in turn constitute culturally and historically specific beliefs or 'truths' about these phenomena. They define their 'subjects' – the people that act within them or that they act upon – in such a manner that these subjects can be seen to, even start to, personify or conform to their internal logic. And finally, they generate social structures that organize and regulate collective practice in a manner that is consistent with their internal logic.
>
> Moreover discourses are as much defined by what they exclude as by what they include. They simultaneously influence what is not sayable or not thinkable in a given cultural context, what does not constitute authoritative knowledge or truth, who is not an authoritative producer of such knowledge or truth, how subjects should not act, and what institutional configurations are not present.[379]

Although discourses can be limiting they are also enabling, and indeed essential as they provide the 'scaffolding' for human thought, communication and practice. In order to maximize on the liberating effects of discourses and minimize the ways they restrain us, we need to become increasingly aware of the way our discursive environments are

[378] Michael Karlberg, Culture of Contest, p.12
[379] *Ibid.* p.14

culturally constructed and increasingly engaged in the process of cultural discourse reformation.[380]

7.5 Power

In chapter five above, mention was made of power and the apparent paradox between the power that men as a group possess and the powerlessness that many individual men experience. In that discussion, however, the term power was not defined nor analyzed. It was used in the way in which society most often understands power, and the definition sociologist Max Weber provides in *Basic Concepts in Sociology*:

> By power is meant every opportunity/possibility existing within a social relationship, which permits one to carry out one's own will, even against resistance, and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests.[381]

The assumption that power constitutes the ability to "dominate, defeat or impose one's will on others"[382] is a cause and effect of a culture of contest. From the perspective of the Bahá'í International Community the conception and expression of power in its traditional, competitive sense, is "as irrelevant to the needs of humanity's future as would be the technologies of railway locomotion to the task of lifting space satellites into orbits around the earth." [383] And thus the Bahá'í community, along with feminists, and other groups and individuals striving for a more just and peaceful society have, over recent decades engaged in the important process of the deconstruction[384] of the concept 'power' and have developed much richer and more complex understandings of the way power

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[380] *Ibid.* pp.14-15

[381] Max Weber, *Basic Concepts in Sociology*, available from: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/method/basic/basic_concept_frame.html, accessed October 18 2006.

[382] Michael Karlberg, Culture of Contest, p.23

[383] Bahá'í International Community, *Prosperity of Humankind*, Bahá'í International Community Statement Library, first distributed at the United Nations World Summit on Social Development, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1995, p. 13, available from: http://www.bic-un.Bahá'í.org/95-0303.htm, accessed October 10 2006

[384] "Deconstruction is not synonymous with "destruction".... It is in fact much closer to the original meaning of the word 'analysis' itself, which etymologically means "to undo" -- a virtual synonym for "to de-construct." ... If anything is destroyed in a deconstructive reading, it is not the text, but the claim to unequivocal domination of one mode of signifying over another. A deconstructive reading is a reading which analyses the specificity of a text's critical difference from itself." A. Cuddon, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, London,1991, available from: http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/derrida/deconstruction.html, accessed October 18 2006

exists and is expressed. These analyses have lead to understandings of power as, among other things, a resource to be (re)distributed[385] and as empowerment[386]. These analyses bring attention to the fact that power can be expressed as power-over (getting another to do what one wants them to do), power-to (an ability or capacity to act)[387] or power-with (acting in concert with others)[388]. Drawing on a variety of analyses of power Michael Karlburg has created a model for thinking and talking about power that embraces the variety of expressions touched on above. This model is presented below.

In this model the overarching definition of power is 'power to' or capacity: to use Anthony Giddens' terms power means 'transformative capacity' or 'the capacity to achieve outcomes'.[389] Power-over, in this model, is a sub-category of power-to. Power over another person is an expression of one's power *to* exercise control over another person. Thus all expressions of power-over are manifestations of power-to but power-to encompasses other expressions of power.

Rather than presenting power-to and power-over as mutually exclusive parallel models or expressions of power, Karlburg divides the overarching category of 'power as capacity' into two distinct categories based on the nature of the relationship between the parties. Thus 'power as capacity' can be expressed through adversarial relations - that is, power against or competition - and through mutualistic relations - that is, power with or cooperation. Each of these categories is then divided into two sub-categories: inequality and equality.

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[386] Amy Allen, 'Feminist Perspectives on Power', Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2005, available from: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminist-power, accessed on October 18 2006

[387] Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *Wittgenstein and Justice: On the Significance of Ludwig Wittgenstein for Social and Political Thought*, Berkeley, 1972, p. 276. Pitkin notes that the word power stems from the french word pouvoir and the latin potere both of which mean to be able.

[388] J. Miller, 'Women and power' in *Women, Power, And Therapy: Issues For Women*, M. Braude (ed.), New York, 1988, pp1-10

[389] Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory*, Berkeley, 1979, p.15 and p.257

This results in four distinct categories that provide a framework for thinking and talking about power in its diverse expressions. Power manifest in adversarial and unequal relations is the expression of 'power-over'. It results in coercion, domination and oppression and as a result of this power there is a 'winner' and a 'loser'. An example of this kind of power might be a man controlling his wife through violence.

Power manifest in adversarial relations between two people or parties with equal power results in a 'balance of power'. When this power is expressed, no party is 'victorious' and no party is 'defeated'. A state of stalemate and frustration is attained. An example of this kind of power might be two men of equal strength (in the broadest sense of the word) fighting over a plot of land, each defending his right to own it with equal ferocity, and neither willing to cede 'victory' to the other.

Power manifest in mutualistic relations between unequal parties can result in 'assisted empowerment'. This kind of power is exemplified in the relationship between a man and his child whom he nurtures and educates in order to develop the potential within the child. This expression of power results in two 'victors'. The powerful party 'wins' when he has successfully assisted in the development of the less powerful, and the less powerful 'wins' as s/he develops her/his full potential under the guidance of the more powerful.

The fourth category of expression of power, according to this model, pertains to the manifestation of power between two equal parties linked in mutualistic relations. The result of this expression of power is mutual empowerment – synergy, collaboration and coordination. All parties are 'victors'. An example of this might be a husband and wife ensuring that the work of the family – in the field and in the home - are equally divided between themselves so as not to overly burden one party and to ensure the ongoing health and strength of both.

This model is summarized in the table below:

POWER AS CAPACITY			
ADVERSARIAL RELATIONS Power Against Competition		**MUTUALISTIC RELATIONS** Power With Cooperation	
INEQUALITY	**EQUALITY**	**INEQUALITY**	**EQUALITY**
'Power Over'	'Balance of Power'	'Assisted	'Mutual
Coercion	Stalemate	Empowerment'	Empowerment'
Domination	Compromise	Education	Synergy
Oppression	Frustration	Nurturance	Collaboration
		Assistance	Coordination
win/lose	lose/lose	win/win	win/win

Figure I: Power: A Comprehensive Schema[390]

This schema provides a useful map of power relations and an expanded vocabulary with which to think and talk about relations of power. By presenting the same information in a different format (see Figure 2 below) it becomes possible to "'map' various power relations relative to the two axes adversarialism – mutualism and equality-inequality."[391] The spectrum within any given category is also presented. That is,

> some relations are more or less adversarial or mutualistic than others, just as some distributions of power might be more or less equal or unequal than others. Thus extreme adversarialism or extreme inequality can be distinguished from more moderate expressions of both, while mutualism and equality can be understood as ideals that might be worth striving towards in many contexts, even if we cannot perfectly achieve them.[392]

[390] Michael Karlberg, Culture of Contest, p. 30
[391] *Ibid.* p.33
[392] *Ibid.* pp. 33-34

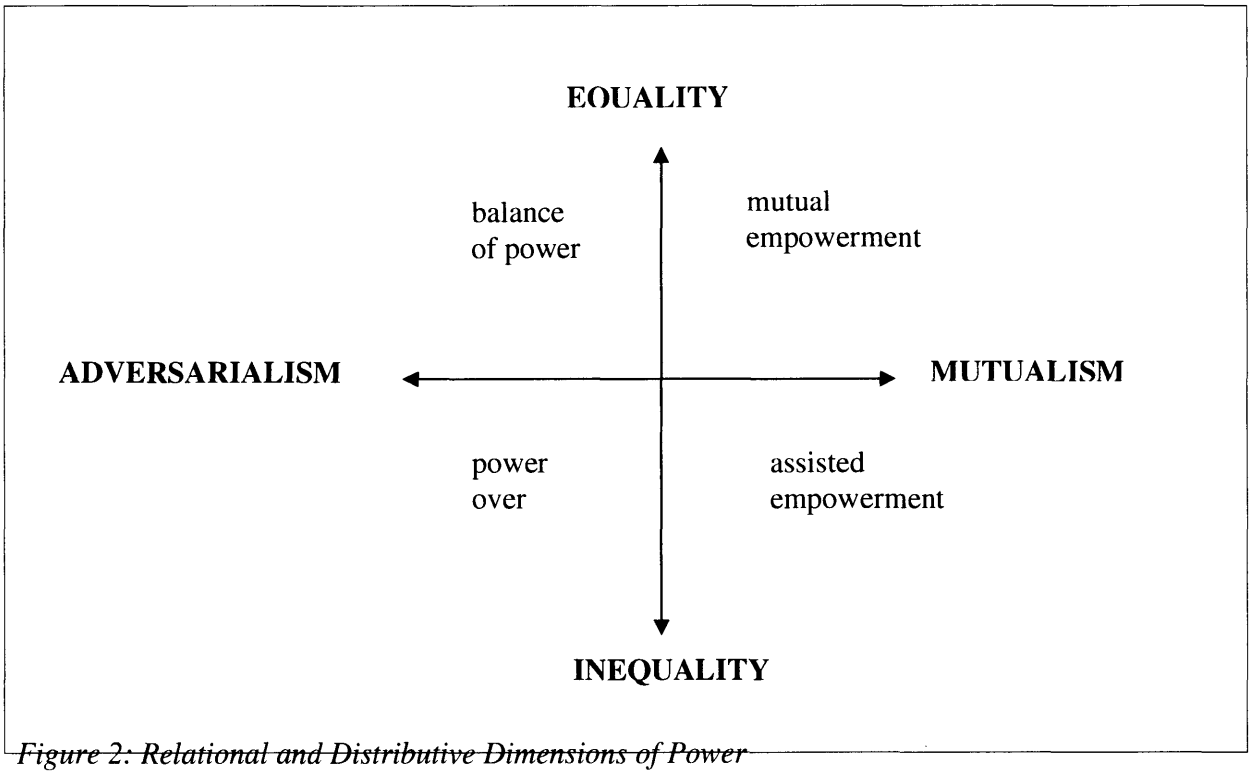

Figure 2: Relational and Distributive Dimensions of Power

These schema provide more comprehensive understandings of power. These expanded understandings of power are important because the ways we think and talk influence the ways we act:

> Competitive and conflictual discourses of power ...translate into competitive and conflictual models of social practice....If conflict and competition appear to be inevitable states of human interaction...it makes sense to structure our collective affairs as contests in order to harness those competitive and conflictual forces for the maximum social good.
>
> However, even if conflict and competition have been the primary driving forces of history, which is a questionable assumption in itself, it is easy to confuse human affairs as-they-have-been or as-they-are with human affairs as-they-could-be or as-they-ought-to-be. This is the problem of naturalization.[393]

[393] *Ibid.* p. 34-5

Naturalization of competitive and conflictual relations makes us blind to the significant role that cooperative and mutualistic relations play in human affairs and promotes an understanding of culture and community based on the premise of normative adversarialism.

7.6 Normative Adversarialism

Normative Adversarialism refers to "the assumptions that contests are normal and necessary models of social organization".[394] These assumptions are central to the formation of male identities in many cultures, including East Timor, as discussed in Chapter Five above. Inasmuch as there is a direct, and often mutually reinforcing, relationship between the construction of individual identities and the development and functioning of public institutions and relations, and inasmuch as men continue to dominate public affairs in East Timor as well as in many other countries of the world, it is not surprising to note that 'masculine-adversarial ideals' are found in every sphere of public life.

The core economic, legal and political institutions which have recently been erected or 'resurrected' in a newly independent East Timor are currently[395] in a state of crisis and have either ceased to function or are functioning with severely limited effectiveness. However, the basic framework and ideal mode of functioning for these institutions, conforms to what Dr Karlberg refers to as the 'tripartite system of contests'.[396]That is, the economic, legal and political systems are based on competition and contest.

At this stage in the development of East Timorese society these institutions and processes may not have great significance for, or direct influence and impact on large portions of the general public. There are, however two social institutions/practices in East Timor that

[394] *Ibid.* p. 36
[395] October 2006
[396] Michael Karlberg, Culture of Contest, p.38

actively create, support, and reinforce a culture of contest: the mass media and approaches to social activism.

A significant portion of both news and entertainment to which East Timorese audiences have access through newspapers, radio and television is made up of conflict, competition and violence. Media presentation of issues may serve to exaggerate and over-represent the levels of conflict and competition, and certainly contribute to an understanding of contest as an inevitable aspect of community life. Part of this process involves the 'routine framing of complex issues in terms of two diametrically opposed sets of interpretations and interests.'[397] An example of this in an Australian context is the pitting of environmentalists against industry as if the issues are simple and there can only be one 'winner'. In Timor this may apply to, among other things, media presentation and public debate around the complex and emotional issue of the desirability of an international tribunal to address crimes against humanity during the Indonesian occupation. When issues such as this are presented as ' polarized and apparently intractable conflicts' it can lead to cynicism and frustration as well as reinforcement of the idea of the inevitability of conflict among different members and groups in society.

This has implications for the engagement of men in equality as it contributes to a culture of competition where individuals and groups perceive themselves and others as either winners or losers in the battle for power and resources. In such a culture, complexity, mutuality, cooperation and collaboration are disregarded or sacrificed. Men's fears that the progress of women necessarily means the regress of men are seemingly justified and their willingness to engage in processes that explore or promote equality is reduced.

Popular approaches to social activism can have similar repercussions. It is widely accepted within East Timor (and in other parts of the world) that the best way to address social ills or to express disagreement with leaders is through protest and other oppositional strategies of social change.

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[397] *Ibid.* p. 55

There have been times in East Timor's history where oppositional strategies of social change were arguably the only way to achieve liberty and justice. However, these strategies which normalize adversarialism have a hidden price which undermines their effectiveness as long-term approaches to social change.'[398] Both within and without Timor, oppositional reform movements of the past century have resulted in internal factionalization and disunity.

Todd Gitlin has observed this phenomenon in a variety of situations and describes the way adversarialism expressed as opposition to a common enemy which initially unites a group, ultimately leads to the destruction of the unity and thus the very existence of the original group:

> Soon, difference [is] being practiced, ... at a deeper level than commonality. It [is] more salient, more vital, more present... it [is] ... a whole way of experiencing the world. Difference [is] now lived and felt more acutely than unity.[399]

Gitlin argues that 'the politics of difference is built on a deep philosophical error: the insistence that people are and must remain incomprehensible to one another and what divides people must overwhelm what unites them'.[400]

In East Timor adversarial approaches to social change have had most extreme consequences in recent months as East Timor has witnessed the break down of national unity and demands for social change expressed through acts of terror and violence.

Normative adversarialsm expressed through oppositional strategies for social change has significant implications for the process of engaging men in equality. It indicates and contributes to a social climate wherein those who have power and resources seek to preserve these rather than share them justly and fairly. It puts the onus on the less powerful, or the oppressed, to rally and demand change, rather than encouraging the more

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[398] Michael Karlberg, Culture of Contest, p. 69
[399] Todd Gitlin, 'The Rise of Identity Politics: An Examination and a Critique', *Dissent*, vol.40, no.2, 1993, p.175-7
[400] Todd Gitlin, 'After the Failed Faiths: Beyond Individualism, Marxism, and Multi-Culturalism', World Policy Journal, vol. 21, no.1, 1995, p.66

powerful, or oppressor, to identify and respond responsibly to their own experience of undue privilege. It limits the possibilities for humble, peaceful, honest communication between the less powerful and the more powerful, and instead creates barriers to open and productive dialogue.

7.7 Human Nature

For some, the question of the desirability of normative adversarialism is purely academic, inasmuch as human nature is perceived to be fundamentally and incorrigibly selfish, and aggressive. However researchers in various fields are increasingly challenging these perceptions. Signe Howell and Roy Willis, based on their anthropological studies, report that the "presence of innate sociality...has much evidence in its favour. Human beings are *a priori* sociable beings; it is their cooperativeness that has enabled them to survive, not their aggressive impulses."[401] Similarly, anthropologists Richard Leakey and Roger Lewin conclude that

> Throughout our recent evolutionary history...there must have been extreme selective pressures in favour of our ability to cooperate as a group...The degree of selective pressure towards cooperation, group awareness and identification was so strong and the period over which it operated was so extended, that it can hardly fail to have become embedded to some measure in our genetic makeup.[402]

Author of *Rambo and the Dalai Lama*, Gordon Fellman, also argues that the assumption that human nature is reflected in "conflicts of interest, wars, and the opposition of people to each other and to nature" is merely one model or framework, "a paradigm that supplies meaning and orientation to the world," rather than a reflection of human beings' inexorable aggression. Fellman, like Karlberg, puts forth an alternative paradigm which views "cooperation, caring, nurturing, and loving as equally viable ways of organizing relationships of humans to each other and to nature."[403]

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[401] Signe Howell and Roy Willis, 'Introduction' in Societies at Peace: Anthropological Perspectives, London, Routledge, 1989, pp1-28 Signe Howell and Roy Willis (eds) pp1-2
[402] Richard Leakey and Roger Lewin, *Origins: What New Discoveries Reveal About the Emergence of Our Species*, London, 1977, p.209
[403] Gordon Fellman, *Rambo and the Dalai Lama,* New York, 1998, chapter one.

The Bahá'í Writings explain that human nature encompasses a full spectrum of potential or capacity:

> In man there are two natures; his spiritual or higher nature and his material or lower nature. In one he approaches God, in the other he lives for the world alone. Signs of both these natures are to be found in men. In his material aspect he expresses untruth, cruelty and injustice; all these are the outcome of his lower nature. The attributes of his Divine nature are shown forth in love, mercy, kindness, truth and justice, one and all being expressions of his higher nature. Every good habit, every noble quality belongs to man's spiritual nature, whereas all his imperfections and sinful actions are born of his material nature. If a man's Divine nature dominates his human nature, we have a saint.
>
> Man has the power both to do good and to do evil; if his power for good predominates and his inclinations to do wrong are conquered, then man in truth may be called a saint. But if, on the contrary, he rejects the things of God and allows his evil passions to conquer him, then he is no better than a mere animal.[404]

According to the Bahá'í Teachings it is education[405] that determines which part of our nature will dominate and the primary source of that education is the "divine Gardeners" (or prophets) Who have the power to "transform the jungles of human nature into fruitful orchards and make the thorny places blossom as the rose."[406] That is, our 'higher nature' can be cultivated through education and all human beings have the potential to contribute to the betterment of the human race.

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[404] 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, London, p. 60
[405] Education in its broadest sense including spiritual education.
[406] 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *The Promulgation of Universal Peace*, Wilmette, p. 353

CHAPTER EIGHT Practical interventions: global

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore interventions that have been implemented in various parts of the world. Based on analysis of these approaches I present a number of universal principles that are being identified as a result of interventions in diverse nations and cultures and with diverse target groups.

I then explore the range of 'levels' of intervention pertaining to the engagement of men in equality and compare approaches in terms of directness of approach and in terms of intervention target (individual, community or State). This is followed by a discussion of target groups, in terms of participants' demographics, and sites of intervention, such as schools, bars and the military. I then consider specific methodologies and techniques from around the world that have been developed and implemented with varying degrees of success.

Finally I look at approaches to evaluation of interventions, and related tools that have been developed. Comprehensive evaluation methodologies and instruments, pertaining to interventions to engage men in gender equality, are, however, currently limited in both quantity and quality.

This chapter draws heavily on Oxfam GB's publication *Gender Equality and Men*, edited by Sandy Ruxton. This book is one of the very few currently available that bring together information about and analysis of practical interventions from diverse nations and cultures.

8.2 Principles

Despite the diversity of culture and conditions within which efforts to engage men in gender equality have been made, and the subsequent diversity of approaches developed, some universal principles are emerging. These are discussed below.

A key to the success of any work that has as its goal the transformation of human beings is that the individuals undergoing change, desire that change. This principle has particular application in the area of men and gender equality. Experience has shown that men who participate in interventions as an obligation, or because they are required to by another person or institution, are more likely to drop out and less likely to benefit from the intervention.[407] [

Directly linked with men's desire to change is the principle of men taking ownership of the process leading to change. This principle has important implications for the development of interventions.

Drawing on her work with men as fathers, in the Caribbean, Janet Brown observed that much of the work with men in the Caribbean has, to date, tended to "measure men's family participation against 'ideal' images of fatherhood and then set out to 'fix' men."[408] These role-deficit approaches often reflect women's needs or political and institutional agendas and do not approach the issues from men's perspective, or draw on men's experiences and perceptions. Thus role-deficit approaches are less likely to engage men's voluntary participation and have indeed proven largely ineffective.

Developmental approaches in which the desired outcomes are based on men's own expressed desires for change – such as improved relationships with members of their family, increased emotional well-being and so on, are psychologically, emotionally and thus financially more attractive to men. When men themselves identify the problem,

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[407] Benno de Keijzer, 'Masculinities: resistance and change' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p. 38

[408] Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork in the Caribbean: examples of support for men's work in relation to family life' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p.113

possible solutions, and ways to achieve the solutions, they take ownership of the process of change and engage actively and willingly.[409]

A good example of application of this principle comes from Program H in Latin America. Throughout the process of developing the program, the voices of young and adult men from low-income communities (the target communities) are "tapped into".[410] Specifically Program H seeks out the 'alternative' voices – voices that express resistance to dominant versions of masculinities. Drawing heavily on the feelings, ideas, experiences of men from the target communities who already resist dominant masculinities, Program H then develops objectives, materials and approaches and evaluation methodologies. This highly participatory approach means that men are engaged from the very beginning and that the approaches developed are more likely to engage the active and willing participation of other men from the same target group.

Other programs around the world have also found that men's desire to involve themselves in interventions that have as their goal transformation of gender relations, are more likely to engage when the program is consultative in terms of topic, venue and timing and participatory in method.[411]

An important part of transformation to attitudes and behaviour that reflect deeper understandings of gender equality has proven to be the development of new forms of bonding and communication among men. Projects around the world have shown that there is great value in providing opportunity for men to discuss gender related issues, informally and frankly among themselves. [412] This provides a platform for men to express

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[409] Ibid. p. 117

[410] Gary Barker, Marcos Nascimento, Marcio Segundo, and Julie Perwitz, 'How do we know if men have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men: lessons from Program H in Latin America', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p. 147

[411] Manisha Mehta, Dean Peacock, and Lissette Bernal, 'Men as Partners: lessons learned from engaging men in clinics and communitites', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p. 99; and Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork', p.126

[412] For example: Michael Kaufman, 'Transforming our interventions for gender equality by addressing and involving men and boys: a framework for analysis and action', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004; Benno de Keijzer, 'Masculinities: resistance and change'; Manisha Mehta et al, Men as Partners; Gaetane le Grange, 'Taking the bull by the horns: working with young men on

themselves[413] and creates space for men to become "comfortable and non-defensive in talking about subjects that would place them 'under fire' in many mixed groups."[414]

The creation and nurturing of groups of men encourages collective change and group action. But beyond these important results, the development of supportive and non-competitive environments allows men to begin to shift their relationships with other men, and challenge patriarchy.[415] As Janet Brown points out however, the risk inherent in the separation of men and women in order to discuss and explore gender equality and related issues, is the polarization of men's and women's positions on these issues. [416] In order to avoid this it is equally important to ensure that men participate in integrated programmes involving both women and men.[417] Partnerships between women and men must be promoted.[418]

Interventions with mixed groups must be well managed so that participants can find "points of common belief", and so that opposing views can be shared without threatening the safe environment of the group.[419] Some facilitators have found that women use interventions in mixed groups to 'raise personalized and provocative points, using the opportunity of the forum to express all their grievances about men's failure to understand women's position.' In order to avoid this, clear ground rules must be established and facilitators must guide participants away from defending gendered positions and engage them in the analysis of power, its manifestations, its impact and other relevant issues.[420]

HIV/AIDS in South Africa' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004; and Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork'.

[413] Gaetane Le Grange, 'Taking the bull...', p. 111

[414] Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork', p. 126

[415] Kaufman, ' Transforming our interventions', p. 25

[416] Janet Brown, 'Faterhwork', p.126

[417] United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Report on the online Discussion on The Role of Men and Boys in Equality, 30 June to 25 July 2003. p. 11, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/online.html, accessed October 6 2006

[418] Division for the Advancement of Women, Commission on the Status of Women, 48th session, Panel Discussion on 'The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality', 1 –12 March 2004, p.3, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw48/Panel.html#Panel2, accessed October 6 2006

[419] Maree Keating, 'The things they don't tell you about working with men in gender workshops' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p.56

[420] *Ibid.* p.60

Beyond partnerships between individual men and women or working with mixed groups of participants, efforts to engage men in gender equality should strongly emphasize social justice issues and build coalitions with progressive social movements[421], including anti-violence and other women's groups[422], and build strategic alliances with communities [423].

A fundamental principle in any work with men on gender equality is the positive and creative presentation of messages. Interventions should use the language of responsibility, not blame, and should avoid negative generalizations and stereotypes.[424] It is important to avoid repeated presentation of men or certain groups of men as 'the problem', or 'high risk'.[425] For example, men participating in an Oxfam facilitated workshop expressed frustration with the perceived equation by many gender activists of: woman means victim means powerless means weak means good; and man means perpetrator means powerful means dominating means bad.

As Michael Kaufman points out:

> Generalized blame reduces sexism to individual relationships and individual identity rather than understanding patriarchy and sexism as also being systemic and institutional. Nor is blame pedagogically useful. Language that leaves men feeling responsible for things they haven't done or for things they were taught to do, or feeling guilty for the sins of other men, will alienate most men and boys and promote backlash.[426]

In order to reach men, messages must be presented positively. They must be empowering, not overly critical or dictatorial.[427] Many successful approaches have appealed to the values the abuse of which is ultimately being challenged, such as strength, courage,

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[421] Manisha Mehta et al., 'Men as Partners', p. 100

[422] United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Report on the online Discussion on The Role of Men and Boys in Equality, 30 June to 25 July 2003. p. 18, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/online.html, accessed October 6 2006

[423] Manisha Mehta et al., 'Men as Partners', p. 99

[424] Michael Kaufman, 'Transforming our interventions', p. 25

[425] United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Report on the online Discussion on The Role of Men and Boys in Equality, 30 June to 25 July 2003. p. 11, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/online.html, accessed October 6 2006

[426] Michael Kaufman, 'Transforming our interventions', p. 25

[427] Gaetane le Grange, 'Taking the bull...' p. 111

leadership and protection [428] Some examples of this come from the worldwide White Ribbon campaign which reaches out to boys and men with the message "You have the power to end violence against women in your community"[429]; and the Strength Campaign run by the US organization "Men Can Stop Rape" whose mottos always start with: "My strength is not for hurting so when she said no, I stopped; so when I wanted to and she didn't, we didn't; so when she wanted me to stop, I stopped; so when I wasn't sure how she felt, I asked."[430] As another example, interventions in some Islamic countries have appealed to men's traditional role of family protector to promote equality and to end domestic violence.[431]

Directly linked with the principle of using positive messages to promote change in men and with the principle of men taking ownership of the process is that of building on aspects of gender equality that already exist and using positive role modelling. Manifestations of gender equitable attitudes and behaviours in individual men must be emphasized, learnt from and held up to other members of a given target group as an example.

Work with men in Georgia and Yemen - two very conservative societies where patriarchy remains virtually unchallenged- has found that the most effective way to educate men is by engaging men as educators.[432] In Georgia, as well as in a variety of other countries around the world, men who are highly aware of gender and related issues have proven to be an important resource for influencing other men and for initiating and developing interventions. In Brazil, research has been done on men who have emerged from violent backgrounds with non-violent and more gender-equitable attitudes. The lessons learned

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[428] Bertil Lindblad, in United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Report of Expert Group Meeting, Brazil 12 January, 2004, p.9, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/index.html, accessed October 6 2006

[429] Michael Kaufman, 'Transforming our interventions', p. 24

[430] Benno de Keijzer, 'Masculinities', p.48

[431] Magda Mohammed Elsanousi, 'Strategies and approaches to enhance the role of men and boys in gender equlity: a case study from Yemen', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004.

[432] Magda Mohammed Elsanousi, 'Strategies...' p.170; Rusudan Pkhakadze and Nana Khoshtaria, 'Addressing men's role in family violence: the experience of the 'Sakhli' Women's Advice Center, Georgia' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004.

from these men can then be drawn upon to assist other men from violent backgrounds to break the cycle.

Also directly linked with presenting positive messages to promote change is the principle of offering alternative models of gender relations. Simply negating dominant values, without providing alternative models has little effect.[433] It is not helpful to tell people "everything they do and think is wrong."[434] It is important to identify the problems *and* possible solutions. It is important to find ways in which new understandings of gender in/equality can be translated into positive action and contribute to desired changes in relationships.[435]

An obvious principle when working with men on gender equality and related issues is the need to recognize and embrace the diversity among men. Clearly men are not a homogeneous group and other aspects of their identity, such as race, age, physical and mental dis/ability, class, religion, sexual orientation and so on, will be important considerations in any work with men regarding gender equality.[436]

The implications of this are that while we may be able to identify some more-or-less universal principles, and to develop some general frameworks that have relevance in a variety of cultural settings, we cannot expect to find a single road to gender equality or a simple strategy that will work in all situations.[437] There will necessarily be different entry points for different groups of men.

Human change and transformation is a complex process. Old and new paradigms can exist simultaneously and there can be significant gaps between what people say and what we do. In working with men and gender, awareness of this principle is important. It can help to ensure that interventions, and their evaluations, give due attention to change at

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[433] Magda Mohammed Elsanousi, 'Strategies and approaches', p.186 (quoting participant)
[434] *Ibid.* p. 186, (quoting participant)
[435] Maree Keating, 'The things they don't tell', p.58
[436] Barbara Stocking, 'Foreword' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p.vii
[437] United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Report on the online Discussion on The Role of Men and Boys in Equality, 30 June to 25 July 2003. p. 5, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/online.html, accessed October 6 2006.

both the level of thought and attitude and at the level of action and behaviour. It can also help reduce frustrations at apparent lack of change when individuals and groups of men vacillate in their commitment to and exhibition of gender equitable ways of being.

From Latin America[438] to Europe, studies have found a continuing gap between men's discourse about gender roles and their actual behaviour. For example, the fact that more and more German men express the desire to be actively involved fathers, not just economic providers for their families, but only two percent of fathers make use of the available parental leave, indicates a significant gap between egalitarian attitudes and social praxis.[439] One of the implications of this is the importance of sustained interventions, or sequences of sessions, as compared to one-off events, when working to generate lasting change. Additionally it is important to be aware of and to be patient with the inner and outer obstacles that hinder men's ability to engage immediately and fully in gender equality.

Finally, experience in different parts of the world, including some of the most staunch and conservative patriarchal societies, has shown that in interventions with men on gender equality, there are some topics that, though controversial, should not be avoided. For example, Maree Keating argues that: "it is critical to discuss and make visible power and equality issues in gender workshops, even when we are working with predominantly male groups, and the terrain seems difficult."[440] She argues that failure to engage in such issues can mean that:

> opportunities are missed that could help participants develop the tools to discuss gender equality beyond the workshop. Furthermore women in the group may be left frustrated at the lack of progress, and men may remain secure in their view that changing gender relations is either unnecessary or unachievable.[441]

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[438] Gary Barker et al., How do we know?, p.149

[439] United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Report on the online Discussion on The Role of Men and Boys in Equality, 30 June to 25 July 2003. p. 13, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/online.html, accessed October 6 2006.

[440] Maree Keating, 'The things they don't tell you', p.50.

[441] Sandy Ruxton, 'Introduction' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Oxfam, Great Britain, 2004, p. 12

8.3 Levels of Intervention

8.3.1 Three levels of gender training

With regard to gender training in general (that is, not specifically targeted at men), Ranjani Murthy[442], has identified three levels of approach, where levels are differentiated based on the extent to which they challenge the roots of gender inequality and strive for transformation of gender relations. She distinguishes among gender-neutral training, gender ameliorative training and gender transformative training:

> Gender-neutral training seeks to provide accurate information on the existing gender-based division of labour and resources so that development objectives can be met efficiently by targeting resources towards the actors appropriate for realization of pre-determined goals.[443]

Gender, in training at this level of approach, is used as a *descriptive* rather than an *analytical* term. The former emphasizes the differences in men and women's roles and behaviours. The latter emphasizes the power relations between men and women.[444]

> Gender-ameliorative training seeks to provide an understanding of the gender-based division of labour and access to skills and resources [in order to] highlight women's secondary status in society and to strengthen strategies to improve the social condition of women.[445]

The reason for women's secondary status is perceived to be related to their lack of skills, confidence, motivation and unity, (rather than gender hierarchies in society) and it is the development of women's skills, confidence, and so on, that are the primary focus of trainings at this level of approach. These trainings highlight practical gender needs, rather than women's strategic gender interests and they leave issues of control and division of labour unaddressed.[446]

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[442] S.J.R. Cummings , H. van Dam, and M. Valk (eds.), *Gender Training The Source Book: Critical Reviews and Annotated Bibliographies Series*, The Netherlands, 1998, Chapter 'South Asia' pp29-54
[443] S.J.R. Cummings , H. van Dam, and M. Valk (eds.), *Gender Training The Source Book: Critical Reviews and Annotated Bibliographies Series*, The Netherlands, 1998, p31
[444] *Ibid.* p31
[445] *Ibid.* p32
[446] *Ibid.* p32

> Gender-transformative training...seeks to provide an understanding of gender at an analytical rather than descriptive level, emphasizing...the socially constituted power relations between men and women [which are] played out within different institutions of society...Emphasis is on gender relations rather than gender roles.[447]

Murthy identifies three levels of approach within the context of gender-transformative training itself. That is, gender-transformative trainings can address relations at the personal; the organizational; or the institutional level.[448]

8.3.2 Three levels of directness in approaches engaging men in gender equality

Similarly with regard to interventions with men on gender equality and related issues, it is possible to identify three general categories or levels of approach in terms of 'directness of approach'.

Interventions in the first category or on the first level of approach, focus explicitly and solely on the principle of gender equality and promote men's recognition and internalisation of this principle.

For interventions in the second category the overall goal is to promote the principle of gender equality but in order to engage men the intervention is presented as primarily addressing a related issue – such as poverty reduction, or reproductive health.

For a third category of intervention gender equality is merely a potential by-product of a process the primary focus of which is a specific issue impacting on men's lives – such as men's health, or men's role as fathers.

There is arguably a fourth category of intervention. However, this type of approach is one that will receive scant attention in this study. Interventions in this category promote

[447] *Ibid.* p33
[448] *Ibid.* p33

changes in men's behaviour which are often linked to greater equality and may well benefit women and men, – such as taking responsibility for family planning - but do so by drawing on and reinforcing patriarchal values. An example of this is a campaign in Zimbabwe that reaches out to men using slogans such as "You are in control!", or a similar initiative in Mexico that challenges men to engage in family planning by asking: "Are you really so macho? So plan your family!" [449] These approaches are sometimes successful in reaching men and changing some behaviours that negatively impact on women, but overall they lack a gender perspective that transforms men, empowers women and promotes equality.

The following section considers each of the first three categories in greater depth, citing concrete examples and identifying advantages and disadvantages of each level of approach.

Category 1: Interventions dealing directly with gender equality

Michael Kaufman argues that the primary aim of all work with men should be to "end discrimination against women and girls, to achieve gender equality and equity, and to promote the human rights of women and girls."[450] He elaborates that the recent increase in interest in the lives of men and boys is at risk of becoming a "passing fad" if we fail to analyse their lives and develop appropriate programmes "in the context of gender equality, equity, and social transformation".

University and other courses are now readily available, particularly in the West, that offer men an opportunity to engage in study of masculinities, feminist theory, and gender equality. An example of such a course is Bob Pease' course offered at Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT). Dr Pease engages his students in an examination of their experiences as men, promoting an awareness of their dominance and privilege (as a

[449] Benno de Keijzer, 'Masculinities: resistance and change' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p.42

[450]Michael Kaufman, 'Transforming our interventions for gender equality by addressing and involving men and boys: a framework for analysis and action', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p. 24

group) and an analysis of men's experiences and practices in patriarchy, with the objective of furthering the transformation of gender relations.[451]

Understandably, the number of men who are open to a direct and focused study of feminist theory and practice is limited! This has lead many practitioners to approach work with men on gender equality issues in ways described in 'Level Two' below. However, there are examples of some very successful initiatives that address gender equality issues very directly using creative approaches drawing on the real lives of grassroots peoples.

Equal Wings, developed in Malaysia and tested widely in Asia, the Pacific and parts of Africa, involves men and women, couples and singles, using drama, small group consultations, interactive exercises and humour to engage participants very directly in the issue of gender equality. In the initial sessions of this program women and men are separated. The men and women answer similar questions about things such as their work and responsibilities within the family and community and then analyse their own responses. This raises issues and concepts for discussion and clarification, after which the women and men come together for the remaining sessions. Many men who have participated in this program have become "more aware and more inspired to work towards building positive relationships between the sexes."[452]

The advantages of this level of approach – addressing gender equality directly – include the freedom it allows to discuss and make visible power and other underlying issues, which, some practitioners argue, is critical to effectiveness.[453] If interventions allude to or touch upon gender (in)equality, without specifically addressing power issues and similar matters, participants can be left either 'frustrated', or 'secure with the notion that

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[451] Bob Pease, HUSO 1289 Men and Masculinities, Course guide, School of Social Science and Planning, RMIT University, semester 1, 2004, available from: http://66.102.7.104/search?q=cache:o49nv7ngewej:mams.rmit.edu.au/g31n3ytl4oen.pdf+huso+1289+men+and+masculinities+&hl=en, accessed October 7 2006

[452] Office for Equality, Australian Bahá'í Community, available from: http://www.Bahá'í.org.au/scripts/WebObjects.exe/BNO.woa/wa/pages?page=28%2F64%2F99%2FOfficeforEquality1, accessed October 7 2006

[453] Maree Keating, 'The things they don't tell you', p.50

it is too hard to change these things'.[454] Interventions that aim to improve gender relations but present to be about the reduction of poverty or HIV/AIDS (for example) may not have as much liberty to engage participants in in-depth discussions of these often sensitive and controversial issues.

A disadvantage of this approach may be that a significant proportion of men are not willing to participate in interventions that are unambiguously and directly about gender equality. Thus finding ways to motive men to participate may prove challenging.

Category 2: Interventions promoting gender equality as an aspect of addressing other social ills

There is a broad spectrum of approaches within the category of interventions that have as their aim gender equality but which present as being primarily about related social issues. Some approaches have a clear gender equality component, and border on fitting into Category One discussed above. At the other end of the spectrum are approaches that touch on gender equality but place much stronger emphasis on the issue being presented. However, all approaches in this category focus on an issue that is either important to or problematic for the target group of men, and one in which they are relatively keen to engage. In addressing the given issue, participants are lead to recognize inequality between men and women as underlying the problem and are engaged in analysis and discussion of this issue.

In her work all over the world Thalia Kidder has focused directly on the issue of producing more sustainable and profitable businesses. In the course of her training she uses economic efficiency arguments to promote changes in gender roles and relations. She has found that saying 'This business could be more sustainable and profitable if these gender roles were changed' is a "powerful argument indeed". She argues that once men become aware of the 'gendered economy':

> they may be more likely to pursue a wider range of skills through retraining, to create forums for continuing discussions of gender

[454] *Ibid.* p. 50

> equality, to publicize successful programmes and to understand the incentives for men to play a stronger role in caring.[455]

Other facilitators also agree that using efficiency arguments and allowing participants to come to their own conclusions about the relationship between gender relations and income generation, can be useful.[456] However, this approach can backfire when participants present convincing economic arguments for maintaining gender inequality.[457] Additionally, some practitioners note, even when gender equality is recognized as an obstacle to prosperity it may not result in the ability to challenge it by individuals or organizations. Maree Keating argues that in order to do this, focused and overt attention, along with personal reflection and modelling of good behaviour, is required. Moreover, she posits, if the 'tricky issue of gender relations and power'[458] is not addressed directly, opportunities are missed to offer examples and strategies to participants for use in countering objections and fears of others, outside the intervention.

An example of a program that uses a secondary issue as focus but which places a strong emphasis on the principle of gender equality is the Men As Partners (MAP) program. This program focuses on:

> promoting the constructive role that men can play in reproductive health including the prevention of HIV, STIs and gender-based violence, and in maternal care and family planning. Most importantly, the MAP program is working actively to promote gender equity...[459]

Mehta, Peacock and Bernal describe the MAP approach explaining that

> ...Workshop activities constantly refer back to the subject of gender. For example, an activity about HIV will explore the ways in which gender roles can increase the likelihood that men will engage in unsafe sex, or deter men from playing an active role in caring for and supporting those left chronically ill by AIDS...A common question that

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[455] Thalia Kidder, '"How do you eat between harvests?" and other stories: engaging men in gender and livelihoods' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p. 75
[456] Maree Keating, 'The things they don't tell you', p. 58
[457] *Ibid.* p. 58
[458] *Ibid.* p.59
[459] Manisha Mehta, 'Men as Partners', p. 90

> facilitators ask during the discussion of any activity is, 'how does this issue affect men and women differently.[460]

The advantage of this level of approach is that men are more easily motivated to participate. However, this approach may be limited in its ability to make a substantial contribution to men's engagement in equality if the link between the secondary issue and equality is not made clearly or convincingly enough.

In many cases the difference between category one and category two is merely one of emphasis. The same thematic areas may be addressed and equality may be openly presented and discussed in both, but in the former the emphasis is on gender equality as the pivotal issue, whereas in the latter gender equality is addressed in the context of health, livelihoods and so on.

Category 3: Interventions with gender equality as a potential by-product

At the third level of approach gender equality is merely a potential by-product of interventions, the primary objective of which is the improvement of aspects of men's lives.

A good example of this approach is found in the work discussed by Janet Brown in 'Fatherwork in the Caribbean: examples of support for men's work in relation to family life'[461]. Brown reviews programmes within the Caribbean region that focus on fathers' participation with children. These programmes look at: ways to ensure men's participation in the development of approaches which articulate and support their needs as fathers and parents; ways to reduce tensions which often exist between mothers' and fathers' perceptions of their respective roles in relation to their children; ways to attend to the needs of the children involved; and ways to build bridges to bring women and men together.[462]

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[460] *Ibid.* p. 95
[461] Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork in the Caribbean: examples of support for men's work in relation to family life' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004.
[462] *Ibid.* p.114

Brown refers to greater gender equality and improved gender relations as 'actual and potential outcomes' but states that these outcomes were not deliberately examined in the evaluation of the fatherhood-focused interventions. She suggests that there is 'tentative evidence that such an approach can in fact help to advance gender equity concerns'[463], but clearly this is not essential for the programmes to be judged successful.

In another example, in work on HIV/AIDS with men in South Africa, it was recognized that the goals of reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS could not be achieved without promoting gender equality.[464] Thus the promotion of gender equality became part of the program but in this case it represents a means to an end, rather than the goal itself.

This kind of approach raises the question: If the goals of the programmes could be achieved without impacting on gender equality would there be any interest in gender equality for its own sake? It is rather like attempting to eliminate a disease, not because the disease itself is undesirable and good health desirable, but rather because one wants to eliminate one of the symptoms. The report of the Expert Group Meeting held in October 2003 on the Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, recognizes the well-being of men and boys as a 'legitimate aim of gender equality measures.'[465] However this third level of approach does not promote the wellbeing of boys and men through the furthering of gender equality. Rather it takes the well being of boys and men as its objective with gender equality merely a potential by-product.

8.3.2 Three categories of targets for change

Interventions that have as their aim the engagement of men in gender equality issues can also be divided into three categories based on the recipient/participant of the intervention.

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[463] Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork', pp. 128-129

[464] Manisha Mehta et al., 'Men as Partners', p. 94

[465] Robert Connell, Report of Expert Group Meeting on "The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality" 21 to 24 October 2003 Brasilia, Brazil, United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Available from: http://www.ashanet.org/focusgroups/sanctuary/articles/Connell-bp.pdf#search=%22report%20Online%20Discussion%20men%20and%20boys%20organized%20by%20the%20Division%20for%20the%20Advancement%20of%20Women%22, accessed October 2 2006. The Expert Group Meeting was held 21-24 October 2003 in Brasilia, Brazil and was in preparation for the 48th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women which took place in March 2004.

Interventions can target individuals and households; communities and organizations of civil society; or policy, institutions and the state. Work around the world has shown that each of these categories must be targeted with interventions, and that the most effective interventions are those that simultaneously impact on two or more target categories This was highlighted in a workshop entitled "Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality", organised by Oxfam GB and attended by development workers from all over the world. James Lang and his colleagues facilitated a mapping exercise to locate participants' various projects in one of the three aforementioned categories. This exercise revealed that: "organizations are often working across levels ... and that work with men may be less effective if it is isolated in one area or level of intervention." James Lang suggests, for example, that "[p]rojects that work primarily at the household or individual level should take into consideration and align their efforts with transforming the policy and institutional environment as well."[466]

Category 1: Individuals and households

Ultimately all interventions aim to change paradigms, attitudes and behaviours of individual men, as the individual is the basic building block of communities, institutions and societies. However, some interventions' primary focus is the individual, while others, referred to below, primarily focus on communities or institutions as whole entities. In *Dying To Be Men*, Gary Barker writes of a project targeting a small group of young men living in a low income community in Chicago, U.S.A. 'Mr Jones', a psychologist and former sports champion, met with 20 male high school students once a week for the duration of a school year providing opportunity for the boys to discuss issues related to sexuality, HIV/AIDS, pregnancy, relationships with women, and other matters and offering them support and advice. As a result all 20 completed the academic year, compared to the one in four annual drop out rate of non-group members.

Category 2: Communities and organizations of civil society

[466] James Lang, Gender Is Everyone's Business: Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality, Report of Workshop, 10-12 June, 2002, available from: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/gender/gem/wkshprep.htm, accessed October 6 2006

Diverse groupings of people can be regarded as 'communities' including tribes, schools, businesses, suburbs or villages. Communities provide the context for and strongly influence individual thought and action. Development workers with experience in gender equality issues have noted that an "important [component of] sustainable change is to ensure that the process of gender transformation is one that is adopted and owned by communities, and thus reflects the given contextual possibilities and challenges." When a feeling of ownership is not generated in communities, it has been found that only short - term change is generated, that community members " comply with suggested behavioural changes only for the duration of a project." [467]

The UNIFEM-funded projects designed and implemented by the Bahá'í communities in Cameroon, Bolivia, and Malaysia are good examples of projects that generated community ownership and effected lasting change in gender relations at the community level. These projects sought to involve villagers in analysis of their own problems. Participants in the projects were trained in the use of analytic tools such as focus groups and community surveys, as well as in Bahá'í consultation. The analysis was then given direction "by stressing the importance of a positive moral principle, ... the equality of women and men." The community members themselves then promoted change and consolidated community ownership by communicating the results of the analysis through the non-threatening media of traditional theatre, song, and dance. [468]

Category 3: Policy, Institutions and the State

Participants in the panel discussion on 'The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality' at the Commission on the Status of Women's (CSW) 48th Session in March 2004 agreed that '[b]roader institutional changes were... required to enable men's and women's commitment to a new culture of gender equality' and that it was 'crucial to create an enabling environment with proactive public policy to facilitate the sharing of power and of responsibilities at the family and community levels.' They emphasized that achieving gender equality requires " joint efforts at the national level by governments,

[467] *Ibid.*

[468] Bahá'í Topics, an information source, 'UNIFEM/Bahá'í Project Raises Community Consciousness', 1993, available from: http://info.Bahá'í.org/article-1-7-6-14.html, accessed October 7

parliaments, the private sector and other civil society actors, including religious leaders and the media, to develop national policies and programmes on gender equality that involved men and boys."

Similarly James Lang notes that: " ...achieving gender equality ... requires profound social, cultural and economic change supported by better institutions and improvements to policies and national laws." Specifically he refers to "challenging the gender biases in economic policy, poverty reduction strategies and other laws such as those concerning violence against women, employment, maternity/paternity leave, education and health."[469]

In terms of men and gender equality this can mean involving men in advocacy work to improve laws. It can also mean bringing men's needs, such as paid paternity leave, to the attention of policy makers and working with them to develop plans of action based on those needs. An example of the latter is the work of EngenderHealth[470] who holds workshops for policy-makers in their respective countries and helps them to gain appreciation of changes required and then to act on that knowledge. Instituto Promundo also targets policy makers through direct presentation of young men's theatre productions. [471]

8.4 Partnerships and Alliances

Work with men on equality can and should involve partnering with a huge range of individuals and community groups and leaders. These partnerships make it possible to reach diverse audiences and expand opportunities to directly involve more men and boys in the process of establishing gender equality. [472] Decisions about with whom

[469] James Lang, Gender Is Everyone's Business: Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality, Report of Workshop, 10-12 June, 2002, available from: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/gender/gem/wkshprep.htm, accessed October 6 2006
[470] *Ibid.*
[471] *Ibid.*

[472] Esta Soler, 'Letter from the President', Family Violence Prevention Fund, Toolkit for working with men and boys, available from: http://toolkit.endabuse.org/BuildPartnerships, accessed October 8 2006

practitioners work, depends upon the specifics of the intervention. The level of approach, the target population, the site and type of intervention, will contribute to determining the potential partners.

There are three main categories of partners with whom individuals and organizations working to engage men in the establishment of equality may collaborate to achieve their goals. The first category of partner includes individuals, communities and institutions drawn from the target populations themselves, such as high school boys or sporting stars. A second category of partner consists of gender-focused individuals and organizations that include men as a focus in their gender equality work, such as Oxfam or Salud y Genero. A third category of partner includes organizations committed to the service and/or betterment of society but who may not have a specific gender focus, such as organizations affiliated with a particular religion, or organizations involved with developing access to fresh water in rural communities, or even the military.

Partnerships that fall into the first category are described more fully in this section, below. Partnerships from the second category are referred to throughout this chapter. Partnerships of the third category are discussed briefly at the end of this section.

Category 1: Partnering with boys and men drawn from target groups

The most commonly identified and most powerful partner across all cultures, age groups, target populations and sites of intervention, is men themselves. Boys and men who are themselves engaged in equality issues to some degree, or who have the courage to raise an 'alternative voice' to the dominant misogynistic voice of the mainstream culture, and who engage formally or informally in influencing and educating other boys and men, have been found to be the most valuable partners at all stages of interventions.

In Program H (in Brazil and Mexico), selected young men from low-income communities who articulate an alternative understanding of masculinity to the dominant definition are key partners from the very beginning of the development of the program. These men, who are themselves members of the target population of the program, help to

"define project objectives, test and develop materials, and offer ongoing advice on how to reach other young men with messages about gender equality."[473]

Similarly a condom poster campaign in East London targeting teenage boys and young men, engaged young men from within the target group in consultations to assist with the design, production and display of the posters. The young men helped the organizers of the campaign to identify ways to "encourage young men to use condoms, confront their fears on use of the contraception and point them in the direction of accessing sexual health services."[474]

In Ghana, EngenderHealth created a 'satisfied client' program whereby satisfied clients, who had been through the program, received training that empowered them to become community educators. These former clients then visited communities to facilitate discussions and promote relevant theoretical and practical knowledge of the issues addressed in the program. [475]

In the Dominican Republic, barbers trained in interpersonal communications reached half a million men with messages about the prevention of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STI). The barbers provided information about reproductive health clinics, STIs and condom use, as well as providing brochures and condoms.[476]

Boys and men from target populations can serve as excellent partners in efforts to engage their peers in gender equality issues for two important reasons: They naturally have a better understanding of ways to approach these issues with their peers than 'gender specialists' and others coming in from outside the community; and, gender research indicates that "for almost all issues, boys are more concerned with what other boys think

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[473] Gary Barker, Marcos Nascimento, Marcio Segundo, and Julie Perwitz, 'How do we know if men have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men: lessons from Program H in Latin America', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p.147

[474] Working with men, available from: http://www.workingwithmen.org/projects/, accessed October 7 2006

[475] James Lang, Gender Is Everyone's Business: Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality, Report of Workshop, 10-12 June, 2002, available from: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/gender/gem/wkshprep.htm, accessed October 6 2006

[476] United Nations Population Fund, UNFPA in Action - Case Study, available from: http://www.unfpa.org/gender/case.htm#1, accessed October 6 2006

and do than with what girls think and do. They look to their peers and men as models for shaping their own behaviour as boys." [477]

High profile male athletes, due to their popularity and status are potentially at higher risk of engaging in behaviour that puts themselves and their partners at risk for HIV infection, and at the same time they are a potentially valuable resource in the promotion of gender equitable and responsible behaviour. In South Africa the non-profit organization Targeted AIDS Interventions (TAI) trained soccer players from eight soccer teams identified by the South African Football Association, on issues such as sexuality, puberty, sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, and communication skills. The players, themselves members of a potential target group for gender equality interventions, became peer educators and partners in the process, reaching packed stadiums with their messages.[478]

Working with male athletes, and other male leaders can lend weight to messages that coming from women would be received without regard. In Uganda, for example, UNFPA projects that aim to involve men in promoting gender equality and women's reproductive health, have developed partnerships with elders, kings, bishops and imams, as these men represent the leaders of opinion in Ugandan culture.[479]

Similarly in Yemen, a conservative Moslem country, where gender equality is a particularly sensitive issue, fostering partnerships with influential men and male-dominated organizations has proven both essential and highly rewarding. For example in one part of Yemen three women-led Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) formed an advocacy group whose membership consisted of men who were highly regarded in their respective areas of work. These influential community leaders included policemen, judges, lawyers and academics and all had a commitment to gender equality and human

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[477] Alan Berkowitz, Peter Jaffe, Dean Peacock, Barri Rosenbluth and Carole Sousa, Young Men as Allies in Preventing Violence and Abuse, Family Violence Prevention Fund, Resources, available from: http://toolkit.endabuse.org/Resources/YoungMen/FVPFResource_view?searchterm=young%20men%20as%20allies, accessed October 6 2006

[478] Gaetane le Grange, 'Taking the bull...', p. 106

[479] United Nations Population Fund, 'Involving Men in Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Reproductive Health', UNFPA website, available from: http://www.unfpa.org/gender/men.htm, accessed October 6 2006

rights. [480] They added strength to the lobbying, alliance building and advocacy work of the NGOs.

Also in Yemen, the Women's National Committee (WNC) has engaged the highest religious institute in the country, the Ministry of Endowment, in raising awareness of gender equality issues. The work of the Ministry of Endowment relates to Sharia Law. Despite opposition from some key actors in the ministry, it has agreed to use the mosques to reach Moslem men with messages prepared by the WNC pertaining to violence and women's rights. [481]

Additionally, by collaborating with the Deputy Minister for the Interior, the WNC has been able to put a stop to the illegal behaviour of ministry staff who were refusing to issue travel documents directly to Yemenese women, insisting instead that the documents be issued via a male guardian -the latter practice having no basis in law. [482]

In many parts of the world traditional leaders[483] can serve as important partners in the process of engaging men in gender equality issues. These leaders can include village chiefs, traditional spiritual leaders, and representatives of the traditional justice systems. For example, in Mali, traditional leaders backed projects that aimed to engage men in matters of family planning and reproductive health. As a result, men's interest in the health of mothers and children increased and they embraced methods of child spacing that promote the wellbeing of mothers and children.[484]

Category 3: Partnering with non-gender focused organizations

Individuals and organizations that do not have an intrinsic gender focus but are open to collaboration in the work to engage men in gender equality are many and varied. The

[480] Magda Mohammed Elsanousi, 'Strategies and approaches', p. 169
[481] *Ibid.* p.172
[482] *Ibid.* p.172

[483] United Nations Population Fund, Chapter 4: Men, Reproductive Rights and Gender Equality, available from: http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2000/english/ch04.html, accessed October 6 2006.

[484] *Ibid.*

report from the 2003 Expert Group Meeting on The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality identified[485] religious organizations as desirable partners both because religious leaders' have influence over the attitudes and behaviour of boys and men, and because religious teachings can cultivate an appreciation for spiritual principles such as justice, equality, and respect.

In the same report the Experts identified the military as a potential partner in the work of engaging men in gender equality. Indeed, in many countries of the world the military is already playing an important and positive role in the development of gender identities and relationships. The military is working as a partner in efforts to prevent AIDS and gender-based violence in variety of nations.[486] For example in Cote d'Ivoire high-ranking military personnel were involved in a project that promoted responsible sexual behaviour and an improvement in reproductive health of families. The results of the project included an increase in condom use and a reduction in the number of sexually transmitted diseases.[487]

In a preliminary issues paper on the role of men and boys in the fight against HIV/AIDS in the world of work, the International Labour Office (ILO) proposed a series of education and policy related actions many of which pertain directly to the men's direct engagement in advancing equality between women and men. In this paper the ILO states that the tripartite members of the ILO – labour ministries, trade unions and employers - must play a leading role in changing attitudes, through " messages and action, laws, statutory benefits, taxation, child care provision, and equal opportunities initiatives" as well as challenging "behaviour ... practices... [and] structures, that lead to unequal treatment of men and women, girls and boys." They noted "the fact that men dominate a

[485] Robert Connell, Report of Expert Group Meeting on "The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality" 21 to 24 October 2003, Brasilia, Brazil, United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), p.18, available from: http://www.ashanet.org/focusgroups/sanctuary/articles/Connell-bp.pdf#search=%22report%20Online%20Discussion%20men%20and%20boys%20organized%20by%20the%20Division%20for%20the%20Advancement%20of%20Women%22, accessed October 2 2006.
[486] *Ibid.* p. 19
[487] United Nations Population Fund , UNFPA in Action - Case Study, available from: http://www.unfpa.org/gender/case.htm#1, accessed October 6 2006

number of formal sector occupations and workplaces can present an opportunity in terms of education and support for behaviour change."

Two specific actions proposed included providing workplace education for men about sexuality, psychosocial health, reproductive health, men's and women's social and economic roles, family responsibilities, and working time, using facilitated discussion and information-sharing techniques tailored specifically for men; and the promotion of zero-tolerance for violence and harassment against women at work. The paper proposed that trade unions stress violence or harassment against women in the workplace as a union issue and disciplinary offence.[488]

The White Ribbon Campaign is a campaign to end men's violence against women. The organizers seek to build alliances with 'less conventional partners':

> The White Ribbon creed is clear: to end violence against women. Anyone that subscribes to this creed – no matter what their political or philosophical views may be – is welcome under the big tent to confront the issue at hand. This approach recognizes that there will be differences, but that they can be set aside for the time being in order to form a stronger and more widespread alliance of men and women opposed to violence. Thus, businesses, religious organizations, labour unions and other groups can stand together as a unified alliance.[489]

8.5 Target Populations and Sites of interventions

Projects and programmes engaging boys and men in gender equality and related issues have targeted a vast array of groups of boys and men in a similarly vast array of intervention sites. Men as fathers, men as husbands, adolescent boys, men as soldiers, men as religious leaders, men as batterers, men as rapists as well as combinations of the above – such as adolescent fathers- are just a few of the hundreds of categories of men whose engagement has been sought in various ways. These boys and men have

[488] International Labour Office (ILO) , Preliminary issues paper: The role of men and boys in the fight against HIV/AIDS in the world of work, Switzerland, 2003, available from: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/gender/docs/EVT/94/F1351892840/CSW%20Expert%20Group%20Meeting%202003%20ILO%20Issues%20Paper.doc, accessed October 7 2006

[489] James Lang, 'Gender Is Everyone's Business'.

participated in interventions in their low-income communities, middle-class communities, workplaces, educational institutions, as well as in prisons, recreational clubs, through the Internet and many other sites. In this section I have selected one particularly interesting target group and one particularly important site of intervention and will discuss each of these, in depth.

8.5.1 Schools as intervention sites

The report of the Expert Group Meeting on the Role of Boys and Men in Gender Equality recognised schools as a key site of intervention in terms of reaching boys and youth with gender equality messages. The report acknowledged that schools as intervention sites are not without their challenges and complexities[490], but stated that "schools ... are ... important sites for learning about gender equality, and ...of change towards a gender-equal culture."[491] The report of the online discussion organized by the Division of the Advancement of Women stated that "[f]ormal education is ... one of the most important agencies in gender reform" but also warned that "the specific ways in which education can operate in relation to men and boys needs careful thought."[492]

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[490] Challenges noted in the report included the fact that education is widely recognized as contributing to the production of gender inequality; having realistic classroom discussions about gender roles is not easy; teachers and school administrators often have their own deep-seated gender-based prejudices; parents sometimes resist challenging gender-based injustices; introducing gender in the classroom is complicated by gender inequalities in the education system itself; and in many parts of the world, boys are socialized or permitted to be sexually aggressive toward girls within the school system. Reference: Robert Connell, Report of Expert Group Meeting on "The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality" 21 to 24 October 2003, Brasilia, Brazil, United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), p.18, available from: http://www.ashanet.org/focusgroups/sanctuary/articles/Connell-bp.pdf#search=%22report%20Online%20Discussion%20men%20and%20boys%20organized%20by%20the%20Division%20for%20the%20Advancement%20of%20Women%22, accessed October 2 2006.

Additionally Allen Berkowitz and his colleagues Peter Jaffe, Dean Peacock, Barri Rosenbluth & Carole Sousa refer to "limited resources, labyrinthine school districts, and onerous testing requirements" linking these to the fact that school personnel may feel overwhelmed by the work they already have; violence prevention advocates may feel that schools are too big and bureaucratic; key stakeholders may be ambivalent about the effectiveness of prevention efforts or doubt the possibility of changing boys' behaviour or alternatively may deny the existence of the problem of violence against girls and women. Reference: Alan Berkowitz, Peter Jaffe, Dean Peacock, Barri Rosenbluth and Carole Sousa, Young Men as Allies in Preventing Violence and Abuse, Family Violence Prevention Fund, Resources, available from: http://toolkit.endabuse.org/Resources/YoungMen/FVPFResource_view?searchterm=young%20men%20as%20allies,accessed October 6 2006

[491] Robert Connell, Report of Expert Group Meeting on "The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality" 21 to 24 October 2003, Brasilia, Brazil, United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), p.18, available from: http://www.ashanet.org/focusgroups/sanctuary/articles/Connell-bp.pdf#search=%22report%20Online%20Discussion%20men%20and%20boys%20organized%20by%20the%20Division%20for%20the%20Advancement%20of%20Women%22, accessed October 2 2006.

[492] United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Report on the online Discussion on The Role of Men and Boys in Equality, 30 June to 25 July 2003. p. 13, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/online.html, accessed October 6 2006.

Alan Berkowitz and colleagues argue that schools serve as the 'perfect site' for comprehensive interventions on gender equality, relationships and violence. School students, Berkowitz suggests, are receiving important messages about these things throughout their years at school. Schools are key sites for the development of understandings of social norms. Children who grow up in a school environment where other students, teachers, counsellors, nurses, administrators, and other school personnel provide positive gender role-models and respond quickly and negatively to abusive behaviour, are more likely to assume that girls and boys, women and men deserve equal treatment and respect.[493]

Two decades of experience have shown that comprehensive programs implemented in schools can reduce violence-related problems and strengthen the unity of schools. Because "most violence is not random and does not take place between strangers, but ... in the context of personal relationships" the importance of programs that help students develop attitudes and skills for healthy relationships is apparent. School is often the place where boys form their first friendships and 'romantic' relationships with girls and is thus a prime site for the promotion of these attitudes and skills.[494]

For disadvantaged young men with no access to resources outside of school and lacking programmes within the school system that help them understand themselves as boys, as partners, and as members of communities, school is often merely step one in a process that includes suspension, expulsion, and prison – a process some call the 'schools to prison pipeline' experienced by many young men of colour. As punitive approaches to boys' inequitable attitudes and/or violent behaviour reap little but further destruction, it becomes a matter of import for schools to provide access to appropriate knowledge and skills for building positive relationships.[495]

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[493] Alan Berkowitz et al., 'Young Men as Allies', unpaginated.

[494] *Ibid.*

[495] *Ibid.*

The report of the online discussion organized by the Division of the Advancement of Women identified four key ways to advance boys engagement with gender equality within schools: Development of curricula and pedagogies which allow boys and youth to interrogate masculinities and gender relations; inclusion of gender equality perspectives in mainstream educational programmes; engagement of youth in camps and workshops as fora for the exploration of gender equality and related issues; and teacher education programmes that equip teachers to deal with gender equality issues.[496]

Efforts to engage boys in gender equality through any of these four avenues must pay due regard to the finding that "one-time approaches are unlikely to have much of a long-term impact on attitudes and behaviours". In some cases approaches that are "piecemeal [including]one-time classroom presentations or occasional school assemblies" can have a negative effect inasmuch as they can "reinforce the view that violence against women and girls is a peripheral issue that does not deserve serious, long-term attention." Thus, a review of the literature reveals, successful interventions must be part of long-term comprehensive programs, potentially involving inputs from multiple contributors.[497]

The 'development of curricula and pedagogies which allow boys and youth to interrogate masculinities and gender relations' and the 'inclusion of gender equality perspectives in mainstream educational programmes' do not always allow for in-depth focused attention on specific issues of gender equality or violence against women, as compared to camps and workshops that can be more intensive. However, as teachers' time is usually limited, integrating gender equality and violence prevention messages into existing curricula can be an effective way to reach students in the context of related subjects such as literature,

[496] United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Report on the online Discussion on The Role of Men and Boys in Equality, 30 June to 25 July 2003. p. 13, available from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/online.html, accessed October 6 2006.

[497] Alan Berkowitz et al., 'Young Men as Allies', unpaginated

social studies or history. Teachers can challenge "underlying values, attitudes, and behaviours regarding gender, race, and oppression"[498] as they teach mainstream courses.

The 'engagement of youth in camps and workshops as forums for the exploration of gender equality and related issues' can be powerful opportunities for the focus of intensive, explicit attention to these issues in order to promote change in attitudes and behaviours. Camps and workshops can provide opportunity for students to engage with representatives of diverse groups in the community, whose diversity can demonstrate the fact that gender inequality and violence against women are issues that impact on people of "diverse races, cultures, physical abilities, educational levels, and socio-economic status"[499] and that these issues are of serious concern to many and important people.

The fourth avenue for engaging boys and men in gender equality within schools mentioned in the report of the online discussion organized by the Division of the Advancement of Women is the provision of teachers with adequate training to enable them to deal with gender equality issues. School principals and administrators need to ensure that teachers are given time, materials and training to develop their capacity to address gender equality issues. This can include increased knowledge and skills pertaining to dealing with gender equality issues, including sexual harassment or violence, as well as familiarity with relevant community resources. Successful interventions may also target parents through seminars, meetings, written communication and information sharing during regular parent-teacher forums. Additionally the students themselves can educate parents through creative presentations, which in turn develop the students' performing arts and public speaking skills.[500]

8.5.2 Bystanders as target group

The value of schools as intervention sites has been widely recognized in various parts of the world. As a result a huge range of projects have been implemented and materials have been developed targeting schoolboys. Some approaches directed at schoolboys

[498] *Ibid.*
[499] *Ibid.*
[500] *Ibid.*

address them as potential or actual perpetrators of gender-based violence (with the corresponding focus on girls as potential or actual victims). Many approaches target male school students as potential or actual partners and fathers. Still others address the boys simply as human beings whose existence will be enriched by a greater understanding of how gender inequalities limit both boys and girls.

One particularly innovative and successful approach has been Jackson Katz' Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) Model which utilizes a creative "bystander" approach to curb gender violence. Male students are readily engaged in MVP programmes because they are related to " not as perpetrators or potential perpetrators, but as empowered bystanders who can confront abusive peers – and support abused ones." (Similarly girls are targeted "not as victims or potential targets of harassment, rape and abuse, but as empowered bystanders who can support abused peers - and confront abusive ones".)[501]

The model draws on interactive discussion to create awareness and increase knowledge and skills. The MVP interventions use:

> real-life scenarios that speak to the experiences of young men ... in high school, college, and other areas of social life. The chief curricular innovation of MVP is a training tool called the Playbook, which consists of a series of realistic scenarios depicting abusive male ... behaviour. The Playbook... transports participants into scenarios as witnesses to actual or potential abuse, then challenges them to consider a number of concrete options for intervention before, during, or after an incident.[502]

By focusing on specific scenarios and by engaging boys and young men to consider how they might behave as bystanders, defensiveness and resistance is greatly reduced and a safe environment is created for spontaneous, in-depth, open and wide-ranging discussions on "masculinity, femininity, gender relations, abuses of power and conformist

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[501] Jackson Katz, 'Mentors in violence prevention (MVP): Gender Violence Prevention Education & Training', available from: http://www.jacksonkatz.com/mvp.html, accessed October 7 2006

[502] *Ibid.*

behaviour" which in turn leads to more proactive and preventive responses.[503] (For samples of specific scenarios please see Annex 4.)

Recognising both the importance of "early buy-in and follow-through on the part of key administrators and faculty" and the fact that many teachers, sports coaches and others may resist engaging in gender equality issues, the promoters of the MVP model present the trainings for trainers (targeting staff) as leadership training. Experience has shown that "[b]y defining the issues of gender violence ... as leadership issues for educators as well as students, it is possible to garner the support of a broader spectrum of ... allies and supporters than has been common to date."[504]

8.6 Methodologies and Techniques

The variety of methodologies employed by people working with men on gender equality is seemingly infinite. Basically any method used by any person or group to influence or educate another person or group can be applied to work with men and gender equality. Interventions have involved counselling services[505]; popular education[506]; marketing campaigns supported by celebrities[507]; rock concerts[508]; men-only seminars, Parent Teacher Association meetings and conferences;[509] and so on.

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[503] *Ibid.*
[504] *Ibid.*
[505] Sandy Ruxton, 'Introduction', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p.14
James Lang, Gender Is Everyone's Business: Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality, Report of Workshop, 10-12 June, 2002, available from: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/gender/gem/wkshprep.htm, accessed October 6 2006
[506] Sandy Ruxton, 'Introduction', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p.14
[507] James Lang, Gender Is Everyone's Business: Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality, Report of Workshop, 10-12 June, 2002, available from: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/gender/gem/wkshprep.htm, accessed October 6 2006

[508] Sandy Ruxton, 'Introduction', p.14
[509] Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork', p. 121

In this section I will focus on two approaches that have proven particularly successful: the use of the arts; and the use of open discussions for men only. I will also make brief mention of problems encountered with some approaches.

8.6.1 Use of the Arts

The arts have been widely used all over the world to engage men in gender equality. Boys and men who do not have the interest or opportunity to be involved in more formal approaches (such as workshops, trainings, discussion groups) can be positively influenced through the very same media that help to generate sexism – traditional song, dance, theatre, soap operas, televised debates, documentaries, movies, radio shows, cartoons, books and comics, photography, exhibitions, and others.

While some of these (such as film production) require specialized skills and financial resources, others require very little. For example in schools in Brazil fathers, mothers and children were divided into separate groups and asked to draw life-size pictures of a father with children. The drawings, which were then displayed in a huge exhibition, served as a reflection of men's relationships and provided stimulus for reflection.[510]

In the Caribbean, performing arts programmes have used music and theatre in public places and in schools to promote gender equity, responsible sexuality and parenting, and prevent child abuse and incest. The performances serve as the stimulus for discussions in which audiences are subsequently engaged. [511] In Bolivia, Malaysia and Cameroon music, dance and theatre were used not only to stimulate thought and discussion on issues related to gender equality but also to present problems that had been identified and learning that had already taken place. It thus served a dual purpose – engaging and educating audiences and consolidating learning and changes in project participants.[512] These traditional media have been found to be relatively non-threatening and effective. Song, dance and theatre have also been used successfully in western cultures. Add Verb

[510] Benno de Keijzer, 'Masculinities', p. 42
[511] Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork', p.123

[512] Bahá'í Topics, an information source, 'UNIFEM/Bahá'í Project Raises Community Consciousness', 1993, available from: http://info.Bahá'í.org/article-1-7-6-14.html, accessed October 7

Productions Arts and Education is an example of an American-based organization that promotes the use of theatre to create social change.[513]

Television and film have been used with great success worldwide both as entertainment as an educational tool. In Jamaica a long-running television program called *Man Talk* used a 'bar-type setting' to debate cultural definitions of manhood and fatherhood.[514] In Brazil, a television campaign has been used to reach adolescent fathers with information about roles and responsibilities.[515]

Films that build awareness about gender relations and promote responsible attitudes toward women and toward sexual relations are a key feature of a project called "Let's Talk Men" which targets men in Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan.[516] Similarly, in Scandinavia a film called Brev till män (A letter to men) targets men with gender equality messages. In the United States, NOMAS (National Organization for Men Against Sexism) has produced a ten part series on Men and Masculinity in which the host engages in 'illuminating discussions' about 'male socialization, sex role identity, the prevalence and prevention of male violence, competition and hierarchies, male-female relations, privilege and prejudice, homophobia, parenting, men in prisons, the intersection of race, class, and gender, [and] internalised oppression'.[517]

Tough Guise, an educational video about masculine identities geared toward American high school and college students, is one of more than twenty Media Education Foundation documentary videos that raise gender equality related issues in innovative and thought provoking ways. *Tough Guise* uses racially diverse subject matter and examples

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[513] Add Verb Productions Arts & Education, available from: http://www.addverbproductions.com/contact.html accessed October 7 2006

[514] Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork', p.124

[515] United Nations Population Fund, Chapter 4: Men, Reproductive Rights and Gender Equality, available from: http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2000/english/ch04.html, accessed October 6 2006.

[516] *Ibid.*

[517] The National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS), available from: http://www.nomas.org/resources.html, accessed October 7 2006

to 'enlighten and provoke students ...to evaluate their ...participation in the culture of contemporary masculinity'[518].

A cartoon video developed in workshop processes with young men in diverse settings in Latin America and the Caribbean is used as a tool to stimulate and contextualise discussions with young men about the ways in which they were socialised as men and the ways in which they can challenge the negative aspects of that socialisation. The wordless cartoon quickly engages young men, transfers easily across cultures and provides a 'canvas' onto which young men can project their personal stories. It uses a pencil and eraser as a metaphor for gender socialization, erasing certain kinds of thoughts and behaviours. [519] Called "Once Upon a Boy" the cartoon presents the story of a young man from early childhood through adolescence to early adulthood. "Scenes include the young man witnessing violence in his home, interactions with his male peer group, social pressures to behave in certain ways to be seen as a 'real man', his first unprotected sexual experience, having a sexually transmitted infection (STI) and facing an unplanned pregnancy."[520]

A particularly efficacious and cost effective use of the arts to engage men in gender equality and related issues has been the use of radio and television melodramas. In Ethiopia, after two and a half years of national broadcasts, one half of the country's adult population were regular listeners to the radio melodrama *Yeken Kignit*. Research indicated that the melodrama had influenced married couples' communications about family planning resulting in a 157 per cent increase in demand for contraception. Similarly in Tanzania *Twende na Wakati* – the story of a womanising truck driver and his family – became the most popular radio show in the country after six months on air. Eighty-two per cent of listeners linked their reduction of risky sexual behaviours to the impact of the radio show. Condom distribution increased by 153 per cent and health

[518] See http://www.uua.org/re/faithworks/fall03/curriculumandlearningresourcesd.html
[519] Gary Barker, Marcos Nascimento, Marcio Segundo, and Julie Perwitz, 'How do we know if men have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men: lessons from Program H in Latin America', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p. 152
[520] *Ibid.*

clinics reported that 41 per cent of new contraceptive users were influenced by the series.[521]

Twende na Wakati was one of many 'entertainment-education' projects supported by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The Population Media Center (PMC) is an organization which was established in response to the overwhelming success of the UNFPA projects. PMC works to effect positive social change through broadcast media around the world and is currently working with UNFPA on broadcast projects in Ethiopia, the Philippines and Rwanda.[522]

The serials used in these projects are written locally and tailored to specific cultural and social realities. Despite the diversity of character and story line, the creation of the radio dramas follows a carefully researched formula. Each drama must be 'entertaining and intense'. According to the founder of PMC it is the "emotional bonding between the audience and the character that makes the method effective...Engaging emotions, through sound effects and heightened drama, is a powerful way to influence behaviours, such as those surrounding intimate relationships, that are not necessarily guided by reason. Moreover, the emotion sears the social messages into the memory of listeners."[523]

To maximize on this the plots unfold gradually and social content on subjects that may be considered taboo is not introduced until several months after a show begins. This provides time for the audience to 'get to know' the characters and become gripped by the drama of their lives. Each story line has a negative character who makes bad choices and suffers the consequences; a positive role model; and a transitional character who faces suffering and doubt but who learns to make good choices, take greater control over her/his life and enjoys the positive effects of these choices.

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[521] Population Media Center, 'Soap Operas for Social Change to Prevent HIV/AIDS: A Training Guide for Journalists and Media Personnel, UNFPA, 2005, available from: http://www.unfpa.org/publications/detail.cfm?ID=271&filterListType, accessed October 7 2006

[522] *Ibid.*
[523] *Ibid.*

> In the conflicting choices faced by these characters, listeners see their own lives unfolding. They learn vicariously...by seeing positive steps rewarded and bad actions punished. This often leads to a growing sense of self-efficacy – the idea that ...destiny relies on more than twists of fate.[524]

Photography has also been used to engage men in gender equality. One project provided community members with Polaroid instant cameras. Community members (project participants) were then encouraged to take photos of men and women in their communities at various points throughout the day. The photos were used to highlight the differences in the burdens borne by women and by men in the community in terms of daily labour and responsibilities.[525] Another South African based project, *The Fatherhood Project*, uses photos taken by professional photographers, students and children to present images of fatherhood accompanied by words of children talking about fathers, and of men talking about the way they see themselves. Some of these words and images have been used as part of a travelling photographic exhibition. [526]

8.6.2 Men-only Discussion Groups

One of the most widely used and most rewarding approaches for the engagement of men in gender equality is also one of the most simple and inexpensive. Men-only discussion groups have been used throughout the world as a stand-alone activity and as a part of workshops, trainings, conferences and other interventions.

Gender-workshop facilitators have noted that men who resist acknowledging the power-related dimensions of gender roles within the workshop sessions are often "intensely interested" in discussing changes in gender roles and gendered power in informal settings between or after sessions. These facilitators have noticed that opportunities to talk

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[524] *Ibid.*

[525] Bahá'í Topics, an information source, 'UNIFEM/Bahá'í Project Raises Community Consciousness', 1993, available from: http://info.Bahá'í.org/article-1-7-6-14.html, accessed October 7

[526] Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, The Fatherhood Project, South Africa, 2005, available from: http://www.hsrc.ac.za/fatherhood/introduction/introduction.html, accessed October 7 2006

informally about families, upbringings, and influences serve to break down barriers between people and lead to meaningful and honest sharing.[527]

Sakhli's experience working with policemen in Tbilisi found that providing opportunity within workshops for men to freely express their opinions and attitudes helped to create an atmosphere of collaboration and trust which is a prerequisite for any successful intervention addressing issues as 'sensitive' as gender relations.[528]

Salud y Género working with men as fathers, has found that some of the most "intense and interesting workshop experiences" have arisen when time and openness have allowed male workshop participants opportunity to discuss their childhood and the way that has impacted on their understanding of fatherhood. The power of these unstructured men-only discussions, as compared to lectures and other formal information-sharing approaches, has been witnessed with men of all ages and social groups, across all cultures.

An important aspect of these discussions, despite their often unstructured and informal nature, can be quality facilitation. It is important that the facilitator maintain a "safe" environment throughout the discussion.[529] It is also important that the topic for discussion be presented in a meaningful way to the participants. For example, providing opportunity to a group of men to talk about 'gender violence' may not elicit much response, while the question *"How do you feel about a man beating up your sister?"* may lead to open sharing and ultimately a valuable discussion about gender violence. [530]

Male Oxfam staff who had been actively involved in gender related issues and projects over an extended period still valued the chance to "speak among themselves and to share their views" when the opportunity arose during a workshop specifically targeting male

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[527] Maree Keating, 'The things they don't tell you', p.53
[528] Rusudan Pkhakadze and Nana Khoshtaria, 'Addressing men's role in family violence: the experience of the 'Sakhli' Women's Advice Center, Georgia' in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004. p.138
[529] Maree Keating, 'The things they don't tell you', p.56
[530] James Lang, 'Gender is Everyone's Business', p.1

Oxfam staff. They "strongly recommended" that opportunity be provided for regular informal and open dialogues on gender issues, with a particular focus on the way gender issues pertain to their personal and family lives. Some men favoured conducting weekly informal discussions; others suggested bi-monthly men-only discussions with bi-annual mixed-sex discussion groups. Representatives of other organizations have also articulated a need for internal processes where spaces for discussion are created and male staff can "challenge [them]selves in supportive environments".[531]

Offering an explanation for the success of men-only discussion groups Minesha Mehta and colleagues argue that as "men are socialised in groups (in the schoolyard, at home, in religious institutions, on the playing field, in their workplace) it makes sense to provide alternative experiences of group socialization..." These experiences allow men "to build connections with other men and to experience themselves differently as men." Perhaps most importantly, they suggest, men-only group discussions provide a forum for men, in the company of other men, to express their dissatisfaction and concern about the roles and expectations they face as men.[532]

Benno de Keijzer, working with men in Mexico has found that "the two main forces for change are the understanding of power dynamics in relationships and contact with emotions." Both of these can often be achieved in men-only discussions where men can be temporarily released from the restraints of cultural tradition and can access and express fear, sadness and tenderness. However, the process of addressing these emotions can be overwhelming for some men and de Keijzer has witnessed a high dropout rate from some groups.[533]

The value of single-sex discussion groups is based in the fact that many men feel "uncomfortable and defensive when discussing gender issues with women" and in the

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[531] Michael Kaufman, 'Transforming our interventions', p. 26

[532] Manisha Mehta, Dean Peacock, and Lissette Bernal, 'Men as Partners: lessons learned from engaging men in clinics and communitites', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, p. 95

[533] Benno de Keijzer, 'Masculinities', p. 44

absence of women they feel freer to explore more fully their personal perspectives issues such as relationships, children, and the media, which influence their understanding and commitment to gender equality.[534]

8.6.3 Problems and Pitfalls

One problem faced by practitioners engaged in formal gender training in diverse cultures is the use of foreign gender frameworks to which participants and/or the trainers themselves cannot relate.[535] This emphasizes the need for working with target populations in the development of interventions.

Another problem pertains to the degree of agency allowed to participants. When men participate in gender trainings in their capacity as government or NGO representatives and their participation is solely in response to demands from donors, they may be so resistant as to jeopardize the impact of the training for all participants.[536]

A third problem pertains to working with single-sex groups. In St Kitts-Nevis the government organized 13-week courses for men on parenting-related issues. These courses proved to be very successful until facilitators tried to bring men and women together. Partners of the male participants were invited to a session in the fourteenth week to "share the results of the sessions and to try to improve communication." Despite the apparent success of the program and presumed change in the participants, they found it difficult to share sharing their feelings with their partners and the session became confrontational.[537] This experience shows the potential limitation of working solely with single-sex groups. While it provides the 'safe' space necessary for change, it does not provide for a corresponding change in inter-sex communication nor does it work to

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[534] Michael Kaufman, 'Transforming our interventions'. p.15
[535] S.J.R. Cummings , H. van Dam, and M. Valk (eds.), *Gender Training The Source Book: Critical Reviews and Annotated Bibliographies Series*, The Netherlands, 1998, p.22
[536] *Ibid.* p.22

[537] Janet Brown, 'Fatherwork', p.122

ensure that important people in the men's immediate surroundings are aware and supportive of their attempts to transform their attitudes and behaviour.

In the consideration of men-only discussion groups above, it was mentioned that for some men the openness of the discussions can be overwhelming. Similarly Rozan , a Pakistani NGO, has found that, despite the overall success of the "self-growth" component of their interventions, for some, change is too great a challenge to undertake. It is not uncommon for men to sit "silently through the process" finding it "too difficult to open up and share."[538]

8.7 Evaluations

Despite the ever-increasing number of interventions seeking to engage men in gender equality, there appears to be a dearth of valid and comprehensive evaluation tools. As part of its worldwide Gender Equality and Men (GEM) project, in 2002 Oxfam GB hosted a workshop titled "Gender is Everyone's Business: Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality". One of the aims of the workshop was to bring togetherthe latest theory and practice related to men, masculinities and development. Attendees included Oxfam staff from various national offices as well as representatives from at least eight partner organizations working in the area of men and gender equality. Participants – leaders in the field of men and gender equality - identified a need for more and better tools for evaluation. They identified a need to carry out their work (confronting inequalities) "more effectively and with more sustainable results", suggested that projects required "constant evaluation" and acknowledged that evaluation and impact assessment was important not only to "reflect positive and negative impacts and ... give a clearer picture of the needs of the community" but also to justify spending to donors.[539]

[538] James Lang, 'Gender is Everyone's Business'.
[539] *Ibid.*

Papers, articles and publications presenting information about interventions frequently refer only briefly, if at all, to evaluation and impact assessment. Detailed discussion of the development and application of evaluation tools is almost non-existent.

However, information can be gleaned from various sources regarding what changes were measured. For example it is reported that two-thirds of men who participated in workshops offered by the NGO CaNTERA in Nicaragua, reported *a different self-image* and more than two-thirds reported *being less violent*. Half of female partners of participants reported *significantly less violence from their partners* and a further twenty one per cent reported that their *male partners were a little less violent*.[540]

UNFPA claimed that Male Call, a project implemented in the Philippines, was successful, saying the "[e]valuations showed that the project *improved men's relationships with their wives*". More specifically they noted that successes included "*more family planning acceptors, more prenatal check-ups* and *pap smears* and *more treatment of reproductive tract infections*".[541]

Important exceptions to the overall lack of detailed information about evaluation approaches and tools include information about: Oxfam's approach to impact assessment and Promundo's Gender-equitable Men (GEM) scale.

8.7.1 Oxfam's Approach to Impact Assessment

At the abovementioned workshop ("Gender is Everyone's Business: Programming with Men to Achieve Gender Equality") Chris Roche, introducing Oxfam's approach to impact assessment, explained that impact assessment can take place from the 'outside in' or the 'inside out'. That is, one can consider how well a project's objectives have been met, which produces a limited understanding of change because 'it excludes the context

[540] Alan Berkowitz, 'Working with Men to Prevent Violence Against Women: Program Modalities and Formats (Part Two), VAWnet Applied Research Forum, National Resource Center on Domestic Violence, 2004, p.2, available from: http://www.vawnet.org/DomesticViolence/Research/VAWnetDocs/AR_MenPreventVAW2.php, accessed October 9 2006 (emphasis added)

[541] United Nations Population Fund, 'Involving Men in Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Reproductive Health', 2005, available from http://www.unfpa.org/gender/men.htm, accessed October 9 2006.

in which [a project] operates." Or one can assess the overall changes to people's lives, ask people themselves how important the changes are and what has caused them.

Roche further explained that Oxfam impact assessment includes self-assessment by frontline staff, peer review, and formal evaluations. Project impact is judged against five criteria: " impact on the lives of poor women, men, and children; ...degree of their involvement; changes in policies, practices, ideas and beliefs;... contribution of the project towards enhanced gender equity; and its likely sustainability."[542]

Four indicators are used to assess progress toward gender equity: "more equalparticipation in decision making processes; more equal access to and control over resources; reduction in gender stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes towards women and girls; and [a reduction] in gender-related violence.

Participants at the workshop identified other indicators that could be used to measure change, which included an increase in men's ownership of unpaid work; an increase in women's decision making and leadership; a decrease in male violence; equal pay for the same work; and equal treatment of daughters and sons.[543]

8.7.2 Gender-equitable Men (GEM) scale[544]

The GEM scale was developed to measure the impact of Program H[545] but also to promote greater understanding of how change takes place, and to ensure that those implementing Program H had clear and realistic objectives in terms of changes the program could produce.

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[542] James Lang, 'Gender Is Everyone's Business'.
[543] *Ibid.*
[544] All information about the GEM scale is taken from Gary Barker, Marcos Nascimento, Marcio Segundo, and Julie Perwitz, 'How do we know if men have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men: lessons from Program H in Latin America', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004

[545] 'Program H' is an initiative developed in Latin America to promote more gender-equitable attitudes among young men. It works in both group educational settings and at the community level to change community norms about what it means to be a man.

From baseline research carried out within the target populations, four characteristics of 'more gender-equitable young men' were identified. These characteristics were observed in some young men in the target communities and came to serve as the benchmark. This ensured that the evaluation model was "grounded in the real life behaviours and attitudes of young men, and not in an idealised or theoretical idea of ...gender equitable behaviours and attitudes...". Additionally in identifying desired outcomes the creators of the GEM scale drew on: ongoing discussions with a group of young men who served as peer promoters and advisors; conversations with women in the communities; and international human rights and women's rights declarations and conventions.

As a result, Program H sought to encourage young men to: "seek relationships with women based on equality and intimacy rather than sexual conquest"; " seek to be involved fathers... meaning ... take both financial and at least some care-giving responsibility for their children"; "assume some responsibility for reproductive health and disease prevention issues"; and "oppose violence against women".

These four desired outcomes were used to develop indicators in the form of a scale of attitude questions.[546] Thus the GEM Scale came to consist of 35 questions related to: "gender roles in the home and child care-giving"; "gender roles in sexual relationships"; "shared responsibility for reproductive health and disease prevention"; "intimate partner violence"; and "homosexuality and close relationships with other men".

> Attitude questions or statements included affirmations of traditional gender norms, such as: "Men are always ready to have sex." "A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family." "There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten." They also included affirmations of more gender-equitable views, such as: "A man and a woman should decide together what type of contraceptive to use." "It is important that a father is present in the lives of his children, even if he is no longer with the mother." These attitude questions were crafted based on the four objectives, as well as a

[546] This scale was one part of the evaluation, which also included interviews and discussions with group facilitators, young male participants, girlfriends of the male participants, public health staff and other professionals working with the youth.

> review of the literature on gender norms and socialisation among young men.... For each item, three answer choices were provided: I agree, I partially agree, and I do not agree.[547]

These questions were tested and the resulting data was used to create the final scale. Baseline research confirmed that "the attitude questions held together, meaning that young men answered in fairly internally consistent ways" and that the GEM Scale is a useful tool for assessing men's attitudes about gender relations and for measuring changes in these attitudes. The GEM Scale's validity has been tested and it has proven valid. The possibilities for use of modified versions of the GEM Scale in other parts of the world (outside Latin America) are now being explored.

Based on experience developing Program H and the GEM Scale the following recommendations have been made:

> Programs working with men in promoting gender equality should rely on the voices of men and women at the community level to develop realistic indicators or outcome measures. The alternative voices of men who show greater equality should inform program development. These young men should also be engaged at all levels of program development.
>
> Evaluation must include both individual men, who can be encouraged to question and reflect about traditional views, as well as the community level, where norms are promoted.
>
> Attitude questions applied through a questionnaire as well as qualitative research should be combined, so that we understand how change takes place and can more closely listen to the voices and realities of women and men involved.

[547] Gary Barker, Marcos Nascimento, Marcio Segundo, and Julie Perwitz, 'How do we know if men have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men: lessons from Program H in Latin America', in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, Sandy Ruxton (ed.), Great Britain, 2004, pp.155-6