

Building a “Big Tent” Approach to Ending Men’s Violence

By Jackson Katz

(with contributions from James Lang)

Abstract

Men’s violence against women and children touches all of our lives and impacts the health of our communities. Yet to date we have not been successful in lowering the rates of perpetration, in part because we have not engaged large groups of potential allies—including men. This paper explores the potential of the growing “big tent” approach to ending men’s violence and envisions what this approach might accomplish. It argues for an expansion of prevention work and gives examples of how we might begin to engage more individuals and organizations—specifically those with a large male membership—in our common struggle against violence. The paper is followed by a set of six case studies, each highlighting the efforts of organizations from different sectors to include more men in gender violence prevention. The case studies represent only a sampling of the initiatives in the United States and around the world that comprise the “big tent.”

Introduction

It is time we tried something new. Men’s violence against women, children, and other men has persisted at pandemic rates for far too long. This violence, in particular domestic and sexual violence, has destroyed too many families, torn away at the fabric of our communities, and absorbed a tremendous amount of precious resources. The time has come for people of all socioeconomic, ethnic, racial, and cultural backgrounds, as well as all religious and political beliefs, to gather in solidarity to put an end to it.

The time has come for individuals, organizations, and communities to build broad coalitions to prevent gender violence. Specifically, we need to engage more men in such efforts, not only because it is mostly men who are perpetrators, but also because most people in leadership positions—in governments, organizations, and communities—are men.

Gender violence takes many forms: coercion, threats, and physical, sexual, and psychological abuse. It includes domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, stalking, sex trafficking, and child sexual abuse. It also includes gay-bashing and other forms of violence, such as same-sex bullying, not typically thought of as gender based. Although the primary focus of this paper is men’s violence against women and children, it should be noted that, regardless of the gender of their victims, men commit the vast majority of acts of interpersonal violence. In addition, men and boys constitute the majority of *victims* of other men’s violence, especially in the categories of murder, attempted murder, assault, and aggravated assault.

Violence is not inherently part of being a man; men and boys are *taught* to use violence. In the 21st century, violence is still too often accepted, both implicitly and explicitly, as a means to resolve conflict, or to establish and maintain control in interpersonal relationships. Despite alarmingly high rates of men’s violence, however, we know that

most men are not violent. Until now, however, the vast majority of men have remained silent about this violence. It is time for us to reach that silent majority and engage them in ending men's violence.

Where We Stand Today

The multicultural battered women's and rape crisis movements, along with their allies in local, state, national, and international agencies, have accomplished a great deal over the past 30 years. In the United States, there is now an infrastructure of shelters and other support services for battered women and their children. Legal reforms have been enacted that increasingly prioritize victim safety. Thousands of law enforcement and court personnel, including police, prosecutors, and judges, now receive training on gender violence issues. Many school districts around the country (although far from a majority) include youth outreach and education on gender violence issues. Public service campaigns in the broadcast and print media, by organizations such as the Family Violence Prevention Fund, have helped raise general public awareness about domestic violence.

Despite these accomplishments, however, there has not been much discernible change in the rate of gender violence perpetration during this time period. This society continues to produce far too many men who assault children, women, or other men. Each year in the United States, between one and three million women are physically abused and/or raped by their intimate partners. And the problem is surfacing in younger and younger populations. One recent study found that one in five teen dating relationships contains some form of physical or sexual abuse, with males as perpetrators in the vast majority of cases. Most perpetrators of gender violence are not sociopaths or psychopaths, but are men who have learned to use force to maintain power and control over women, children, or other men, to "prove their manhood," or to try to get their emotional or physical needs met. Any prevention approach, to be truly effective, must transform this cultural environment within which boys and men learn to be violent.

Building a big tent of men who are committed to reducing men's violence entails better coordination of existing efforts, and building and maintaining new organizational alliances. It also requires a paradigm shift in our cultural perspective of what it means to be a man. Since violence is learned behavior, prevention strategies must teach boys and men how to be men in ways that do not involve abusing girls and women—physically, sexually, or emotionally. This sounds straightforward enough, but rape and battering prevention programs that incorporate a focus on redefining masculinity are still far from the educational mainstream.

A significant amount of gender violence prevention work has been undertaken in the past two decades. But most of it has focused on girls and women. They receive information on how to recognize warning signs of abusive relationships, to be aware of their surroundings at all times, and to be especially careful in situations where alcohol is present. This risk reduction approach is valuable, since it educates girls and women about ways to avoid victimization. But it does not address the root causes of the violence. In order for this to happen, the focus must shift to creating a social climate—in

male peer culture at all levels—in which the abuse of women is seen as completely unacceptable.

The case studies attached to this paper offer a glimpse into some of the innovative efforts that do make a connection between gender roles and violence, or that combine ending violence with achieving other social change objectives. Some of these programs have been in place for decades, but their successes and the lessons learned from their work have not been integrated into an overall national prevention approach. A comprehensive prevention strategy should involve wide-scale public discussion of the underlying social causes of men’s violence. The big tent is such a strategy. Its inclusive approach and its emphasis on bringing more men to the table offer another vehicle for transforming the social environments in which men’s violence occurs.

Defining the Big Tent Approach to Ending Men’s Violence

The big tent approach involves expanding dramatically the numbers of individuals and groups who are working actively to eliminate gender violence. For it to be sustainable, this approach must allow for many different voices, for it requires the collective knowledge, desire, and skills of many groups and constituencies and not simply “one-size-fits-all” thinking. For example, communities of color may have culturally specific needs and concerns that differ somewhat from those of the dominant culture. While the larger goal of ending men’s violence is shared by all under the big tent, strategies for achieving this goal may, of necessity, vary.

A big tent approach also includes reaching out to organizations that have not yet directly addressed gender violence but have worked in related fields. For example, there are many organizations that fight against child abuse or youth violence, that advocate for healthy families and communities, or that support vulnerable women and men. But they have never been part of a comprehensive gender violence prevention effort. A big tent approach to gender violence prevention would include such organizations because they already address issues that are closely connected to gender violence.

This approach would also include a wide array of national and local organizations that value violence-free communities but have not traditionally worked on issues closely connected to gender violence. Such organizations are those that represent students and schools, labor and business, the gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender community, and a variety of political persuasions and religious affiliations.

Such an approach will require cross-sector collaboration and effective coordination across community organizations and among government and community organizations. More service providers and civic leaders must work together, for example, on common policy goals to end men’s violence. A big tent approach will also engage people at different levels, through their personal commitments, organizational ties, and their roles in the broader political process, and will inspire more connections across these levels. While organizations consist of individuals with their own sets of beliefs and behaviors, these individuals help shape organizational cultures. In turn, organizations as a whole can influence both their individual members and broader public policies.

With such a wide array of groups engaged in this work at different levels, there are bound to be differences of opinion on many issues, including the causes of gender violence. Other problems may arise from the fact that individuals from different organizations or backgrounds speak very differently about this common problem. Whereas these are real challenges, such differences can contribute to the strength of the big tent approach. Because men's violence is a multi-faceted problem, its prevention requires a variety of perspectives and strategies.

In order to fit diversity of opinion under the same tent, we must center the work where there is common ground. Coalition building involves finding overlapping interests, not creating alliances between fully compatible partners. Instead of focusing on areas of potential conflict, the emphasis should be on points of agreement and shared objectives. If individuals and groups of men and women can agree that ending men's violence is a necessary and urgent objective, then many other differences can be tabled—at least for now.

Working Across the Prevention Spectrum

A big tent approach envisions a broad spectrum of possible prevention strategies that address the need for individual, institutional, and legislative change. (See the Prevention Institute case study, which outlines their “spectrum of prevention” and the different levels of prevention.) One program may focus on men changing their relationships, for example, while another may emphasize transforming the functioning of a male-dominated institution, and yet another may work on both levels through public policy initiatives. Under the big tent, each program works at these prevention levels in different ways because each location and cultural context requires a unique approach.

The individual level. Work at this level focuses on (a) relationships and (b) perceptions and beliefs regarding gender roles. Programs addressing men's violence have traditionally emphasized this personal transformation work. The personal sphere creates unique opportunities for men to take leadership in preventing violence. For example, fathers, grandfathers, brothers, and uncles can make it clear, especially to younger men and boys, that abusive behavior is neither welcome nor acceptable in their families or communities.

Men also have significant influence over other men and boys beyond their kinship networks. Men mentor boys and young men in a variety of contexts, including schools, athletics, after-school programs, the trades, the military, and the workplace. Peer groups of young men are also an important point of entry. One of many examples of peer outreach, Rio de Janeiro's Guy-to-Guy Project, identifies young men from low-income communities and trains them to work with other young men to promote sexual and reproductive health and to prevent gender violence (Barker et al., 2001). Each of these venues creates opportunities to work at the individual level to change beliefs about gender roles, to model non-violent behavior in relationships, and to express clear opposition to the use of violence against women.

Several of the case studies following this paper (i.e., I, IV, and V) outline ways in which individual men can take on leadership roles through example, commitment, and speaking out. Additionally, the work in Ramsey County, Minnesota (Case Study II) highlights the importance of creating more spaces where men can meet to dialogue about gender norms and ending men's violence.

The organizational level. Men and women who carry their own histories and perceptions concerning gender and violence shape the organizations in which they work, and define what behaviors are acceptable within those organizations. Organizations and agencies also have policies regarding sexual harassment, gender equality, and equal opportunity that help shape their cultures regarding gender violence. Some organizations require that new employees be trained in gender-related issues, especially sexual harassment and workplace violence. Some governmental and international agencies, as well as numerous non-governmental organizations, attempt to infuse gender issues throughout the organization, instituting policies and practices that encourage professional reflection about gender-based behaviors and that link gender equality to organizational mandates and goals.

Much of the work to create a big tent approach will be at this organizational level. Subsequent papers for this discussion series explore in greater detail how different types of institutions—intervention and prevention programs, fatherhood groups, and schools—can work together to end men's violence. And the case studies that follow this paper offer examples. The White Ribbon Campaign (Case Study I), for example, uses schools, workplaces and other organizations as venues for public education about the need for men to take a stand against gender violence. Faith-based institutions (Case Study V) educate religious leaders about domestic violence and help them lead their congregations to take a stand against such violence. In 2000, the New York Labor Union Coalition Against Domestic Violence (Case Study IV) began developing a curriculum and training program to educate union members about domestic violence and to rally union men's opposition to such violence.

Work at the organizational level helps establish gender violence as a public issue. It builds the capacity of institutions to deal more effectively with the problem and ensures that men play a role in speaking out against violence. In addition, organizations such as trade unions, schools, national associations, and local non-profits can strongly influence the creation and enforcement of better policies to prevent gender violence.

The policy level. Policy work includes advocating for better legislation to address men's violence and ensuring that laws reflect the roles and responsibilities of men. But policy work encompasses more than advocating for appropriate legislation on domestic violence. Ending men's violence is not a stand-alone issue; it is linked to laws regarding basic rights and entitlements, and a wider scope of prevention and safety. (For more on changing state government policies, see Case Study VI.) When these connections are made, it becomes clear that policy initiatives in the health, education, and labor sectors can be part of a national violence prevention effort.

In many countries throughout the world, for example, public policies to help end the spread of HIV/AIDS have been concerned both with changing men's attitudes and with ending gender violence. (See Case Study III on Engender Health's work in South Africa.) There are efforts to design high school and university-level curricula that more explicitly explore the creation and consequences of gender roles. Some policy strategies encourage more equitable behaviors in men with regard to childcare, which, according to the research, can reduce men's use of violence. In this regard, some European countries have passed paternity leave laws that allow men to take time off from employment to stay home and care for their children.

Linking Violence Prevention with Other Public Policy Goals

Men's violence fundamentally obstructs basic human rights, increases poverty, impedes productivity, and limits the success of public health, education, and other social programs. One way to show the link between violence prevention and other public policy goals is to estimate the social costs—direct, indirect, and hidden—of men's violence. While it produces staggering economic costs that drain social and fiscal resources, more importantly, men's violence impedes the physical, psychological, and spiritual well-being of millions of women, children and men.

Direct costs of men's violence consist of those associated with health care, social services, and the criminal justice system (including police, courts, and prisons). Domestic violence has been estimated to cost Canada roughly \$1.6 billion per year. Losses in the United States have been estimated as high as \$67 billion. Family violence cost New Zealand at least \$1.2 billion in 1993, more than its wool export earnings (Hayward, 2001). A recent report (Levine, 2001, p. 58) estimates annual costs of child abuse in the United States at \$94 billion, or \$258 million a day. Economic arguments such as these can be compelling for policy makers, especially when men's violence is understood as a major block to social development, healthy communities, and economic growth. But these direct costs are only the tip of the iceberg.

There are the *indirect* costs of men's violence, those that lower productivity and cause loss of income (for both victims and perpetrators) and, as well, increase the risk of poor health and poverty. Furthermore, there are the *hidden* costs of men's violence—fear, pain, emotional stress, and anxiety—silently suffered by millions every day. Battered women in the United States, for example, seek psychiatric care four to five times more often and attempt suicide five times more often than women who have not experienced violence (Heise et al., 1994).

Finally, there is the intergenerational transmission of trauma and other damage for millions who were victims of or witnesses to violence as children. These individuals are more likely to drop out of school, have problems with drug addiction, and become perpetrators of violence themselves. Numerous studies conducted in the United States indicate that rates of domestic violence are roughly ten times higher among men who experienced violence in childhood than among those who did not.

Linking an analysis of the costs of men's violence to the achievement of other goals offers a way to expand the number of organizations interested in reducing men's violence. Labor unions, for instance, can work to reduce workplace violence, which puts at risk not only victims but also co-workers. Many unions have a large female membership. Reducing the violence in these women's lives means fewer lost wages, less need for health care, and better work environments.

Some pioneering companies have developed violence prevention programs for their employees, and have supported community-based prevention initiatives. However, a recent study provides sobering information about the obstacles to greater corporate participation. Two-thirds of the Fortune 1000 executives firms surveyed by the study equated domestic violence with terrorism in importance as a social issue, but only 12 percent were willing to do anything about it. Most of them viewed domestic violence as a problem to be addressed primarily within the family, not in the workplace. Clearly, there is much work to do to educate executives about the impact of domestic violence on workplace outcomes and to offer them strategies to address the problem in the corporate environment.

Getting more men on board. Currently, too many men view gender violence as primarily a *women's issue*. Implicit in this notion is the idea that all women should be concerned about gender violence because they are women. For the big tent approach to succeed, though, gender violence must also be seen as a *men's issue*, requiring that all men be concerned with ending gender violence *because they are men*.

Most men are not violent. Therefore, it is not useful to engage men in ending men's violence by treating them as perpetrators or potential perpetrators. Instead, it makes sense to enlist men as *bystanders* who can do something to stop violence. Bystanders, in this context, are family members, friends, teammates, classmates, and colleagues—men who are embedded in peer cultures with other men.

As empowered bystanders, men can interrupt attitudes in other men that may lead to violence. They can respond to incidents of violence or harassment before, during, or after the fact. They can model healthy relationships and peaceful conflict resolution. The shift in focus from men as perpetrators to men as bystanders allows men who are not abusive to see a way to be part of the solution. It is more effective to appeal to men's goodness, values, and self-interests than to use a language of blame (Katz, 1995). (For a more detailed description of a program that uses the bystander approach, see the case study on the Mentors in Violence Prevention [MVP] Model in the forthcoming paper on schools—part of the fourth discussion in this series.)

Highlight the benefits of equality and social justice. Men who believe strongly in equality between the sexes are natural supporters of efforts to prevent gender violence. For these men, the reasons to get involved are similar to the reasons for supporting a campaign for civil rights. Although gender violence is not yet thought of by the mainstream as a civil rights issue, linking such violence to other social justice causes will attract men who are passionately committed to a broader social justice agenda. For

example, violence directed at women with disabilities has long been underreported, and in many cases ignored, by institutional authorities and law enforcement. But freedom from sexual violence and other forms of gender violence is surely a disability rights issue. Similarly, linkages can be made across gender violence and other social problems, such as racism, substance abuse, poverty, or homelessness.

Highlight the benefits for men as individuals. Ending men's violence will benefit men. In the past, some theorists argued that all men benefit from some men's violence against women, because violence or the threat of it is key to men's continued subordination of women, from which all men benefit. But today we accept the more complicated notion that individual men experience violence differently, that the fates of both sexes are inextricably intertwined, and that all men stand to lose long-term by perpetuating the subordination of women. For example, gender violence in communities of color is a key obstacle to positive social advancement for both men and women in those communities.

Many men have suffered directly as a result of violence done to them or to their female loved ones. Boys and men have been harmed directly by abuse, harassment, baiting, and bullying. Consider also boys whose mothers have been murdered, or fathers whose daughters have been raped, or male partners of women who have been sexually harassed in the workplace. If only a small percentage of the many men who have been damaged by such violence became active in prevention work, social norms around gender violence would be changed radically.

With a reduction of violence, all men will lead more fulfilling, meaningful, safe, and productive lives. They will have more successful personal and professional relationships. They will spend less time in jail. And fewer men and boys will become victims of violence—including sexual violence perpetrated by other men.

In addition, fewer boys will experience the trauma of witnessing their mothers getting beaten by their fathers. Fewer will be raised by mothers whose victimization by violence has resulted in coping mechanisms like alcohol abuse or drug dependency. It is in the self-interest of boys to grow up in non-violent homes, with parents who are healthy and happy. It is in their self-interest to become men free from the emotional and relational problems typically linked to traumatic childhoods.

Emphasize the benefits to the girls and women in men's lives. Most men have girls and women in their lives about whom they care deeply. Millions of women currently live with abuse; many more live with the effects of past abuse. But virtually all women live daily with the threat of men's violence. Women's consciousness about the possibility of being assaulted is so pervasive, in fact, that many take a series of precautions every day, often without even thinking about it. If men care deeply about women, then it follows that men should do something to reduce this threat of violence. This is not about reintroducing patronizing and protective behavior by men toward women. We do not need to enlist heroic men to protect "damsels in distress." Instead,

we must encourage men to confront one another about how they treat—and mistreat—women.

Advocate for the strengthening of laws and their enforcement. Rape and battering are not merely social problems; they are crimes. Yet currently millions of abusive men receive suspended sentences, probation, and other light penalties. This sends a message that their crimes are not taken seriously. One way some men can engage in gender violence prevention work is to advocate for better enforcement of domestic and sexual violence laws. Effective enforcement communicates strong societal disapproval of abusive behavior and conveys a message to would-be perpetrators that the price for transgression is high.

Men who take personal responsibility seriously should support policies that hold law-breakers accountable. Legal accountability requires decisive action by police, prosecutors, judges, school principals, university presidents, and other authority figures—many of whom are men. Note, however, that a single-focus criminal justice approach, on its own, is fraught with problems, e.g., prison costs, class and race bias in incarceration rates, and underreporting of gender violence.

Conclusion: Challenges and Questions

This paper lays out several arguments for why and how men must get involved in ending violence against women. Associated with each approach, however, are tensions and possible contradictions. For example, communities of color may want to hold men accountable for their violence but not use the criminal justice system to do it. New participants in a big tent approach will bring new ideas and, therefore, new areas of potential conflict. But these tensions are what keep the big tent approach vibrant and evolving.

Engaging more and more men in these efforts raises the question of how men and women can work together to end men's violence. Men and women enter into partnerships with different perspectives, each carrying the legacies that attend experiences of power, privilege, vulnerability, and exclusion. Until recently, only a small number of men have been part of the struggle to end violence against women. And when men have been involved, it has not necessarily been for the same reasons as women. It is important to be aware that trust among men and women is not a given, nor is there inherently a shared understanding of the goals of the work (Lang, 2002, p. 30). Yet it is critical that as men engage in this work, they respect women's leadership in this area and work with women to create complementary prevention and intervention strategies.

There are other possible pitfalls involved in expanding the big tent. Take, for example, the potential risks of working within male sports culture to end men's violence. A male athlete who speaks out publicly against men's violence may later undermine the entire effort if he is caught perpetrating violence or engaging in other activities that objectify women. Working with faith-based organizations—another potential source of greater male involvement in ending men's violence—also poses some risk. Despite some church leaders' attempts to downplay them, scandals of sexual abuse on the part of male clergy

have become public. Sadly, we know that some men's public statements about the issue have been inconsistent with their private behaviors.

Another "big tent" question arises regarding an organization like the Boy Scouts of America. The Boy Scouts represent a possible venue for reaching men and boys with important information about ending men's violence, but many progressive organizations have refused to work with them due to their policy of discriminating against openly gay scouts and scoutmasters.

Despite these challenges, organizations with differing views can and must find common ground on which to work together. If we truly desire to reduce men's violence and the suffering it causes women, children, and men, then we have no other choice.

A Few Questions for Further Discussion

- How can men provide leadership in this area without usurping women's leadership?
- How can we expand the number of men who, while not public leaders, can see themselves as empowered "bystanders" and can confront abusive peers?
- How else can we bring in new and diverse constituencies of men and women under the big tent, including men's organizations not known for their advocacy around the issues of men's violence?
- What are the costs and benefits of engaging new partners who may or may not have a depth of experience or ideological affinity with the majority of women and men currently in the movement?
- What are some compromises necessary to broaden the coalition of stakeholder individuals and groups?

References

- Barker, G., et al. (2001). Guy to Guy Project: Engaging young men in violence prevention and in sexual reproductive health. Rio de Janeiro Instituto Promundo Case Study. www.promundo.org.br
- Hayward, R. (2001). Introduction to INSTRAW Virtual Seminar Series #3. www.un-instraw.org/mensroles
- Heise, L. L., Pitanguy, J., & Germain, A. (1994). Violence against women: The hidden health burden. Washington D.C.: World Bank Discussion Paper No. 255.
- Katz, J. (1995). "Reconstructing masculinity in the locker room: The mentors in violence prevention project. *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 65, No. 2.
- Lang, J. L. (2002). Gender is everyone's business: Programming with men to achieve gender equality. Oxfam Great Britain, 10-12 June Workshop Report. www.oxfam.org.uk/gem
- Levine, S. (2001, April 9). The price of child abuse: Hidden life, long costs. *U.S News & World Report*, p. 58.

CASE STUDIES

I. Involving Men and Boys to End Violence Against Women

The White Ribbon Campaign
By Michael Kaufman

Introduction

The need to challenge men to end violence against women should be apparent. After all, it is men, or at least some men, who are committing the violence while the vast majority of men stay silent, allowing the violence to continue. Public education is critical for removing the shroud of silence that has often allowed lawmakers, health care professionals, police, and judges to disregard the problem of violence against women. It shifts the discourse from one that speaks of the private nature of the violence to one that casts it as a public crime. Through public education, men can begin to explore how their own attitudes and behaviors may contribute to this continuum of violence and can challenge one another to change them.

To work effectively with men and boys on this issue, we must (1) involve them directly in the work to end the violence; and (2) engage them, not through a vague sense of collective guilt, but through their inherent goodness and their love for the women in their lives. This must be done with respect for all men and without condoning the violent behaviors and attitudes of some men. This case study discusses possible causes of men's violence, reasons why men's involvement is critical to end it, and the White Ribbon Campaign, a successful effort to involve men.

Understanding Men's Violence

An understanding of the complex nature and causes of men's violence against women must form the basis of any strategic approach to engage men in ending it. A feminist analysis focuses on: 1) patriarchal power, 2) a sense of entitlement to privilege, and 3) societal permission for men to be violent.

Studies of violent men and research on masculinities have identified additional factors that contribute to men's violence. Some men use violence as a compensatory mechanism when they feel they have not been able to live up to unrealistic expectations about what it means to be a powerful man. In other words, men's violence is not just a result of men's power, but is caused by fear of not having that power. Men's violence is also the result of a societal process through which boys experience physical and emotional distance from their fathers and reject the caregiving qualities of their mothers. This process reduces men's ability to empathize with others' feelings and to understand others' needs. Masculinity, as currently constructed, also hinges on the internalization of a range of emotions and their redirection into anger and sometimes violence. Finally, some men witnessed as children violence by their fathers against their mothers, or were themselves victims of violence. This exposure leads some to be violent, often with a deep self-loathing for themselves and their violent behavior.

Why Men's Involvement Is Critical

We must collectively challenge patriarchal power, men's sense of entitlement to privilege, and societal permission for men to be violent. This requires the sort of legal, judicial, educational, political, cultural, behavioral, and attitudinal changes that have been part of feminist practice and of social change over the past thirty years. But we must also find ways to link men's own experiences with an understanding of women's oppression. Ending violence against women is not simply a question of providing information about its harms. To end patterns of domination and control, we must also involve men and boys in a redefinition of manhood.

Men and boys listen to other men and boys far more than they do to the anger or pleas of women or to an impersonal media voice. That's why, first and foremost, men must participate actively in anti-violence efforts and in leading strategies to reach other men. Through participation, men and boys will feel a sense of ownership in the problem. They will feel they have a personal relationship to the issue and a stake in the process of change. Those feelings, in turn, can unleash greater energies and unlock new resources that can be used to end the violence.

The White Ribbon Campaign

In 1991, a small group of men in Canada decided they had a responsibility to urge all men to speak out against violence toward women. While they knew most men in Canada were not violent, they also knew that the vast majority remained silent about violence and that this silence permitted the violence to continue.

They started the White Ribbon Campaign to encourage all men to look at their attitudes and behavior and to challenge other men to stop all forms of violence against women. They adopted the white ribbon as a symbol of men's commitment to end the violence. The ribbon represented a personal pledge never to commit, condone, or remain silent and was intended to be a catalyst for discussion and a public challenge to men who might use violence against an intimate partner, another family member, or a stranger. This was a call to policy makers, opinion leaders, police, and court personnel to take seriously what was a national and international epidemic. Wearing the ribbon became an act of love for the women in these men's lives.

In the past decade, they moved from an idea organized in a living room to active campaigns in schools and communities across Canada. There are now White Ribbon Campaigns in Asia, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, Australia, and the United States.

The White Ribbon Campaign brings men together from across political, social, and economic spectrums. Campaign participants can disagree on many important issues of the day, but they must all agree on one point: that men must work together and with women to end violence against women. The men involved in the program are united against intimate partner violence, against sexual harassment, and against men's controlling behavior in relationships. They support increased funding for women's programs, including women's shelters and rape crisis centers. They are united in

fostering equality among the sexes and the greater participation of men in nurturing and caregiving roles. By building this unity, they find ways to work together cooperatively in a positive environment.

The Campaign works in the school system to reach boys, having produced a series of toolkits for educators to use with teenagers in over a thousand middle and high schools across Canada. To reach men as workers and consumers those involved in the Campaign partner with corporations and unions, which can bring its ideas to offices and shops. Corporate and union support is also important because the Campaign receives no federal funding from the Canadian government and relies solely on support from these groups, private foundations, and concerned individuals.

The Campaign also works with women's organizations to respond to policy issues regarding violence against women. This work can include lobbying, public demonstrations, press conferences, and other media coverage. For example, each year public relations firms donate time and resources to produce radio, television, and print advertisements that are distributed free of charge to the media. In addition, the Campaign maintains a web page and distributes a newsletter to its members and supporters.

The signature event of the White Ribbon Campaign in Canada centers on an annual White Ribbon Days running from November 25th, the International Day for the Eradication of Violence Against Women, to December 6th, the anniversary of the 1989 Montreal Massacre (when a man murdered 14 women university students). During that week, forums are held, leaflets distributed, and pancake breakfasts and other events are given to increase awareness about the violence and to raise funds for women's programs. Public service advertisements are broadcast on television and radio and printed in newspapers and magazines. White ribbons are distributed in schools, universities, places of worship, the workplace, shops, and on the streets.

The Campaign also responds year-round to daily requests for information, ideas, and resources to end violence against women. And members participate in other events and issues to draw new groups of men to the Campaign. Women's organizations are viewed as experts on the issue of violence against women and are looked to them for leadership, especially with regard to legislative, judicial, and programmatic issues. Thus, Campaign members co-host events with women's organizations and fundraise for women's programs. These activities bring participants closer to the problem and to those women directly affected by it. There is a formal partnership with the Canadian Women's Foundation, and a major contribution is made each year to support their work with youth.

Research indicates that children without emotionally nurturing parenting are more likely to have difficulties regulating their own behavior, which may lead to violent behavior as adults. Thus, the Campaign also partners with fatherhood groups to celebrate men as nurturers and caregivers. Through an annual DadWalk in Toronto and other cities, men are encouraged to be active, involved, non-violent, and caring fathers. This and similar activities support a model of fatherhood that allows boys to have closer, more nurturing

relationships with their fathers, and to become happier, more secure adults less apt to use violence against women.

Conclusion

Feminist analysis offers new gender roles, within which men relate to women as equals and leaders worthy of respect and love. Efforts like the White Ribbon Campaign are based on the premise that men are good and that these new gender roles are achievable. To end violence against women, and so that they do not inflict their own pain on women, children, and other men, all men, not just those who have already committed violence, must be encouraged to heal. The White Ribbon Campaign, with its message of change, invites men into a dialogue with each other and with women to redefine gender roles and end violence against women.

Other Resources

1. This paper draws extensively from my forthcoming article, "Addressing and Involving Men and Boys in Ending Violence Against Women—the White Ribbon Campaign," Bob Pease, editor, London: Zed Books, 2002.
2. Michael Kaufman, "The Seven P's of Men's Violence," Available on-line at www.whiteribbon.com and www.michaelkaufman.com
3. Michael Kaufman, *Cracking the Armour: Power, Pain and the Lives of Men* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 1993 and Penguin, 1994) and "Men, Feminism, and Men's Contradictory Experiences of Power," in Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman, Eds., *Theorizing Masculinities*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994).
4. Michael Kimmel's *Manhood in America*. New York: The Free Press, 1996.
5. The White Ribbon Campaign's website is www.whiteribbon.com. The address is 365 Bloor St. East, Suite 201, Toronto, Canada M4W 3L4. Telephone number is 1-416-920-6684. Fax number is 1-416-920-1678.
6. Gabor Maté, "A Solution to Violence is in our hands," *The Globe and Mail*, August 2, 2000, A17.

II. The Initiative for Violence-Free Families and Communities in Ramsey County, Minnesota: Fourteen Years of Innovative Strategies to Prevent Family Violence

By Donald Gault

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to provide information on two major efforts by The Initiative for Violence-Free Families and Communities (the Initiative) in Ramsey County, Minnesota: 1) The Men's Line, a unique resource developed in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota in 1997, and 2) a successful program to eliminate media messages that condone violence against women, children, and men.

Background

During the mid-1980s, Ramsey County convened a series of Abuse Councils, whose charge was to examine and improve County intervention services and programs that respond to family violence (child abuse, elder abuse, and domestic violence). Through these councils, intervention services were improved, and the County Board became much more aware of the financial and human costs of family violence in the community. In the late 1980s, a 5-year old boy was kicked to death by his mother's boyfriend while his family's case was under the jurisdiction of the County. This incident, in conjunction with the work of the Abuse Councils, led the Board to make a commitment to family violence prevention.

In April 1990, the Minneapolis League of Women Voters published Breaking the Cycle of Violence: A Focus on Primary Prevention Efforts. Research compiled in the League report helped to lay the groundwork for the two initiatives:

- The report identified primary prevention¹, i.e. trying to reach the entire population with tools and resources designed to prevent violence before it occurs, as a central component to breaking the cycle of violence.

¹In Public Health, we refer to **Three Levels of Prevention: Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary**. In Primary Prevention, no group or individual is designated "high risk"; instead, we work to bring a message or skill set to an entire population in order to prevent those individuals from ever beginning a risky behavior or practice. Moving to Secondary Prevention, we target our prevention messages and tools to individuals and groups already engaged in potentially damaging behaviors, but not yet showing any ill effects as a result. When we move to Tertiary Prevention, or Intervention, we work with people who are both engaged in risky behaviors and in need of treatment to address ill effects caused by these behaviors.

A simple analogy to illustrate these three levels is cigarette smoking: Primary Prevention efforts are designed to provide populations with information and incentives to convince them not start smoking; Secondary Prevention campaigns target smokers who have not yet developed any smoking-related illnesses, with messages and tools to quit smoking before they become ill; Tertiary/Intervention efforts must convince and assist smokers to break the habit while simultaneously providing treatment for emphysema, lung cancer, and other smoking-related disease.

This analogy also points to the difficulty, and often seemingly poor results inherent in traditional approaches to intervening in cases of family violence (as well as other manifestations of violence, in the workplace, community, schools, etc.). By definition, intervention systems must wait until serious, documented harm has occurred in a family/school/workplace setting, and then come in to break the cycle of violence, attempt to heal or undo the effects of

- The report also provided the rationale for a sustained, community-wide approach.

In addition, the Initiative adopted a communication strategy used in successful marketing campaigns and public health education efforts—multiple messages from multiple messengers, over time. Our primary prevention efforts are built on a model articulated in the League Report. All parts of our community—schools, faith-based institutions, workplaces, media, and other groups—are engaged through action teams in creating and institutionalizing positive, respectful messages and strategies to promote nonviolence. These teams also identify and remove messages and incentives that can increase the likelihood that individuals will turn to violence.

Several accomplishments of these action teams have made Ramsey County a more peaceful community. They include:

- Development of policies, tools, and strategies to assure violence-free, respectful workplaces;
- Creation of a broad range of resources promoting peaceful parenting, including the Welcoming Places Campaign, which works to make health care and other public facilities respectful, welcoming places for families and children;
- Partnership with schools (K-12 and higher education) on tools promoting peaceful classroom and school environments, and on athlete/coach codes of conduct to assure respectful and peaceful sporting events;
- Partnership with the Hmong community to create and implement a broad range of strategies for promoting peace; and
- Collaboration among faith community leaders, family violence prevention advocates, and musicians and playwrights to create musicals about the causes of family violence and ways to build respectful, healthy relationships. (The most recent outcome of this work is the musical “Change,” which will be filmed by Twin Cities Public Television in April 2003 and broadcast on June 1.)

Staffing and core resources for the work of the Initiative have been provided by Ramsey County principally through the Department of Public Health. During the initial planning phase, a planning and administrative position was “loaned” to The Initiative by the County. There are now three full-time staff dedicated to supporting the work of action teams. These staff work with faith communities, health care systems, schools, media, and

violence to individuals, and provide consequences to "perpetrators" (while generally ignoring the effects on other people and community systems around them.)

While acknowledging and respecting the need to maintain and continually work to improve intervention approaches to family, workplace and community violence, the Initiative is based on a Primary Prevention model. Our efforts have been built on the premise of providing messages and tools to entire populations in order to change the context and messages received by people in our communities/schools/workplaces and prevent acts of violence from occurring in the first place.

other groups to create and integrate into the fabric of the Ramsey County community primary prevention tools and messages. These staff positions have been funded not through private grants, but through a local tax levy and other more stable sources, thus better ensuring the long-term sustainability of the work. At the present time, county-wide budget cuts are looming due to significant state deficits. It is our belief that the impact of the Initiative on the Ramsey County community will assure that these efforts continue to be supported in the foreseeable future.

More information on the Initiative for Violence-Free Families and Communities in Ramsey County can be found at the Department of Public Health website:
www.co.ramsey.mn.us

The Men's Line

In July 1997, the Initiatives for Violence-Free Families and Communities in Ramsey and Hennepin County started The Men's Line.² This is the first and, to our knowledge, the only resource of its kind in the United States. The Men's Line is a free, confidential, 24-hour phone line for men, answered by trained counselors at the Crisis Connection, the Twin Cities' primary 24-hour crisis line. The Men's Line was modeled after pioneering work done by Dale Hurst and associates in the 1980s and '90s in Melbourne, Australia.³ Designed to give men a resource to break their isolation and address issues of stress, anger, and depression, the Men's Line received over 3,000 calls from July 1997 through December 2002. In 2002, it averaged over 65 calls per month, and 85 in both November and December.

A 1999 assessment of the program found that calls received by the Men's Line fell into the following categories:

- Men who are depressed and need to talk, or who need referrals to deal with anger or financial, legal or medical issues;
- Men seeking advice on relationships, communication skills, and parenting or how to deal with an abusive family member;
- Women calling for resources for a male partner, another family member, or a friend; and
- General information requests.

A lethality index, measuring whether there is an immediate threat of physical violence, is used for each call. The 1999 assessment found that approximately 7% of the calls documented indicated a medium level of lethality, while 2% were documented as high.

²The Minneapolis-St. Paul Twin Cities area is comprised of seven metropolitan counties; the two largest are Hennepin County [pop 1,116,000] and Ramsey County [pop 511,000].

³See accompanying article in the recommended reading section on the Australian men's line.

Call records and interviews with phone counselors highlight a single core issue addressed in the vast majority of calls: isolation. The men who call in typically have a general sense of loneliness and disconnection from their families and community. It is our belief that the connection and support offered by the Men's Line helps men to live healthier lives that are less likely to include the use of violence.

Support for New Dads

Community partners are committed to expanding the reach and effectiveness of the Men's Line. Most recently, a partnership with Health East (a metropolitan area health care system with three hospitals and numerous clinics) has resulted in a campaign focused on expectant and new fathers. This program was inspired by several sources, including 1) recent medical articles citing homicide as the leading cause of death for pregnant and postnatal women, and 2) observations by Health East staff that couples in their obstetrics program were experiencing relationship troubles.

This effort is built on a central premise borrowed from Rollo May that "Deeds of violence . . . arise largely out of powerlessness." In analyzing why men might be violent towards their partners around the time of childbirth, program planners focused on powerlessness and on isolation, a theme identified by the Men's Line. This new effort, to begin in Spring 2003, will reach out to men in prenatal education programs and in obstetrics clinics with a brochure entitled "Quick Guide To Being a Dad." In addition to providing tips on what to expect and how to care for themselves as fathers, the guide will give men information about Health East educational programs and the Men's Line.

Media Campaigns

One of the Initiative action teams, which focused on media, identified two goals for its work: 1) developing messages that promote respect and nonviolence in relationships, and 2) identifying and removing images that condone violence against women, children, and men. Over the years, this team has successfully convinced advertisers to remove dozens of violent images from the community, including a university's "Pain, Suffering and Brutality—All for \$8.00" ad campaign for its football team and a grocery store's "So Fresh You Could Slap It" billboard advertising the freshness of their produce.

The media action team respectfully points out to advertisers its concerns about messages contained in certain ads, appeals to the businesses to recognize that these potentially violent messages are inconsistent with their public image, and seeks to establish long-term working relationships to promote a respectful, peaceful community. The team's most prominent and complex effort was to convince the Twin Cities' two major newspapers, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, to remove sexually explicit ads for strip clubs and x-rated movies from their sports sections. An agreement with the *Star Tribune* was reached in June 1999, after two years of correspondence with the publisher. The *Pioneer Press* removed the ads in March 2002, after over 5 years of correspondence with three different publishers. In each case, the newspapers realized that removing the ads not only served their own best interests, but also helped assure a more respectful, violence-free community for everyone.

Conclusion

Through the creativity and dedication of hundreds of people across Ramsey County over fourteen years, we have learned that a primary prevention model can be used to address an issue as complex as family violence. Our community-wide partnership to address the root causes of violence demonstrates that communities have the power, and therefore the obligation, to prevent acts of family violence today and in the future.

Donald Gault

Healthy Communities Section Manager, Saint Paul – Ramsey County Public Health

651-266-2404

donald.gault@co.ramsey.mn.us

III. The Men as Partners Program in South Africa: Reaching Men to End Gender-based Violence and Promote Sexual and Reproductive Health

By Andrew Levack, Manisha Mehta, and Dean Peacock

Just eight short years after celebrating the end of apartheid, South Africans now find themselves faced with yet another bitter struggle. This time the battle is against HIV/AIDS and violence against women—twin epidemics affected by social norms about gender, power, and violence. Both currently threaten the lives of millions of South Africans.

The statistics make startlingly clear the extent and severity of these two public health crises. In many parts of the country, up to 30% of adults are estimated to be HIV positive.⁴ Between five and seven million South Africans are expected to die from HIV/AIDS by the year 2010.⁵ South African Police Service statistics chronicle 51,249 cases of rape reported to police in 1999, while Rape Crisis Cape Town believes that the real figure is at least 20 times higher—the equivalent of one rape every 23 seconds. These figures give South Africa the highest per capita rate of reported rape in the world.

This case study describes one effort to respond to these twin crises. The Men as Partners (MAP) program in South Africa was established in 1998, as a collaborative project between New York-based EngenderHealth (formerly AVSC International) and the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA). This program creates meaningful opportunities for men from all walks of life to examine contemporary gender and cultural norms, challenge those norms that compromise health and well being, and celebrate those that promote healthy, thriving communities. The MAP program has two primary goals: 1) to challenge the attitudes, values, and behaviors of men that compromise their own health and safety and that of women and children; and 2) to encourage men to become actively involved in preventing gender-based violence and the spread of HIV/AIDS. To achieve its goals, the MAP program was launched in eight of South Africa's nine provinces, establishing a presence in urban, semi-urban and rural communities across the country.

Using a Gender Framework

The program is based on three principles, which reflect an understanding of the unequal balance of power between men and women. First, the program views contemporary gender roles as having devastating health consequences for women, placing them at risk for violence, limiting their ability to negotiate the terms and conditions of sex, and severely compromising their sexual and reproductive health. In this analysis, gender roles confer on men the ability to influence and/or determine the reproductive health

⁴South African Medical Research Council, 2001.

⁵South African Medical Research Council, 2001.

choices made by women.⁶ Second, contemporary gender roles compromise men's health by encouraging men to equate a range of risky behaviors—the use of violence, alcohol, and drugs; the pursuit of multiple sexual partners; the domination of women—with being manly, while simultaneously encouraging men to view health-seeking behaviors as a sign of weakness. Third, the program takes the view that men have a personal investment in challenging the current gender order for their own health reasons, and also because they do not want to place women they care about at risk of violence and health problems.

Implementation of MAP-South Africa

To change men's attitudes, values and practices, MAP conducts workshops and mobilizes men to take action in their own communities. MAP also collaborates closely with other non-governmental organizations to build their capacity to implement similar programs.

MAP conducts its educational workshops with groups of men from many walks of life in a wide variety of settings, including workplaces, trade unions, prisons, faith-based organizations, community halls, and sporting arenas. In their very design, the workshops reflect a commitment to dealing with the complexities of gender roles and the challenges associated with shifting long held attitudes, values, and practices. Most workshops are typically a week long and often residential. Workshop content is drawn from the *Guide for MAP Master Trainers and Educators*, jointly developed by EngenderHealth and PPASA.⁷ Unlike many other approaches that tend to have a single issue focus, these workshops address how gender roles affect men's lives. As such, they focus on violence, on sexual and reproductive health, on parenting, on support and care for people living with AIDS and, always, on men's roles and responsibilities related to ending violence and creating healthy, thriving communities.

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 can deter men from caring for and supporting friends left chronically ill by AIDS.⁸ Similarly, facilitators might use role plays to challenge the notion that a “real man” uses health services only when he is already seriously ill. Using interactive gender values clarification activities, workshop participants discuss their attitudes towards family planning, prenatal care, and parenting, and examine ways in which gender roles restrict the choices available to both men and women. Workshop facilitators commonly ask, “How does this issue affect men and women differently?”

Building a “Big Tent” to Reach More Men

⁶Horizons Report, Spring 2001; Laing, 1987.

⁷Available from EngenderHealth: www.EngenderHealth.org

⁸See, for instance, Aggleton, & Warwick (1998) who report that in Kyela, Tanzania on occasion “male heads of households would wish to do more when their partners fall ill but were curtailed by cultural definitions of maleness and the roles defined which determine masculinity.”

Faced with the growing devastation wrought by HIV/AIDS and violence against women, EngenderHealth and PPASA have worked diligently to expand the impact of the MAP program, by building capacity in the nongovernmental sector, and by promoting community-based efforts to mobilize men.

To reach more men, EngenderHealth and PPASA recently established partnerships with the Solidarity Centre, which works with the three major labor federations representing over 3 million union members;⁹ the AIDS Consortium representing 800 community-based HIV/AIDS organizations; and the South African National Defense Force, with a membership of about 65,000. EngenderHealth and PPASA provide ongoing training and technical assistance to a core group of staff in each of these organizations, and these staff will then run their own workshops. To ensure that the MAP approach is integrated into clinical settings, EngenderHealth partners with Hope Worldwide, a nongovernmental organization working on HIV/AIDS prevention and care, and with the peri-natal HIV research unit at Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, Africa's largest hospital,

Lessons Learned:

- 1. Present men as potential partners capable of playing a positive role in the health and well being of their partners, families, and communities.** Despite high levels of male violence against women, MAP recognizes that many men care deeply about the women in their lives. With opportunity and know-how, men are eager to challenge practices that endanger women's health and to support women's well being.¹⁰
- 2. Build organizational cultures that are committed to working with men.** Buy-in of senior leadership within partner organizations is critical. To ensure that each organization remains committed to this work, the MAP methodology includes workshops with senior management and key staff on the relationship between gender equity, violence against women, and HIV/AIDS.
- 3. Develop a coherent, coordinated response.** The South African government's response to HIV/AIDS and violence against women has been inconsistent, characterized by inadequate resources, confusing public statements, and poor coordination with the nongovernmental sector. To address this and to improve collaborative responses to HIV/AIDS and violence against women, the MAP methodology now includes a focus on facilitating ongoing relationships between collaborative partners.

⁹Coordinated by the AFL-CIO's Solidarity Centre, each of the three major labor federations—the Congress of South African Trade Unions; the Federation of Unions of South Africa; and the South African Congress of Trade Unions are working to involve men at all levels of the union in challenging male violence and rigid gender roles.

¹⁰For examples of activities that redefine courage, leadership and strength in these ways, see the case study on Men Can Stop Rape that accompanies the BPI paper on building partnerships with schools as well as curricula by Jackson Katz (MVP Strategies) and the "Courage by Degrees" activity developed by Nan Stein in Gender Violence: Gender Justice.

4. Promote activities across the spectrum of prevention. Many of the organizations collaborating on the implementation of the MAP program have been focused primarily on community education and individual change. Few have prior experience in advocacy, policy change, or community mobilization. To ensure that all partner organizations can take this work on, MAP workshops now include a focus on advocacy, community mobilization, social norms campaigns, and policy change.

Research Findings

The MAP approach has demonstrated significant success in shifting men's attitudes about gender equity and violence against women. Post-training evaluation of attitudes among MAP workshop participants in Western Cape Province revealed the following:

- 71% of the participants believed that women should have the same rights as men, whereas only 25% of men in the control group felt this way.
- 82% of the participants thought that it was not normal for men to sometimes beat their wives, whereas only 38% of the control group felt that way.
- 96% of participants believed that children from abusive homes could become abusive parents, but only 19% of the control felt that this was true.¹¹

¹¹Kruger, V. Evaluation Report: Men As Partners Program, Project Evaluation and Research Service, September 2000.

IV. Joint Labor and Management Domestic Violence Awareness Program

By KC Wagner

A “big tent” approach to engaging ever larger numbers of men to end men’s violence requires that leaders of mainstream organizations play a role in committing the resources and stature of their organizations to these efforts. Nearly 15% of the US workforce is unionized, amounting to millions of workers who rely on their unions to protect their interests in the workplace and in society at large. Increasingly, in an attempt to be responsive to the needs of their members, United States unions have taken active stands on a number of social issues that include HIV, smoking, and domestic violence. Organizations like the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), AFSCME Women’s Rights Division, and the Family Violence Prevention Fund have successfully placed domestic violence on the union agenda. Recently, organizations like the New York Labor Coalition Against Domestic Violence have begun to explore prevention activities that reach out to men.

History and Overview

Despite the obvious importance of involving unions in domestic violence prevention with men, few efforts have been made by domestic violence prevention activists to reach out to unions. In part, this may reflect the limited resources available to advocacy organizations and, in part, may reflect fears that unions would not be receptive to addressing domestic violence. Senior office holders within some unions have been hesitant to apply their leadership to this issue, for various reasons. Sometimes union leadership has not understood how widespread domestic violence is. Sometimes they have argued that it is a private matter best left to the couple affected. At other times they have expressed concern but felt pessimistic about their ability to do anything about it. And on other occasions they have felt torn between their desire to protect a worker from disciplinary action or job loss and their conviction that domestic violence is wrong.

Three questions arise in efforts to build a workplace and union response to domestic violence: 1) Why is violence against women of concern to employers? 2) Why is violence against women an issue for the union? 3) Why should unions focus prevention efforts on men? Compelling answers to these questions are necessary if we are to get union commitment to address domestic violence.

Why is domestic violence of concern to employers? It is every employer’s legal responsibility to ensure safety in the workplace. Domestic violence compromises the well-being, job performance, and productivity of valuable employees. Many of the attitudes and gender roles that increase men’s risk of using domestic violence also predispose men to other high risk behaviors, such as drug and alcohol abuse, workplace violence, or taking unnecessary safety risks to demonstrate “toughness” to peers. Domestic violence is a leading cause of workplace violence; it also creates safety and health risks to everyone in the workplace:

- Since almost one in four women is affected by domestic violence, we can make a conservative estimate that 10% of employees may be affected by domestic violence.
- 24% of abused women said they were either late or missed days of work due to abuse.
- 54% of abused women missed up to three full days of work per month.
- 94% of corporate security directors surveyed rank domestic violence as a high security problem at their company.¹²

Why is violence against women an issue for the union? Violence against women weakens unions and diminishes their ability to build membership or mobilize current members. It erodes self-esteem and autonomy and undermines women's union participation, power, and leadership. Frequently, it damages the solidarity of the union community and weakens its ability to withstand employer attacks. Violence against women also undermines job security and economic independence, and places members at risk of losing their jobs. Fully 15% of survivors report that abuse affects their ability to keep their jobs.

Domestic violence is a safety and health issue for all members since perpetrators often stalk and harass women at their workplace, possibly jeopardizing co-workers as well. Ending violence against women is a matter of justice and equality, principles to which unions are committed. Additionally, domestic violence is a work/family issue, since it has devastating economic and personal consequences for the family.

Why should unions focus prevention efforts on men? Unions are uniquely positioned to assume a leadership role in encouraging men to take a stand against violence against women. Unions are invested in the well being of their members and responsible for representing their best interests. Almost by definition, then, unions have a stake in helping men who have been or are at risk of being violent to find the help they need to stop their violence and reduce the likelihood of incarceration and job loss. Furthermore, many unions have a high concentration of men as members, and have a long tradition of mutual aid and a sense of community that allows unions to encourage behaviors and attitudes that promote equity, fairness, and social justice.

Rather than assume that men are going to be defensive, unions can start from the assumption that most men within unions care deeply about the women in their lives and have a commitment to fairness and integrity. Adopting this philosophy makes it easy for unions to reach out to men as allies, rather than as potential perpetrators or colluders to be treated with suspicion. Once approached in this way, it is often surprising how many men suddenly see a never before recognized role for themselves and step forward to take

¹²Family Violence Prevention Fund: Domestic Violence: the Workplace Responds and Domestic Violence: A Union Issue.

action in their own lives, in their workplaces, and in their communities. Once brought on board in this way, men in unions can have tremendous influence on the attitudes of their peers and can change the culture of the workplace itself, making it a place where men feel a sense of permission to challenge attitudes that contribute to violence, discuss their problems, and look for help from peers.

The New York Labor Coalition Against Domestic Violence

In 2000, the New York Labor Union Coalition Against Domestic Violence¹³ began to develop, with input from member unions, a customized curriculum and facilitator training program for union audiences. The Communications Workers of America (CWA) District 1 participated, represented by male and female union officers, chief stewards, and staff. At these sessions, it was determined that a joint labor/management strategy would be most effective in reaching out to membership at a major telecommunications company. Through discussions with the company's Employee Assistance Program, a domestic violence awareness program was developed as the most viable way to reach many employees. Financial support for the program came from a New York State Department of Labor grant to the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. A pilot program was initiated to develop, revise, and implement a training curriculum and video with a cooperative, preventive approach that emphasized awareness, workplace strategies, safety, and resources. More than 50 union and management representatives received facilitator training. Security personnel and roughly 400 union members and their management were trained on domestic violence issues. Thousands of posters with emergency contact information and domestic violence resources were distributed.

After these pilot program trainings, a significant number of men from the union and company came forward, indicating an interest in taking a more visible stand against violence against women. At the same time, as a result of management's expressions of concern about the relevancy of the training content to their predominately male workforces, two focus groups of union men and experts in the field were held to develop training approaches that might speak more directly to the male membership. These focus groups revealed 1) that men appreciated the concept of men as allies because it did not assume all men condoned violence, but held them accountable as bystanders; 2) that participants believed the general audience of men would not understand the concept of social norms of power and control as communicated in the pilot; 3) that stewards and managers would need extra training on the many manifestations of violence against women and its impact on working people and their children; and 4) that the men wanted to contribute as bystanders to social change in this area, but also wanted more resources be made available for other union men who were abusive.

¹³Founded in 1996 and sponsored by Cornell's Metro District Office in NYC, the Coalition is an inter-union coalition of private/public sectors unions, the NY Central Labor Council and the NY State AFL-CIO that address domestic violence through member awareness, steward education, collective bargaining and political action. Founding and current members include the NYC Central Labor Council, the NYS-AFL-CIO; AFSCME DC 37, DC 1707, Local 371; CWA -District 1; SEIU/1199; NYSNA; OPEIU; RWDSU; TWU/Local 100; UFT; UNITE, Local 23-25. For additional info contact KC Wagner at kcw8@cornell.edu.

Lessons Learned

In the development of the training curriculum and facilitator's module it is helpful for management and the union to have access to free technical assistance. It was also critical to the program's success to gain organizational commitment from the beginning and to link it to an initiative with an already high level of representation from company executives and union officials. With institutional commitment, the unions were able to use company time to champion the issue and for training. Again, linking this domestic violence training to already existing safety and health training time was key. Personal testimony from a high level management executive about the positive impact of the current domestic violence awareness program, vocal union support, and the opportunity to make a valuable contribution to the workplace were convincing arguments to fund a workplace initiative to end men's violence.

Our experiences with this project have shown us that, given the opportunity, men within the union movement will act with courage and are often eager to take a stand against domestic violence because they see doing so as in their own best interests and in the best interests of their unions. Thus, it is imperative that we work together to reach out to men in the unions.

V. Faith-based Communities

By Rev. Dr. Marie M. Fortune, The Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence

The agenda to end violence against women is enormous, given that we are essentially attempting to turn the tide of centuries of norms, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that encourage or support violence against women. Faith-based organizations represent a critical ally in these efforts. Millions of men across the nation participate in faith-based communities whose leaders, often male, typically enjoy significant moral authority and shape in important ways the values and behavior of the men in their congregations.

It is true that many religious traditions have reflected and reinforced patriarchal values that have been at the core of violence against women. However, more recently, many faith-based organizations have begun to accept the challenge of changing those values and promoting positive male involvement to end violence against women. The efforts of some men and women within faith-based organizations can serve to inspire religious leaders to return to the root values of their own traditions, which challenge the powerful and lift up the vulnerable, and which call on religious leaders to be at the forefront of the movement to end violence against women.

Fostering Opportunities For Leadership By Men

In spite of significant changes in the gender make-up of seminaries, the fact remains that the majority of clergy and religious leaders in the U.S. are male, and that many have received no training during their seminary experience about how to address violence against women. In addition, many current leaders think that because they have not been approached about them, domestic violence issues do not exist in their congregations. Some male religious leaders, having noticed the public discussion of violence against women, have asked the question “Why are my people not coming to me with these problems, which surely exist here?” It may be that people are not approaching clergy because they expect to find someone who colludes with perpetrators, blames the victim, and encourages women to return to violent situations. If such responses from clergy are a result of lack of training, awareness, and sensitivity, then there is an opportunity. Training and education can equip them with the awareness and confidence to provide helpful responses when domestic violence issues do arise and to work to prevent further such violence in their congregations and communities.

A History of Ongoing Partnerships

At the Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence (the Center), we have been training and educating religious leaders (clergy and lay) for 25 years. We have focused the training of clergy on increasing their capacities as generalists within their congregation to (1) identify sexual and domestic violence, (2) refer to local specialized resources, and (3) address whatever spiritual concerns may arise for victims or perpetrators. This is an achievable goal, which results in an expanded base of support and additional resources for coordinated community responses. In addition, we have engaged male religious leaders, particularly at the national and regional levels and in

seminaries, to make a personal and professional investment to end violence against women. We have held events in collaboration with Men Stopping Violence (Atlanta) to encourage a new sense of ownership by male leadership of an agenda to end violence against women. These men are allies who can address their male peers and encourage new awareness and action. In their traditional leadership roles in denominations, congregations, and communities, these men can reach many other men. In one workshop, they spent three days together, addressing their own issues regarding violence and then developing collaboration models for work with women to end violence against women.

Faith-based organizations also have extensive interdenominational organizational infrastructures, which can be used to reach large numbers of men. For example, the Presbyterian Church, USA has established domestic violence prevention with men as an important part of the mission of their Men's Ministries. Since the early 1990s, they have developed curricula and trainings for men, such as their Tough Talk manual. In 2000 and 2001, they organized a panel discussion on men's role to end violence against women. This discussion was broadcast via satellite to 3000-5000 men across the United States. The National Council of Churches of Christ, USA, through their Family Life and Human Sexuality office, has made a commitment to educating men about domestic violence and to establishing domestic-violence-free congregations across the country. The responsible fatherhood and coming-of-age programs, part of many faith-based organizations (particularly in the African American community), are also points of possible collaboration in addressing violence against women. And there is currently an effort to train military chaplains to respond more effectively to domestic violence as part of the coordinated community response of the military to violence against women.

The Center is also receiving strong response from some male Jewish religious leaders to address violence against women. After many years of relative silence, they are now exhibiting much greater willingness to acknowledge that rape, battering, incest, and abuse are issues within the Jewish community. This new leadership by male rabbis, often in concert with female rabbis, is encouraging, as is the reaction to the Center's Peaceful Families Project that focuses on the Muslim community in the US. Some imams now speak out against violence against women and respond positively to education programs designed to increase their understanding of the issues.

Even the highly visible faith-based men's movements of the 1990s, like the Promise Keepers, began to discuss violence against women and children as part of their agenda. Though the possibilities for true collaboration were complicated by substantial ideological differences, that these initiatives, including the Million Man March, reached large numbers of men and that violence against women made it to their radar screens, merits further exploration.

Issues for Men

It is still not unusual for male perpetrators and their supporters to utilize religious teachings to justify or excuse their violence towards women. For example, a convicted wife abuser tried to use the First Amendment protection regarding religious beliefs to

support his right to abuse his wife. A California man believed that the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church gave him the right to have sex with his wife whenever he chose, because the marriage vows they exchanged signaled her consent to have sex with him and, once given, this consent was somehow permanent. Whether it is “wives be submissive to your husbands,” *shalom bayit*, or “forgive and forget,” misinterpretations and misuse of scripture or doctrine can deflect accountability for acts of violence against women. Men (and women) who are leaders of faith-based communities must use their authority to challenge these misinterpretations and interrupt attempts by perpetrators to use religion to justify their violence against women.

Faith-based organizations, such as congregations, can be an integral part of perpetrators' accountability systems. In concert with community resources, such as law enforcement and batterers or sex offender programs, informed, active congregations can supply a much-needed structure to support a perpetrator's stopping his violence.

Conclusion

Since many of our social norms are established and reinforced by values and belief systems that come from our religious traditions, we must not ignore faith-based organizations. For many years, many of us within religious communities have been deconstructing the religious belief systems that have promoted the subordination of women and condoned violence against women. We have reconstructed and retrieved stories, teachings, and doctrines that affirm women living lives free from violence. If we are looking for ways to engage more men in the agenda to end violence against women, we must go where men already gather. That certainly means faith-based organizations. In spite of an historic ambivalence by violence prevention movements, we cannot afford to overlook these institutions.

Religious leaders, male and female, have a significant opportunity to collaborate with the wider community in doing what we do best—seek to bring healing and wholeness where there has been damage and violence. We have much to learn from and much to bring to this common effort to end violence against women. But we must pursue this conversation, even against great odds.

VI. Promoting Collaboration Within State Government to Prevent Domestic and Sexual Violence

**By Shailushi Baxi, Rachel Davis & Larry Cohen,
Prevention Institute**

Addressing the Reality of Interlocking Forms of Violence

A growing body of clinical experience and research suggests that child abuse, domestic violence, and youth violence often occur in the same families. This exposure to multiple forms of violence can have devastating effects on children, families, and communities.¹⁴ Despite these connections, separate programs have typically offered interventions that address only one form of violence, fragmenting responses to families. In addition, service-based responses to families that compartmentalize problems and offer single-issue interventions generally fail to include measures to prevent future violence.

The last few years have seen the implementation of a number of comprehensive strategies to prevent youth violence, child abuse and domestic violence. The federally funded Green Book and Safe from the Start projects are both good examples of sophisticated, comprehensive approaches. Both of these national initiatives work to improve outcomes for children affected by domestic violence and child abuse. This case study chronicles a slightly different approach to ending violence. Instead of focusing on the work of a particular program in a specific location, it examines the work of Shifting the Focus (STF), a coalition to change how California state government addresses and prevents violence.

History and Overview

Throughout the 1990s, as public attention to violence in California increased, so did the state's efforts to respond to and prevent it. Numerous agencies and departments were responsible for addressing different forms of violence and related issues. While state staff worked hard and achieved significant results, the system to address violence lacked cohesion, having evolved sector by sector. Each effort addressed a discrete form of violence by focusing separately on gangs, youth violence, domestic violence, sexual violence, and child abuse.

This approach led to a number of unintended consequences, including overlapping programmatic and administrative efforts, fragmentation of services to local constituencies, and lost opportunities to build synergy. Categorical funding often made it difficult for local organizations to partner with one another. The state had roughly a dozen departments and an equal number of advisory groups, each developing its own approach to dealing with violence against women.

¹⁴ Straus, Murray A., Gelles, Richard J., and Smith, Christine (1990), *Physical violence in American families: Risk factors and adaptations to violence in 8,145 families*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers; U.S. Advisory Board on Child Abuse and Neglect (1995), *A nation's shame: Fatal child abuse and neglect in the United States: Fifth report*. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, 53.

While the challenge to correct these unintended consequences through effective collaboration was not unique to California, it was intensified by the sheer size of the state. California's residents represent 10% of the U.S. population, and its economy is one of the largest in the world. Correspondingly, the government infrastructure is large and diverse. Advancing violence prevention in California required deliberate, ongoing attention to collaboration.

In 1997, aware of the need for collaboration to improve violence prevention efforts, a group of state staff formed an interagency violence prevention partnership, called STF. Its name was intended to highlight a shift from a primary focus on intervention to one on prevention, and from isolated efforts to collaborative work. STF members included representatives from local organizations and from over 20 state agencies, departments, and commissions. This partnership was facilitated by a national non-profit organization, Prevention Institute, which focused on 1) prioritizing the prevention of violence-related injury through state policy and practice, and 2) promoting collaboration on state violence prevention efforts.

To help STF expand prevention efforts beyond post-crisis or education models aimed at individual change, Prevention Institute utilized the Spectrum of Prevention, which includes six levels of strategy development for violence prevention. These levels, delineated in the table below, are complementary and, when used together, result in greater effectiveness than would be possible by implementing any single one.

Influencing Policy Legislation Developing strategies to change laws and policies
Changing Organizational Practices Adopting regulations and shaping norms
Fostering Coalitions and Networks Convening groups and individuals for greater impact
Educating Providers Informing providers who influence others
Promoting Community Education Reaching groups with information and resources
Strengthening Individual Knowledge and Skills Enhancing individual capacity

Changing the Way Government Does Business

Using tools like the Spectrum of Prevention, STF has helped increase government capacity for collaborative violence prevention efforts in several ways, including:

- Identification and response to community needs: STF convened statewide community forums to identify ways in which government agencies can better support local efforts. These findings contributed to a state violence prevention strategy and the development of several violence prevention tools, such as an inventory of state prevention programs, a database of state training and technical assistance resources, a set of community data indicators, and training materials on violence prevention and interdisciplinary collaboration.
- Development of a set of prevention principles: STF developed a set of prevention principles for improving government effectiveness. These principles have been adopted by the Departments of Justice and Education, whose staff have been trained on the principles and are using them in bill analysis, legislative analysis, and program development.

The prevention principles emphasize comprehensive strategies, strength-based approaches, appropriate evaluation, well-designed funding, community-based initiatives, and strategic state-level partnerships. Relationships have been developed or strengthened among staff from different state agencies, which has led to increased communication, coordination, and collaboration among state programs, and joint work on training and technical assistance, funding opportunities, program development, data collection and management, and constituent outreach.

Jointly Sponsored Initiatives

STF has supported the development of several violence prevention initiatives, such as Safe From The Start and Violence and Crime in California: From Evidence to Policy. Safe From The Start addresses the effects of violence on the healthy development of young children and provides strategies to local practitioners on how to protect children from the effects of violence. The From Evidence to Policy initiative is a series of symposia that first examine the causes for the decrease in youth violence and crime in the 1990s and then provide policy options to policymakers to promote a continued decline of crime and violence in the future.

The Impact of STF

Before STF, the state's responses to violence against women were centered chiefly in the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, or were fragmented across a number of different departments. Many of these departments had developed their own strategic plans for ending violence against women and girls, but had not coordinated them to avoid duplication or to prevent working at cross purposes. The state recently launched an initiative that brings eight state departments and offices together with all 13 domestic violence coalitions and committees to draft a new plan to end violence against women and girls in California. This plan will include a significant focus on primary prevention, reorient state government to local needs, leverage existing community assets, and emphasize collaboration across a range of related fields. It will also, for the first time, include recommendations for improving government practice.

Next Steps

Leaders in the fields of child abuse, domestic violence, and youth violence understand the importance of prevention but have lacked adequate resources to conduct prevention activities. Research indicates that the public also supports prevention and early intervention programs that address these problems.¹⁵ The need is clear, the will is there, and all that remains is to harness the interest and creativity of communities and to obtain resources to develop comprehensive prevention efforts. The state has an obligation to all Californians to respond to this need. The history of Shifting the Focus initiative demonstrates that improvements in state practice will lead to improved local outcomes statewide—safe and thriving homes, schools, and communities for all Californians.

¹⁵Cullen, Francis, et al. (1998, April). Public support of early intervention programs: Implications for a progressive policy agenda. *Crime and Delinquency*, 44(2), 187-204.

This project was supported by Grant No. 2001-WT-BX-K019 awarded by the Office on Violence against Women, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice. Similarly, the ideas presented in this document do not necessarily represent the viewpoints of the Family Violence Prevention Fund and its partners.