

Key issues in working with men from immigrant and refugee communities in preventing violence against women

White Ribbon Research Series

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White Ribbon Australia

White Ribbon is the world's largest movement of men and boys working to end men's violence against women and girls, promote gender equality, healthy relationships and a new vision of masculinity.

White Ribbon Australia (White Ribbon), as part of this global movement, aims to create an Australian society in which all women can live in safety, free from violence and abuse.

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Executive Summary

This report

...explores the key issues in working with men from immigrant and refugee communities in Australia to prevent violence against women. It applies a feminist intersectional approach to the question of men's engagement and examines a range of issues that need to be considered in the development of primary prevention engagement strategies for immigrant and refugee men.

The report is divided into four sections. **Section 1** outlines the context for engaging immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention and describes the need to apply a feminist intersectional approach. **Section 2** discusses the ways in which immigrant and refugee men negotiate their conception of their masculinities during migration and settlement. Migration, employment-related difficulties and discrimination impact on immigrant and refugee men's sense of gendered identity. The diversity of immigrant and refugee men's responses to migration-related challenges should be accounted for in violence prevention programs.

Violence against women is endemic across Australian communities and cultures. While marginalised women experience a heightened vulnerability to gendered violence, there is insufficient evidence that any one culture or community, migrant or otherwise, is more or less violent than any other. However, in media and popular culture, immigrant and refugee men and cultures are represented as being more 'traditional', oppressive to women and as having greater tendency to commit violence against women. Conversely, immigrant and refugee women are portrayed as more oppressed, passive and lacking in agency. In this regard, **Section 3** examines conceptions of 'culture' as it relates to immigrant and refugee men and highlights the need to adapt a complex understanding of 'culture' in order to re-frame our understandings of immigrant and refugee men's capacity to prevent violence.

Section 4 outlines key strategies for engaging immigrant and refugee men in prevention. Immigrant and refugee men should be engaged in violence prevention through the leadership of women. Valuing, fostering and harnessing immigrant and refugee women's feminist activism and leadership boosts gender equity within immigrant and refugee communities. In addition, direct participation strategies aimed at men should be framed within a global human rights and social justice perspective, convey positive, concrete and meaningful messages, and be aimed at achieving long-term, gender-transformative gains and solutions. Importantly, developing and implementing strategies to engage immigrant and refugee men should focus on cultural specificity (as opposed to difference), which takes into account different men's relative spheres of influence within and across cultures.

Although the report identifies promising and culturally appropriate practices and approaches, it is important to note that there is an extremely limited evidence base to draw from to make accurate assertions about the most effective ways of engaging immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention in Australia. Further research and evaluation, conducted along-side violence prevention efforts, are essential.

Introduction

Men from immigrant and refugee communities can play a key role in preventing and reducing violence against women.¹

This report explores the key issues in working with immigrant and refugee men in Australia and provides recommendations for their effective engagement in violence prevention practice.

This report is guided by a feminist, intersectional approach, which understands violence against women as a symptom of gender inequality and recognises that gender intersects with many other forms of social difference such as race, ethnicity, sexuality, socio-economic class and faith. The report has been commissioned by White Ribbon Australia, whose mission is to prevent violence against women in Australia, and builds on previous reports which are part of the White Ribbon Prevention Research Series. White Ribbon Australia maintains the White Ribbon campaign and programs, centred on promoting men's positive roles in preventing violence against women.

This report describes the ways in which dominant forms of masculinity and stereotyped representations of immigrant women and men, and their communities and cultures, currently act as major challenges in violence prevention work with men from diverse cultures, and suggests strategies for negotiating such an environment.

¹This report uses the term 'immigrant and refugee' to describe men and women whose first language is not English. The use of the term highlights the fact that immigrating to another country (whether as a refugee, temporary, permanent resident or as a non-citizen) has fundamental consequences. Immigrants—depending on their visa category—can be denied access to, or have difficulty accessing, social benefits and entitlements, including owning a home; health services; educational opportunities; social mobility; and the right to be with family. The use of the words 'immigrant' and 'refugee' acknowledges that 'migrant' and 'cultural diversity' issues do not exist in isolation and cut across a whole range of policy issues and portfolios such as health, housing, settlement, law, justice, immigration and citizenship.

1

Involving immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention

Violence against women and girls can be found in all countries, and within countries, across all cultures and communities. While gendered violence is a common experience, reported rates of, and attitudes toward, violence against women differ across countries and communities, as noted by, for example, the recent multi-country study conducted across six countries in the Asia Pacific (Fulu *et al.* 2013), and the Australian-based National Community Attitudes Survey (VicHealth 2014).

Taking into account gendered structural and cultural factors, diverse definitions of masculinity and men's differential relationships to different types of power, it is no surprise that when we talk about men's violence against women we are describing a diverse and complex landscape of experience and issues. This paper acknowledges this diversity and addresses it as a starting point, but does not try to quantify the degree of sexism or the level of adherence to patriarchal values within migrant communities or migrants' countries of birth. Instead, **this report addresses the qualitative question of how all cultures are patriarchal, not more or less, but differently (Volpp 2001), as a guide to explore the question of how to most effectively engage immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention.**

In Australia, the statistics in relation to violence against women are fast becoming a catch cry: as many as one in five women experience sexual violence and one in three experience physical violence at some point in their lives (ABS 2012). Statistics such as these have cemented violence as a serious public health and human rights abuse issue and have magnified the need for multi-level, multi-stakeholder and collaborative responses to reduce and prevent violence occurring in the first place.

In recent years, there have been calls for the greater involvement of men in violence prevention, the rationale being that while the majority of men are not physically violent, gendered violence is perpetuated overwhelmingly by men against women, in actions that are shaped by highly influential ideas about masculinity and manhood (Flood 2010). On a structural level, men as a group have access to male privilege, and they play a part in a larger context of everyday sexism, benefiting in the main from the patriarchal control of women. In other words, men are highly implicated in the issue of violence against women, as perpetrators and beneficiaries, but they also have a positive role to play in being part of the solution by challenging ideas of masculinity and manhood.

In the Australian context, the shift in thinking about men's involvement as partners in primary prevention rather than as only perpetrators and targets for intervention, has brought with it some challenges, not least of which is related to our normalised ideas about 'gender' and 'culture'. Our terminology and approaches to violence prevention are generally assumed to be culturally and racially neutral, when this is in fact far from the case. There has been scant commentary about the ways in which gender and culture intersect, and about the potential role of men from immigrant and refugee communities in prevention. Engaging immigrant and refugee men in the primary prevention of violence against women requires that we re-examine our understandings of culture and gender and acquire a level of cross-cultural and transcultural knowledge.

In Australia, where approximately a third (32 per cent) of the Australian population was born overseas and 20 per cent of the population has at least one parent born overseas (ABS 2013), there is a need not only to recognise the complex dynamics at play when violence occurs against women from immigrant and refugee communities (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005), but also to understand the ways in which the causes of violence are understood differently when it is perpetrated against any woman by immigrant or refugee men, than when it is perpetrated by white, Anglo- Australian men (Volpp 2011). The notion of gender equality and the very idea of cultural and social change, for example, can mean vastly different things for men from immigrant and refugee communities compared to Australian-born men. We need to recognise and explore the ways in which gender roles intersect with ethnicity, culture, class, age and other forms of social difference. Such a task will necessarily include an interrogation of masculinity, and the diverse masculinities that are constructed through these intersections of difference. Part Two of this paper further explores this question.

In the context of unequal gendered power relations, the question of whether women and men can ever be equal partners is of course problematic. However, if those unequal power relations are transformed then it is likely to open up different issues. Indeed, the growing engagement of men in violence prevention globally has raised some important feminist concerns about the growing *leadership* role of men in this area, which in some cases, has worked against the aim of gender equity by elevating men to the role of natural spokesperson, or ‘mansplainer’² with women’s voices further muted within the debates (Manjoo 2014). In Australian immigrant and refugee communities, this trend has translated into a community engagement approach whereby men, rather than women, are automatically assumed to be ‘community leaders’, and therefore representative of community views. This question of leadership is addressed further in Part Four of this paper. Strategies for engaging men in immigrant and refugee communities, in ways that simultaneously build the status of women from those communities, are suggested.

Why we need a broader understanding of violence against women

According to the United Nations (UN), violence against women is ‘any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm and suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life’ (United Nations 1993).

While there is currently no single, agreed definition for family, domestic and sexual violence (ABS 2013), this report nevertheless is guided by elements of the UN definition. For the purposes of this report, we use the term ‘violence against women’ to refer to the wide range of abuses recognised by the UN Declaration.³

The multidisciplinary nature of family, domestic and sexual violence continues to pose challenges with the way it is classified and measured. The dynamics and the contexts in which violence occur—whether there is a relationship between the woman and

perpetrator, for example—can impact on the way an incident of violence is interpreted and defined.

In this regard, one of the main challenges in trying to define and measure—and indeed, *prevent*—any form of violence against women is one of cross-cultural understanding, which recognises the diverse contexts of women’s experiences. Referring to domestic violence, any definition would be incomplete unless it includes culturally specific forms of abuse and the different meanings that these forms of abuse have for women themselves, and presumably, for men (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005).

We should be aware that the different forms of violence to which immigrant and refugee women are exposed and to which they are particularly vulnerable, such as racial abuse and the deprivation of liberty through state-based mechanisms, are not readily considered to be forms of ‘violence against women’ (Price 2012).

We need to define violence against women in ways that more accurately reflect the various forms of violence marginalised women experience.

²‘Mansplaining’, named the 2014 Macquarie Dictionary word of the year, is a humorous reflection on the practice of men explaining concepts to women in patronising ways, assuming that they will not understand.

³The choice of words is important as the term ‘gender-based violence’ can become problematic because it can de-emphasise power and hierarchical structures, and become used as a gender-neutral term, even though men are the main perpetrators of violence against women. Acts of violence against women are not always or only gender-based, but all acts of violence against women require a gendered analysis.

Knowledge and attitudes

Community attitudes towards gender equality and violence are key to preventing violence against women. However, research in this area is limited in its scope, breadth and cross-cultural application. In-depth, qualitative and contextualised research is lacking and, particularly with respect to immigrant and refugee communities in Australia, existing knowledge is insufficient to adequately guide prevention practice.⁴ While it is well known that attitudes towards violence against women are more violence-supportive among men than women (Flood and Pease 2006), research comparing knowledge and attitudes across immigrant and refugee communities, and between ethnic majority and minority communities (VicHealth 2014), does not adequately account for cross-cultural differences in understandings and meanings of key concepts in violence prevention, such as gendered difference, family, home, privacy, and community (Ahmed *et al.* 2003; Bhattacharjee 1997; Murdolo 2014).

However limited, available evidence does indicate that there may be significant differences in attitudes across cultures and communities in Australia. The most recent national community attitudes survey demonstrates that people from countries in which the main language is not English and who are recently arrived to Australia are more likely than others to have low levels of understanding of violence against women, are least likely to reject attitudes explicitly supportive of violence, and have a low level of support for gender equality (VicHealth 2014: 15). However, other social norms relating to both gender relations and to violence are the main influences on understanding and attitudes towards violence against women. In other words, the influence of gender and place of birth is minimal after understanding and attitudes to gender equality are taken into account (VicHealth 2014).

What is lacking in our knowledge is more qualitative research that further explores the meanings of community attitudes and the ways in which attitudes toward violence against women are also shaped by a diversity of views and beliefs between and within cultures, by women's and men's lived, culturally bound experience, including of migration, and by structural location (ANROWS 2014). As Part 3 of this report details, culture itself is neither static nor insular and is constantly created through relationships (Volpp 2001). Identifying and analysing social norms and beliefs within specific cultures is therefore a complex task, which includes understanding attitudes over time and in relation to changing social and political circumstances.

A review of violence prevention strategies for immigrant and refugee women in Australia highlights that 'women marginalised by age, culture, ethnicity, sexual identity and visa status are more vulnerable to violence and are less likely to have the resources to act to report it' (Poljski 2011: 11).

Available evidence is clear on immigrant and refugee women's heightened vulnerability to violence and their help-seeking behaviour (Vaughan *et al.* 2016, Flory 2012, Raj & Silverman 2002). A review of violence prevention strategies for immigrant and refugee women in Australia highlights that 'women marginalised by age, culture, ethnicity, sexual identity and visa status are more vulnerable to violence and are less likely to have the resources to act to report it' (Poljski 2011: 11). Immigrant and refugee women are less likely to report family and domestic violence to police or access mainstream services (ECCV 2013; Allimant & Ostapiej Piatkowski 2014), and are more likely to access domestic violence support services. If and when they do access the legal/justice system, immigrant and refugee women also face various barriers in progressing through the system (InTouch 2010).

Given that our current ways of responding to violence are not meeting the needs of immigrant and refugee women, we need to incorporate more culturally aware and responsive strategies in our approach to preventing violence. Engaging and working with men from immigrant and refugee backgrounds requires critical reflection on the current model of violence prevention efforts. For a start, we need to examine how well our current approach to primary prevention explicitly incorporate issues of cultural diversity, at both the individual and structural levels.

⁴The ASPIRE Research Project, conducted by the Multicultural Centre for Women's Health, the University of Melbourne and the University of Tasmania and due to report in October 2016, is a national community-led project exploring immigrant and refugee women's experiences of violence. Findings will contribute to qualitative knowledge about community attitudes to violence against women.

The public health model of primary prevention

The public health approach has been influential in policy and program responses to the prevention of violence against women both in Australia and internationally. Central to the approach is primary prevention, which aims to stop health-related problems from occurring in the first place by addressing key risk factors that can adversely impact on our health. Within this approach, prevention efforts are not focused on an individual, but are extended to entire populations (not just at-risk groups) to provide the maximum benefit for all. This approach is used by White Ribbon Australia through its programs in schools and workplaces and its campaigns targeting men and boys.

Central to the public health approach is the idea that there are multiple interactions between individuals and their environments, which occur across various spheres of social life. This social-ecological conceptualisation has been instrumental in developing global understanding of prevention and translating the knowledge into practical strategies. In Australia, the national framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children, *Change the Story*, articulates the gendered drivers and reinforcing factors in the perpetration of violence against women, and outlines how these factors can be represented and targeted at ecological levels (Our Watch, ANROWS and VicHealth 2015).

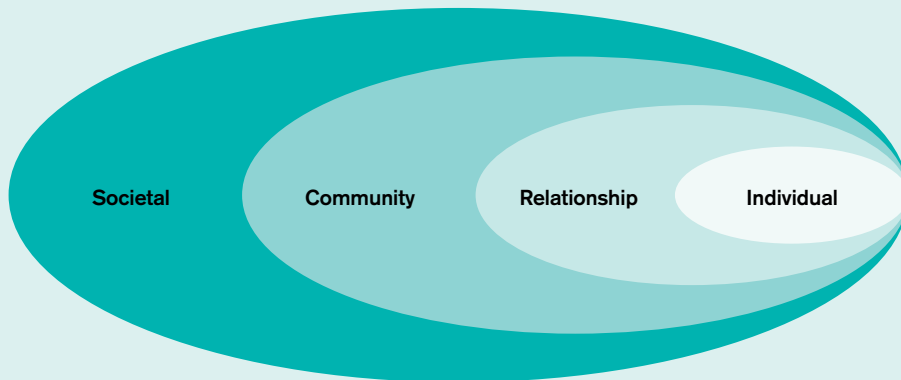


Figure 1: The ecological model for understanding violence.

Source: World Health Organisation. *World report on violence and health*. WHO: Geneva, 2002.

The benefits of applying the public health model of 'preventing violence before it occurs' are numerous, not least of which is 'a new optimism that violence is not just random, but rather something that can be predicted and prevented' (Walden & Wall 2014). Importantly, the primary prevention approach has highlighted the impact of violence on women's social wellbeing as well as physical and mental health, which in turn has helped to focus efforts on other areas of social need such as housing, employment and support services. Yet, the adoption of the ecological model in primary prevention work with immigrant and refugee communities poses some challenges.

It is now widely acknowledged that the societal and community levels are where violence-supportive attitudes can be addressed, yet they are also the most difficult to target for change and where change can also be difficult to measure. Moreover, there is scant acknowledgment of state-based or other structural violence imposed against immigrant and refugee women and men as falling within societal concerns (Price 2012). As with working definitions of violence against women, the broad categories outlined in the ecological model make it difficult to identify the specific forms of violence experienced by women, and in particular immigrant and refugee women, in ways that aid understanding of the intersections of structural oppressions. As a result, it becomes more difficult to identify the relationships between inequality, attitudes, and women's lived experiences. For example, structural solutions to gender inequality, such as women's workforce participation and education, can be overlooked (Salter 2015).

The participation of all immigrant communities in violence prevention also faces some practical challenges. In aiming to change entire populations, the public health approach necessarily relies on the actions of many groups in order to affect change. The multi-level, interactive and interrelated nature of such an endeavour poses various challenges including the development of effective program design and resource allocation, particularly into evaluation (Walden & Wall 2014). Such imperatives impact more acutely on immigrant and refugee communities. Empirical evidence suggests that research, program delivery and evaluation involving immigrant and refugee communities are more likely to be inaccessible, limited and beset by cross-cultural complexities, including lack of attention to socio-cultural context and the exclusion of portions of immigrant and refugee populations (Tayton *et al.* 2014).

At the end of 2013, the majority (82 per cent) of recent migrants were aged 20-44 years on arrival (ABS 2014).

School-based primary prevention programs for example, are a 'universal' population-based approach, which in effect excludes many people, including those from immigrant and refugee communities, given that they mostly arrive in Australia in their twenties and thirties as workers and/or tertiary students. At the end of 2013, the majority (82 per cent) of recent migrants were aged 20-44 years on arrival (ABS 2014). In response to such noted exclusions, 'specific' and 'targeted' programs are developed alongside universal approaches, but which only reach small groups of people, and are often restricted to 3-6 ethno-specific communities in a defined geographical area (COAG 2011; Murdolo and Quiazon 2015). The inherent challenges in working with immigrant and refugee communities suggests that current approaches to violent prevention are not socially inclusive of all population groups and are not well equipped to take account of the complexities of social identity, including changing gender roles. As a starting point, this paper outlines how these issues need to be considered in the development of engagement strategies for immigrant and refugee men.

The primary prevention approach makes explicit the feminist rationale that violence against women is driven by gender inequality (Our Watch, ANROWS and VicHealth 2015). However, one of the main challenges is making this link explicit in primary prevention activities. As it has been pointed out, 'there is no existing model of gender equality to aspire to or to demonstrate the end product' (Wall 2014: 1). This is of particular concern when working with immigrant and refugee communities where gender power imbalances are more likely to be pronounced, precisely because they intersect with other social categories of disadvantage such as race and class (Wall 2014).

A feminist intersectional approach: why it's relevant to immigrant men

Understandings of violence against women internationally, and in mainstream Australian contexts, have tended to be centred on gender as the primary category of analysis, and patriarchy⁵ as the supporting structure (Murray and Powell 2011). In response to the exclusion that results from centralising gender, feminist intersectional theorists have developed alternative approaches to understanding women's oppression, and more specifically, violence against women, that more comprehensively take into account the intersection between gender and other important social factors such as race, class and culture (Anthias 2014; Volpp 2011; Yuval-Davis 2011; Mohanty 2003; Crenshaw 1991; Davis 1981; hooks 1981).

Intersectionality, first defined by Kimberley Crenshaw in 1989, and further elaborated by Crenshaw and others, with specific reference to violence against women, is an approach to understanding gendered experiences and the oppression of women that takes account of ethnic and racialised (and other) marginalities (Crenshaw 1991). A central principle of the intersectional approach to primary prevention is

the understanding that gender inequality is neither the only factor, nor the most important factor, determining violence against women (Crenshaw 1991; Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). Rather, violence against women takes place in the intersections of systems of power and oppression.

Theories of intersectionality challenge mainstream one-dimensional approaches to violence against women in a number of ways. First, intersectionality questions the monolithic nature of our understandings of gender-based violence. While violence against women is a universal, transnational and cross-cultural phenomenon, women experience violence differently depending on their specific circumstances (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). Second, intersectional analyses suggest the inclusion, in our definitions of gender-based violence, of culturally specific forms of abuse and violence against women (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). In the Australian context, specific forms of violence such as threats of deportation, or 'honour killing',⁶ are forms of violence that impact specifically on immigrant and refugee women (AMWCHR 2013; El-Matrah *et al.* 2011).

⁵Patriarchy is a contested term that has various meanings (Walby 1990). The term is used here as a concept to theorise different forms of gender inequality.

⁶The concept of 'honour killing' has been problematised by feminist scholars internationally, noting that it is the only form of violence against women that is defined by the so-called motive to commit it (Siddiqui 2013). These debates are beyond the scope of this paper, but we use the term to signal the existence of a form of violence against women that impacts specifically on immigrant and refugee women in Australia.

In addition, a focus on cultural difference, and enabling the diverse voices of women to be heard, should include an analysis of structural power. As Sokoloff and Dupont (2005) point out, we need to ask the question: 'How are women's cultural experiences of violence mediated through structural forms of oppression?' In this regard, we would recognise that state-based intervention and criminal justice system solutions to violence against women impact differentially on women depending on their circumstances.

An intersectional approach has the capacity to give voice to marginalised women, and to encourage action that places marginalised women, and the issues that affect them, at the centre of programs, interventions and violence prevention strategies (Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). Such issues might not only include sex discrimination and gender inequality, but also restrictive immigration policy for example, and stereotyped representations of immigrant and refugee women, and other racialised women, in the media. As Floya Anthias puts forward, we must emphasise individual, cultural, structural and discursive analyses of race, class and gender in order to develop emancipatory responses to women's oppression (Anthias 2014).

This paper applies a feminist intersectional approach to the question of engaging men, locating immigrant and refugee men in particular within intersecting relations of power, and thus understanding them as both oppressed and privileged in relation to dominance and subordination. On the one hand, immigrant and refugee men occupy a position of male privilege by belonging to the social group that is protected from gender-based violence, and that inflicts that violence on women and girls. On the other hand, immigrant and refugee men also occupy a subordinated position and share with immigrant women those disadvantages that can stem from their structural locations as migrants. These include precarious visa status, social exclusion/isolation, racism, discrimination, structural disadvantage in the labour force and in education, lack of access to citizenship rights, stigmatisation of migrant cultures or religions in the media, and English language barriers. As the next section of the report illustrates, male domination and privilege as enacted through various forms of masculinity take on a different meaning when issues and experiences relating to migration are taken into account.

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2

Immigrant and refugee men and masculinities

What does it mean to be a man?

Constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in understanding men's perpetration of violence.

Over the last 40 years, feminist and critical men's studies scholars have developed and elaborated theoretical frameworks to understand masculinity, based on the concept of hegemonic masculinity. The concept refers to a normative ideal in relation to which men continually define themselves. In other words, it gives expression to what men might aspire to—what they 'should' do and be—but does not necessarily mean it is actually what they want or feel they necessarily are (Howson 2009). Through the years, hegemonic masculinity has assumed a central role in theorising, understanding and recognising power structures and relations (Howson 2009).

Hegemonic masculinity contains some key aspects that are of central importance in examinations of gender relations and masculinity. The concept can be understood as a pattern of practice of what it is to be a man in a particular place and at a particular point in time. In this way, hegemonic masculinity requires men—whether they act on it or not—to position themselves in relation to practices and ways of being a man that, in effect, allow their domination of women to continue. A fundamental feature of the concept is the plurality and hierarchy of masculinities, which presumes subordination of non-hegemonic masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005 : 846). This feature of hegemonic masculinity, one that marginalises and delegitimises alternative forms of masculinities, has direct implications for the ways in which immigrant men negotiate their masculinity in a new culture where they are a minority.

A related concept is the notion of complicit masculinity, whereby men retain their patriarchal privilege without having to display overtly masculine (and/or expressly violent) dominance (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). As Karen Pyke (1996) points out, brutality of power should not be equated with quantity of power and we should also examine ways that power inequalities are hidden in seemingly egalitarian relationships.

Importantly, the notion of hegemonic masculinity suggests that there is an ongoing struggle for dominance, whereby social and political change to the existing hegemony is possible (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). In the specific context of working with immigrant and refugee men toward culture change, the concept of hegemonic masculinity can provide a framework for understanding, and articulating potential change strategies.

However, while the *concept* of hegemonic masculinity is open to various forms of masculinities, we have a very limited understanding of how the form of masculinity that is hegemonic in the Australian context (or in diverse Australian contexts), impacts on the specific masculinities of migrant men. The subject of migration studies has traditionally been ungendered, with the feminisation of migration only recently acknowledged as a central and defining characteristic of global migration. While there has been an increasing body of feminist work that articulates the specific circumstances of women migrants as gendered subjects, the literature has had little to say about men as gendered subjects (Hearn and Howson 2008).

Similarly, masculinity studies in Australia often has assumed men to be racially and ethnically 'neutral'. While we have clearly understood in theory that there are many masculinities (e.g. the sporting male; the corporate executive; the sensitive, new age guy) that can be described and that men define themselves in relation to, there has been only recent attention paid to the articulation of the diverse masculinities that may be created through the intersections between gender, race and ethnicity in the Australian context of migration (Hibbins and Pease 2009; Rees and Pease 2008).

Masculinities of migrant men in Australia

What we know

There is still very little documented about the ways in which migrant men negotiate and respond to their gendered identities during migration and settlement. The current state of knowledge is limited in its coverage of the many ethnic and cultural groups that make up the larger population of immigrant and refugee men in Australia, and tends to focus on newly arrived and refugee groups. Given the lack of studies that focus on men on temporary working or student visas, or permanent skilled visas for example, it is difficult to arrive at definitive statements about migrant or refugee masculinity, and how they might be accounted for in violence prevention activities, based on such a limited sample of diverse masculinities. Notwithstanding the limited scope of findings, the existing research makes an important contribution to our existing knowledge.

The current literature shows that arrival in Australia poses many challenges for immigrant and refugee men, and in many cases, these are particularly centred on the relationships between work and men's roles as 'providers'. Men's difficulties in finding and keeping employment, including experiences of unemployment

and underemployment, can be disempowering. Although our current migration program favours 'skilled' migrants, immigrant and refugee men continue to be over-represented in low status jobs, such as taxi driving, ICT, or labouring in construction, manufacturing and mining (Thomson 2014). The nature and availability of work can leave immigrant men feeling undervalued, especially when they are required to perform work beneath their skill levels (Pease 2009; Crossley and Pease 2009;).

For men for whom breadwinning and providing for the family is key to their understanding of masculinity, the challenges raised by migration often mean that men's experiences of work are

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unable to live up to expectations, or the degree of social and economic power they may have had in the pre-migration context. Australian research finds that in situations where men's sense of being household heads was challenged, there was a perception that the 'natural order' of gender relations was disrupted. While some men expressed an appreciation and preference for a shift in gender relations to a more egalitarian mode, many men perceived the changes as negative (Pease 2009; Donaldson & Howson 2009).

For African men in particular, Ngungi wa Mungai and Bob Pease (2009) found that while breadwinning was important, the concept of responsibility to the family and to the community was understood in a more collective, rather than individualistic, context. In some cases, this sense of responsibility manifested itself in a heightened sense of needing to control women and girls. Other considerations were the impact of race and class discrimination on African men's status and sense of self, and the important observation that there are points at which masculinities overlap (wa Mungai and Pease 2009).

It is important to note that none of the work in the area of migrant masculinity addresses the question of migrant femininity, which may have the effect of drawing on a partial picture, particularly when masculinity is viewed as relational and oppositional (Schippers 2006). In some respects, the literature fails to question the representation of migrant women—before migration—as homogeneously unproductive in the traditional sense, which is increasingly far from the reality of women in the global economy. Many migrant and refugee women conduct paid work before migration, so that migration and settlement in Australia is not the first time women are contributing to a family wage and men are challenged with respect to their breadwinner role (Ho 2006; Hoang and Yeoh 2011).

Although our current migration program favours 'skilled' migrants, immigrant and refugee men continue to be over-represented in low status jobs, such as taxi driving, ICT, or labouring in construction, manufacturing and mining (Thomson 2014).

Further, migrant women often experience a downward shift in their status on migration: women who may not have been dependent on their male partners in their country of origin, on migration are necessarily recategorised as dependents. Notably, 80 per cent of spouse visas are allocated to women, even though in many cases both female and male partners on skilled visas become employed on arrival to Australia (Ho 2006). Christina Ho has shown that in the specific example of Chinese migrant women, women are often expected to subordinate their own careers to facilitate family settlement. Upon migration they find themselves not only downwardly mobile but wholly responsible for the domestic workload, with their roles and identities feminised (Ho 2006). Not surprisingly in these circumstances, the gender pay gap between Hong Kong- and China-born women and men has significantly widened through migration, shifting from 85 per cent for men and 84 per cent for women in country of origin to 74 per cent for men and 55 per cent for women (Ho 2006). It is critical to better understand the ways that migrant men negotiate their masculinities in the context of the downward mobility of their 'breadwinning' female partners.

Overall, studies on migrant masculinity in Australia illustrate the broad diversity amongst men in their responses to the changes that migration and settlement bring to gendered relationships. Some men perceive that migration has brought new privileges and a higher status to women in their families and communities (Pease 2009; wa Mungai and Pease 2009), whereas others have identified changes in gender relations having taken place in their countries of origin (wa Mungai and Pease 2009). Some welcome gender equality and women's rights, and others lament it (wa Mungai and Pease 2009). Some perceive Australia as a country in which women experience greater freedom and respect, while others express a distaste for the lack of respect shown to women by anglo-Australian men (Nilan, Donaldson and Howson 2009). The diversity of experiences, responses and ways of negotiating masculinity should be taken into account in violence prevention strategies.

Representation of migrant masculinities

Some recent sociological and historical studies have generated increased awareness about the representation of diverse masculinities in the Australian migration context. While hegemonic Australian masculinity has been defined as inherently white, and associated with strength, fitness, and racial purity (White 2007), a number of alternative and subjugated masculinities that have been used to represent migrant men have recently been identified by academics and research

These include the 'hyper-masculine protest masculinity' of second generation men from the Lebanese community (Poynting, Noble and Tabar 1999); the customary breadwinner responding to racialised marginalisation experienced as a consequence of migration (Pease 2009); the compliant, productive skilled Chinese 457 visa workers (Haggis and Schech 2009); and a progressive Black masculinity adopted as a resistance and solidarity strategy in the face of migration challenges (wa Mungai and Pease 2009). Some men show a type of 'protest masculinity', which is a form of marginalised hypermasculinity that picks up on the themes of hegemonic masculinity, but reworks them in the context of working-class settings, long-term economic marginality, poverty and/or ethnic marginalisation (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Poynting, Noble and Tabar 1999).

This reworking of a dominant male order not only highlights the agency of subordinated groups, but also reveals the complex interplay of costs and benefits involved in gender power relations. Men engage with representations of masculinity in their everyday lives in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. For example, immigrant men on temporary working visas may be constructed as compliant and subordinate in the workplace, but in reality, exercise an authoritarian masculinity in their family life. Similarly, migrant men from working class backgrounds may be depicted in popular media as aggressive and domineering through the frame of hypermasculinity, but in their personal lives, maintain egalitarian personal and domestic relationships.

There are also discursive frameworks that intersect with and contribute to immigrant men's diverse masculinities. Discourse and policy relating to immigration, multiculturalism and ideas about the nation state all impact on migrant men's gender identities in various ways.

Popular understandings of the Australian nation do not acknowledge the slaughter and dispossession of Aboriginal people. Through this erasure of the 'original theft', Australia is structured as 'rightly white', with an ambiguous role within that structure relegated to immigrants and refugees, depending on their relationship to white privilege (Moreton Robinson 2003; Nicolacopoulos and Vassilacopoulos 2004). If Australia, land and all its assets included, are understood to be white, migrants are constructed as 'taking jobs' from the Australian (male) worker. Migrant men in particular are perceived as not only a sexual threat but also an economic threat – they are constructed as taking land and space that rightly belongs to 'white Australia' (Haggis and Schech 2009; Hage 1998). One way this threat has been diffused is through the historical representation of migrant masculinities as feminised (Haggis and Schech 2009) thereby entrenching the dominance of white masculinity.

How should we use this knowledge?

Scholarship in the area of migrant masculinity has contributed significantly to our understandings of how migrant men relate to, and identify with or against, the form of masculinity that is hegemonic in Australia. Representations of migrant masculinity both expand and contract our frameworks for engaging men in violence prevention. On the one hand, immigrant and refugee men have been represented in limited ways in research and popular media. If these limited forms are taken at face value, violence prevention strategies will be similarly limited. On the other hand, the diversity of men's conceptions of masculinities, if understood as a partial—rather than a totalising—explanation of immigrant and refugee men's masculinity, has the potential to open up violence prevention to new possibilities.

It is important to acknowledge that there is much that remains unknown. While we are more informed about the identities and experiences of some migrant men, these are partial accounts which perhaps better articulate the circumstances of heterosexual migrant and refugee men from particular communities, than they do the specific situations of migrant or refugee gay men, men who are in Australia on temporary working or student visas, or men from older and more established migrant communities. There is much research yet to be done to articulate the broader diversity of experience. We should therefore avoid the temptation to universalise and generalise immigrant and refugee men's experiences from the little research that we have at hand.

3

The role of 'culture'

“Rather than position the immigrant as the disorderly and strange bearer of archaic traditions, we must recognise the role of racism, state policies, and material concerns in shaping immigrants’ experiences of culture.”

Volpp 2011:14

Immigrant and refugee men can play a positive role in preventing violence against women by challenging ideas about masculinity and manhood. However, men's ideas about cultural and social change can mean vastly different things for men from immigrant and refugee communities compared to anglo-Australian men. Engaging immigrant and refugee men in primary prevention therefore requires that we re-examine our understandings of not only gender, but also culture.

If white hegemonic masculinity has dominated discourses of what it is to be a man, popularised understandings of 'culture' also fall within a dominant hegemonic order. In other words, culture is seen to belong exclusively to minority ethnic groups and the hegemonic culture of dominant groups, usually white, either remains invisible and normalised or is understood as more sophisticated and complex (Volpp 2001). According to this mode of thinking, the cultures of ethnic and immigrant communities are seen to be monolithic, unchanging and straightforward. If culture is understood in this way, best practice recommendations and strategies that dictate 'culturally appropriateness' or 'cultural competence' should not be taken at face value because they run the risk of essentialising culture.

An excessive focus on and simplistic understanding of 'culture' can be problematic because it can obscure or divert our attention from specific relations of power, within both Australian culture and other cultures. Problems can arise, for example, whenever culture (often conflated with race and ethnicity) and not racism is taken to be the focus of study. While an intersectional approach can help guard against these pitfalls, it is nevertheless beneficial to unpack the ways in which definitions of culture have been conceptualised and used, especially when gender subordination is seen only to occur in immigrant and refugee communities.

If we state that men arrive in Australia with a 'traditional culture' and that this culture is redefined on contact with a 'new' culture, we are in danger of solidifying our understanding of culture, and placing migrant cultures on the negative side of a binary equation of 'traditional' versus 'new'. In this regard, we may need to rethink the definition of culture that we use, and perhaps start to also think about the ways in which diverse masculinities overlap. As the previous section has shown, the diverse, overlapping and subordinated masculinities of immigrant and refugee men indicate that the theory of a 'clash of cultures' only serves to mask the intersections between gender, ethnicity, class, and disadvantage with other forms of identity.

For example, socio-economic power and status are aspects of culture that are seldom discussed in Australia, yet they are important factors when thinking through the relationship between migration and male gender identity. The changes in Australian immigration policies—from the exclusionary 'White Australia' policy through to policies of integration, assimilation and multiculturalism—have impacted on the types of migrants who have settled in Australia. Newly arrived male migrants with established diaspora networks (large migrant population groups who share a similar heritage), for example, will command a different level of power and influence than new humanitarian arrivals from new and emerging communities.

Representations and constructions of culture

When violence against women occurs in immigrant and refugee communities and when immigrant men are the perpetrators of violence, it seems that 'culture' becomes the prime lens through which accounts and explanations are based (Collins 2005). In these instances, attitudes and behaviours are deemed 'cultural'.

Particular forms of violence experienced by non-Western women—'honour killing', acid attacks, stoning—have been spectacularly reported in the press and this has helped to perpetuate the narrative that minority migrant cultures are primitive, oppressed and in need of saving. Whereas, when white people engage in certain practices the media does not attribute their behaviour to a 'white/western culture', and instead constructs other, non-cultural explanations (Volpp 2000: 89). This construction of moral difference can also be found when immigrant men are found to be perpetrators of violence and crime.

Some of the available historical literature highlights the ways in which migrant men have been the subject of intense community anxiety—'moral panics'—throughout Australian history. Moral panics in Australian history, as with anti-immigration discourse, have linked crime and the fear of crime with ethnic minority men and/or other marginalised groups, fuelling enhanced negative media and public attention (Collins 2005). At the centre of such representations from the 1950s-1980s were post-war European migrant men, often perceived to be involved in 'ethnic' organised crime, and from the 1970s on, Chinese, Vietnamese, Lebanese and Turkish men, represented as drug traffickers and gang leaders (Goodall *et al.* 1994). More recently, Arabic and Muslim men have become an increasingly criminalised group in media and popular discourse. These men are constructed as having an inferior and dysfunctional culture, which conveniently accounts for their criminality as well as generating fear in the wider community (Ho 2007).

Such representations feed into images of Arabic and Muslim women as subject to a naturally misogynistic and oppressive Islam, endorsed by Muslim men (Ho 2007). This is a discourse that enables the representation of migrant men as more violent and patriarchal, where this becomes understood as a particularly dangerous form of 'Muslim misogyny' or women-hating, from which Australian men and women must be protected. The logic of this representation relies on obscuring the misogyny in mainstream Australian culture, enabling an essentialist split of 'egalitarian West' versus 'oppressive Islam' (Ho 2007).

When Muslim men are represented in this way, the oppression of Muslim and Arabic women becomes more than a concern for the women; it is also represented as a threat to the nation, and more particularly, to Australian culture. By extension, violence perpetrated by Muslim and Arabic men takes on a nationalised meaning: it is not limited to an act of individualised violence perpetrated against an individual woman but a national threat posed to Australian culture. Concerns about Arabic/Muslim/Middle Eastern immigrant men being terrorists have at the same time exposed Muslim women and women from the Middle East to victimisation.⁷

Case study: The Sydney Gang Rapes and the Cronulla Riots

The racialisation and subordination of immigrant men's masculinities are best illustrated in the media reporting of and the public outrage about a series of gang rapes perpetrated by young Lebanese men in the early 2000s (Devine 2002; Toy & Knowles 2001 cited in Grewal 2007). The events were later expressly linked (most notably by Alan Jones, the right-wing conservative 'shock jock') to a series of 'race' riots at the Sydney beachside suburb of Cronulla (Kennedy & Murphy 2005). Two lifesavers were assaulted by youths of Middle Eastern background, which provoked an immediate backlash. Word quickly spread via word-of-mouth and text messages for a mass protest to 'reclaim the beach' and 'to teach the wogs a lesson'. The riots were further inflamed by the attendance of neo-Nazi groups. Central to the ensuing media and political commentary was the selective use of the language of 'women's rights' in order to construct certain ethnicities and religions as a threat to Australian women and the purity of the nation (Grewal 2007).

We have mentioned previously that if gender equality is the goal of violence prevention, then gender expectations and social norms surrounding men's dominance and superiority need examining. Illustrating the link between gender in/equality and violence against woman in 'other' communities requires an examination of how patriarchy operates differently in different cultures. As Part 2 of this report has shown, men and, in particular, immigrant men, do not share equally in the benefits of a patriarchal society because other compounding intersections of power and class, including other additional power deficits such as unemployment and racism, can modify men's gendered power. The racialisation of immigrant men who perpetrate violence also diminishes the opportunity for positive discourses about all ethnic minorities (Collins 2005).

Gender subordination is not limited to immigrant communities and, 'there is simply no evidence to suggest that ethnically diverse families are more violent' (Pease & Rees 2008 : 41). Yet when gendered violence occurs in the lives of immigrants, it is framed as a battle between 'tradition' and 'modernity' where it is assumed that non-white cultures are more tolerant of men's violence against women than white cultures.

As popularised accounts such as the Sydney gang rapes and the Cronulla riots illustrate, concerns about gender subordination in immigrant and refugee communities can act as a smokescreen for racial intolerance. Such a prejudice fails to recognise that immigrant women are also agents of their own feminist struggle. If we understand that immigrant women are also agents of change in their own right, then progress towards gender equality does not necessarily involve eliminating culture (Volpp 2011).

Developing and implementing strategies to engage immigrant and refugee men should focus on cultural specificity (as opposed to difference), while at the same time paying attention to the specific ways in which patriarchy and other power structures manifest within and across cultures. Moreover, as the next section illustrates, strategies to engage men in prevention efforts should also enable the diverse voices of immigrant women to be heard.

⁷Growing fears of Islamic extremism and recent debates about women's Islamic headscarfs have led to an increase in reported cases of discrimination and abuse of Muslim women (Taha and McDonald 2014).

4

Engaging men from immigrant and refugee backgrounds in violence prevention

“We have to be careful that, in involving men [whatever their cultural background] in men’s violence prevention, we do not replicate the same structures and processes that reproduce the violence we are challenging.”

Pease 2008

In Australia and internationally, studies indicate that primary prevention is still at a developmental stage, and that prevention action and thinking that is focused specifically on men and boys—irrespective of cultural or ethnic background—is also still in its infancy. To date, prevention activity with men and boys has been ad hoc and dispersed, and very little has been independently or rigorously evaluated or researched (Carmody *et. al.* 2009). Primary prevention that engages men also holds some key tensions: on the one hand, the elimination of violence against women is constructed as a potential benefit to men that will produce a ‘win-win’ situation because men are also victims and losers when there is gender inequality. On the other hand, the ‘win-win’ approach holds both limited promise and increased risk because it offers no strategies for dealing with men’s resistance. If gender equality is to be achieved, men must in fact relinquish power and privilege (Pease 2008).

With respect to the engagement of immigrant and refugee men, there is very little activity and research available that specifically addresses the intersections of gender, class, and race. Many programs have been developed by and for white men, which have been found to be effective in white, privileged populations (Carmody *et. al.* 2014). Further, the concept of ‘culture’ employed in the majority of research in the field that relate to immigrant and refugee communities is either culture/ethnic-specific and mono-cultural, rather than cross-cultural and intersectional (Pease and Rees 2008).

We have outlined above the range of issues that need to be considered in the development of primary prevention engagement strategies with immigrant and refugee men. In this section, we apply the ideas we have canvassed to the specific question of how best to engage immigrant men. To recap the five main issues we have raised:

1. **Violence against women is endemic across Australian communities and cultures. While marginalised women experience a heightened vulnerability to gendered violence, there is insufficient evidence that any one culture or community, migrant or otherwise, is more or less violent than any other.** However, due to our tendency in Australia to understand violence against women through a normalised, culture-neutral lens, it is more difficult to see and articulate gendered power relations as they manifest in majority anglo-Australian culture. In the context of historical, structural racism and politically generated stereotypes of 'backward' migrant cultures, it is easier for members of dominant groups to identify gender imbalances as an inbuilt element only of 'other cultures'.
2. The concept of 'culture' comes into play in specific and problematic ways when it is used to describe or explain causes of violence against women enacted by immigrant and refugee men. **Popularised and mainstream definitions of culture are often based on one-dimensional definitions that understand culture as belonging only to immigrant and refugee communities. Such an understanding is laden with assumptions about tradition and modernity, with immigrant and refugee cultures falling 'naturally' into the tradition side of the divide.**
3. **Immigrant and refugee women's and men's lives should be contextualised in a more holistic way, which takes consideration of historical and geographical specificities, as well as structural factors.** We have suggested that a complex definition of 'culture', along with structural factors, needs to frame our understandings of immigrant and refugee men's perpetration of gendered violence, and their agency with respect to violence prevention. It should also generate a broader and more inclusive definition of violence against women.
4. **An intersectional feminist approach** applied to the question of engaging men in violence prevention both centralises marginalised women's experiences of violence and contextualises the lives of immigrant and refugee men. It **recognises that immigrant and refugee men have specific relationships to hegemonic masculinity, and that they also experience and create diverse masculinities in response to their lived experiences as migrants and refugees. It also recognises that immigrant and refugee women have a leadership role to play in the prevention of violence against women that if further fostered and promoted, would boost gender equality within immigrant and refugee communities.**
5. There is an extremely limited evidence base to draw from to make accurate assertions about the most effective ways of engaging immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention in Australia. Further research and evaluation, conducted along-side violence prevention efforts, is essential.

Given the lack of an evidence base, the engagement strategies we outline below are based on the principles outlined above, taking into account the conditions that would mitigate the potential problems posed by men's involvement, and the importance of promoting women's leadership in order to further the aim of achieving gender equality. We have also drawn on a review of promising practices and programs conducted thus far (Carmody *et al.* 2014). The practices are considered promising because effective primary prevention practice with men and boys has yet to emerge in Australia. Nevertheless, there are strong findings in relation to best practice programs that can be applied to working with immigrant and refugee men and boys (Carmody *et al.* 2014).

Men's involvement in violence prevention can take three key forms of action: practising non-violence; intervening in violence as positive 'bystanders'; and addressing the social and cultural causes of violence by being an advocate for change (Flood 2010).

In the following section we outline key strategies that fall within these forms of action.

Key strategies for engaging men

1. Engage men through the leadership of women

This paper makes a distinction between the engagement of men and the leadership of men. As noted above, there is a growing concern that globally, the leadership of men in the area of violence against women has tended to relegate women to a subordinate role, an effect that works against the gender equity goal that is central to primary prevention (Manjoo 2014). Work conducted with immigrant and refugee men should be committed to improving boys' and men's lives (Flood 2013: 9). At the same time, it is paramount that improvements are not made at the cost of immigrant and refugee women, and do not undermine existing efforts to transform gender relations within ethnic communities (Manjoo 2014).

The positive impact of promoting women's leadership within marginalised ethnic communities cannot be underestimated. In this same vein, Maria Larasi has argued, it is important to demonstrate collaboration and solidarity with ethnically and racially marginalised feminists who have been working toward gender equity both in their communities and in the broader community. These women's activism is central to success, but it is often the case that their leadership is not structurally supported, and that their voices are dismissed as 'difficult', 'angry', 'banging on about racism', or 'making a fuss about nothing' (Larasi 2013). She states:

“For BME [Black and Minority Ethnic] feminist activists it is simple; we reserve the right to fight alongside white women for gender equality, and the right to fight alongside BME men for ‘race’ equality, but most importantly we reserve the right to speak for ourselves in all of our struggles and aspirations.”

Larasi 2003

In the Australian context, there is a similarly significant movement of immigrant and refugee feminist activists whose efforts have been undervalued (Murdolo 2014). Violence prevention strategies offer a prime opportunity to value, foster and harness such leadership. In this regard, we propose that in immigrant and refugee communities, men should not be *promoted* as leaders in violence prevention, but should be guided by the leadership of women, and particularly feminists, from immigrant and refugee communities (Carmody *et al.* 2014). This is not to say that men should not be engaged as spokespeople in social marketing or as advocates in other primary prevention activities. On the contrary, men too are central to the success of such activities. However, if men lead the charge, rather than follow the lead of women, gender equality is undermined.

In order for immigrant and refugee men to be accountable to, and respect the leadership of, feminist women, coalition building and accountability mechanisms need to be put in place. Ideally, engagement activities should:

- be led by immigrant and refugee women's organisations and/or other feminist organisations, with the active leadership involvement of immigrant and refugee women;
- be developed through coalition, and equal partnership, with immigrant and refugee women from relevant communities and/or settings;
- include expertise in intersectional approaches to violence against women to avoid continued stereotyping of immigrant and refugee communities;
- be informed by established institutional knowledge and experience in violence against women;
- occur alongside, and build upon, existing feminist activity conducted with immigrant and refugee women and girls;
- report back to relevant community and institutional representatives through steering and advisory groups.

Adopting these principles of women's leadership, coalition and accountability, below we address the ways that immigrant and refugee men might be effectively engaged in violence prevention, building on strategies currently used to engage immigrant and refugee communities. We have highlighted two types of leadership for our discussion: community leadership and faith-based leadership. Two areas that are often included in strategies that are adopted to engage immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention. We also consider the pivotal role White Ribbon plays in building and developing equal partnerships when engaging men from immigrant and refugee communities.

Community leadership

A common strategy used to engage immigrant and refugee communities in a range of programs from violence prevention to health programs, is to work through 'community leaders'. Prevailing wisdom states that 'community leaders' are the gatekeepers of the community and that without them it is difficult to get messages through, communicate with community members, and change community attitudes (VicHealth 2007).

The importance of the concept of 'leadership' in the area of violence prevention and in the engagement of men should lead us to apply a critical lens to the concept, and to note the ways in particular that the concept of 'leadership' is not a gender-free zone. Rather, leadership is based on relations of power and knowledge (Sinclair 2014). Further, the dominant form of leadership in Australia is depicted as masculine and heroic, which silences and devalues other modes of leadership, often enacted by women. As a result, women's leadership often remains unacknowledged publicly (Damousi and Tomsic 2014).

These are crucial issues to take into account when we start to engage with immigrant and refugee community leaders. Positions of power in most Australian representative organisations are male-dominated, and immigrant and refugee community organisations are no exception (ABS 2012b).

When community workers and/or researchers approach a community with a view to engagement, they may face a situation where the people who are the most accessible 'leaders' are those who display a louder, more visible and acknowledged form of leadership, more likely to be men. These men may not necessarily be experts in gender relations within the community, or representative of a community's diverse views on a topic such as violence against women.

Conversely, members of the community who exercise a quieter, less recognised form of influence, more often women, often remain unseen and unheard. This is not to say that they have nothing important to say; on the contrary, given the high prevalence of gendered violence, women's views are more likely to be based on lived experiences and therefore more representative of survivors' viewpoints. Finally, feminists within immigrant and refugee communities are natural leaders on the issue of gender equity, having likely worked on the issue of violence against women, in the cultural and structural context and taking into consideration specific community-related factors (Volpp 2001).

To help ensure a balanced representation of community leadership a gendered analysis is crucial. Accordingly, immigrant and refugee women and their representative groups should be at the forefront of efforts—planning, developing and implementing initiatives and programs—while engaging with identified community leaders, both male and female, to advocate for change (Poljski 2011: 35).

Faith-based leadership

Faith-based leaders have also been identified as playing an important role in fostering positive cultural norms and practices with regard to prevention (VicHealth 2007). Religion has been cited as playing a key part in addressing family and domestic violence (Rees and Pease 2006). However, it should be noted that there is little evidence on the effectiveness of engaging faith-based leaders in prevention initiatives, and even less that has specific reference to migrant and refugee communities (Poljski 2011: 37).

Further to a lack of rigorous evaluation, there are other concerns about shaping faith-based organisations and their leaders as champions for gender equality. Valid questions have been asked about the extent to which religious institutions, which have historically excluded women from leadership positions and roles, and which concern themselves via forceful and public mechanisms with the regulation of women's sexuality, reproduction and conjugal roles and the reinforcement of traditional family relationships, might become effective conduits for change in gender relations (Patel 2011; Razavi and Jenichen 2010; UNRISD 2011). The literature indicates that one should proceed carefully when working on gender equality in faith-based contexts, and in partnership with feminist organisations with specific, faith-based expertise.

When engaging male faith-based leaders, a number of factors need to be considered:

- *The faith's history and gender hierarchy:* Do women have recognised and equal roles with men in the institution? Does the religious institution maintain patriarchal and male-centred views on women's issues?
- *The ways in which the definition of 'faith-leader' will be used:* How effective might engagement of an 'official leader' be, compared with various members—male and female—of the target faith-based community?
- *Clear distinctions need to be made between the faith as an institution and the individuals who follow the faith:* Might an individual be better placed to affect change from within due to their membership of a faith community? Or might recognised faith leaders within male-dominated religious institutions be equally or more effective?
- *Religion can be mistakenly conflated with cultural identity:* Faith-based leaders do not represent entire immigrant and refugee communities and their engagement should be equally matched by secular culturally and linguistically based initiatives (Poljski 2011: 38).
- *It is important to focus on the longer term aim of gender equity:* The long-term aim of transforming gender relations within communities should not be subordinated to the short-term objective of reaching women and men through faith-based leaders, at the expense of legitimising structures that are oppressive to women (UNRISD 2011).

The leadership of female-centred and feminist faith-based organisations makes an effective and knowledgeable first port of call in the process of engaging men within faith communities. A good example of such an organisation is the Australian Muslim Women's Centre for Human Rights, which works to empower Muslim women and address violence against women, in a faith context, from a feminist and human rights perspective.

White Ribbon and other Ambassadors

White Ribbon Australia supports approximately 2,000 male 'Ambassadors' from around the country to be the faces and leaders of the White Ribbon Campaign. Potential Ambassadors go through a formal selection process and once accepted, are supported in various ways including training and education to affect change within their community. Some White Ribbon Ambassadors are from immigrant and refugee communities, and in this role, they are engaged to speak out publicly about violence against women.

White Ribbon is in a strong position to engage immigrant and refugee men as spokespeople to prevent violence against women. As an extension of this program, White Ribbon can facilitate the building of alliances between Ambassadors from immigrant and refugee communities, and migrant feminist organisations. This collaboration will not only strengthen the social justice element to the work violence prevention advocates carry out, but will also ensure that consistency and clarity of key messages are communicated to the media and the general public.

An example of a White Ribbon Ambassador from an immigrant community is Arman Abrahamzadeh who, following his experience of his father's violence against, and ultimate murder of, his mother, has become an advocate for law reform in South Australia. Arman and his family have recently launched the Zahra Foundation, which provides crisis assistance and support to South Australian women and their children experiencing family violence.

There is an opportunity for White Ribbon to link the work of Mr. Abrahamzadeh and his family to immigrant and refugee feminists who are working on the prevention of violence against women in South Australia or nationally, in order to build capacity for accountability, coalition-building and coherent messaging about violence in immigrant communities.

A further consideration is to note that when immigrant and refugee men act as spokespeople, their representation is understood differently than when men from an anglo-Australian backgrounds do so. Specifically, immigrant and refugee men are understood, whether they intend it or not, as speaking for, and on behalf of, their community/s. Just as Australian Muslim community members have been called upon to denounce terrorism, not as individuals, but as Muslims, so are immigrant and refugee men called upon to denounce violence against women as immigrant and refugee men, rather than as men, particularly when there has been a public incident by a man who belongs to their same ethnic or religious group. This position of representation means that immigrant and refugee men have a responsibility to not only inform themselves about violence against women before acting as a spokesperson, but also about women's specific intersectional experience of violence, and the ways in which gender intersects with race, culture and class.

2. Frame prevention in meaningful ways

All communities—immigrant or otherwise—need to work toward a shared understanding of the goal of prevention efforts in preventing violence against women. In this regard, two key benefits should result from the engagement of immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention. The work needs to firstly, help transform gender relations and secondly, complement ongoing work for the advancement of women. This process necessarily involves achieving a fine balance between drawing men into a discussion on prevention and challenging beliefs about gender equality (Stathopoulos 2013). Ultimately, prevention messages for immigrant and refugee men need to be framed in such a way that can be understood (both linguistically and pedagogically) and are relevant to their daily lives.

We have noted that primary prevention in immigrant and refugee communities is often framed as a 'cultural' issue, using a one-dimensional understanding of the concept of culture. In this frame, men and women are invited to reflect on what it is about their culture that is violence-generating and supporting. However, such an approach, when used with immigrant and refugee communities, in the context of the inevitable comparisons made with a mainstream 'culture' that promotes itself as being inherently more progressive, risks portraying violence as an inherent part of migrant cultures.

A more complex understanding of ‘culture’ translates into the development of effective violence prevention strategies in a number of ways:

- 1. Use a mix of strategies, making sure to not only target immigrant and refugee men as members of ethnic communities who are circumscribed by ‘cultural’ factors.** While it is important to engage men within their ethnic communities, it is equally important to know that this is not sufficient. Immigrant and refugee men are also members of workplaces, educational institutions, neighbourhoods and sports clubs. They are business owners, factory workers, engineers, bakers, doctors, teachers, and taxi drivers, as well as fathers, partners and sons. Mainstream approaches that target men in a range of settings should thus be inclusive of immigrant and refugee men, not only extending the reach of their existing programs but ensuring that the programs are appropriate to the diversity of Australian men.
- 2. Strategies should be framed by an understanding that ‘culture’ is not necessarily pitted against ‘feminism’ (Volpp 2001).** Immigrant and refugee men should be encouraged to promote gender equity as an option that exists within their communities and cultures, rather than as a concept that only belongs to a more progressive mainstream.
- 3. ‘Culture’ should not be used to justify and promote violence against women under any circumstance or context. Engagement with immigrant and refugee men should build on community values and norms, while ensuring that cultural justifications for violence and/or cultural values that reinforce violence against women are identified and addressed.**
Some positive examples of such work are the ‘The Changing Ways Muslim Family Safety’ Project, and the ‘Muslim Women, Islam and Family Violence’ Guides (Simbandumwe *et al.* 2008; Australian Muslim Women’s Centre for Human Rights 2011). The work of the Australian Muslim Women’s Centre for Human Rights (AMWCHR) not only provides a guide for an understanding of violence against Muslim women in the context of contested interpretations of Islam, but also of the impacts of migration and socio-economic disadvantage. In addition, the AMWCHR’s approach reinforces the value of taking a global view of the interpretation of culture because internationally, “cultural, political and religious interpretive battles over Muslim women’s safety, integrity and status are being fought” (Australian Muslim Women’s Centre for Human Rights 2011). In this frame, culture is contextualised and thus understood in a more complex way.
- 4. Include a global human rights and social justice perspective in the engagement of immigrant and refugee men. Framing prevention messages around global human rights will allow immigrant and refugee men to see the link between violence prevention and gender inequality, specifically as it relates to structural and institutional inequities, and in a range of countries around the world.** Using the language of rights and social justice allows men to take an ethical and political stance for which they can feel proud. In addition, a global human rights and social justice approach facilitates the building of coalitions between women’s and men’s groups that are working toward a common aim.
- 5. Convey positive and meaningful messages, using concrete examples rather than abstract concepts.** For example, rather than focusing on abstract concepts of ‘men’s responsibility’, immigrant and refugee men’s involvement should be linked to their existing social, cultural and family responsibilities (Carmody 2014 : 63). Placing emphasis on the positive community, family and social relationships that flow from gender equity will allow men to adopt a more active role and act as agents and facilitators of change within their own and other spheres of influence, including other migrant communities and the wider Australian community.
- 6. Further, the benefits of prevention work should be couched in terms of achieving long-term gains and solutions. Many of the issues relating to the gender inequities experienced by immigrant and refugee communities, such as racism and discrimination, require ongoing work and advocacy. Prevention works needs consistency of action, especially when aimed at institutional and structural change.**

3. Interrogate and negotiate masculinities

Migrant men's relationship to patriarchy⁸ is patterned differently to that of Australian-born men and attention should therefore be paid to the ways in which male domination in immigrant and refugee communities manifests itself differently within cultures, including diaspora, newly arrived, refugee and established migrant communities.

Migrant men's multiple oppressions and privilege can shape their willingness and capacity to engage in prevention efforts.

Migrant men's experience of racism, discrimination and violence can be underpinned by the following:

- Pre-migration experiences, including violence and trauma resulting from war and conflict in their country of birth can impact on men's sense of identity.
- Precarious visa/legal status can place restrictions on migrant men's access to services and affect their sense of autonomy and control. Men on temporary visas, for example, may find it difficult to see themselves as agents of change if they do not have voting rights.
- Ethnicity and race or being 'visibly' other can make it difficult for men to attain the privileges of traditional white masculinity.
- Social exclusion/isolation can affect all migrants in all spheres of daily lives but can be more acutely felt by those who are refugees and men from new and emerging communities with few support networks.
- Domestic relationships can impact on the ways migrant men may negotiate their 'breadwinner' masculinity.

Due to a lack of research in this area, our understandings of the specific masculinities of the diversity of immigrant and refugee men, and how these relate both to hegemonic masculinity and to diverse femininities, are extremely limited. In this context, it can be difficult to sort stereotyped representations of immigrant and refugee men from the reality of these men's lived experiences. It is important to recognise these limitations as we go about our work of developing, implementing and evaluating engagement strategies.

⁸As the section on hegemonic masculinities has shown, men's relationships with other men are also shaped by patriarchal norms in ways that differ from men's relationships with women.

4. Recognise intersectional disadvantage

Immigrant and refugee men's marginalised position in Australian society may prompt resistance to engagement, especially to prevention messages that might be perceived as a challenge to male dominance in their community, or as not having meaningful application to their lived experiences. Conversations about privilege and power, especially if they are communicated by anglo-Australian men or women, may not resonate with immigrant and refugee men if they have experienced, along with the upheavals of migration and settlement, disadvantage, discrimination and racism.

The unique experiences and circumstances of immigrant and refugee men should be harnessed to challenge the systemic and institutional disadvantage they face as migrants. As Crooks *et al.* (2007) have pointed out in relation to prevention campaigns, the task of engaging men might also be about activism and involvement rather than just challenging masculinity. Encouraging immigrant and refugee men to be part of a wider conversation relating to the inequities they have experienced—in employment, education and health, for example—can be the catalyst for them to begin a process of changing norms and beliefs about gender equality (Crooks *et al.* 2007).

An intersectional approach to understanding the situation of immigrant and refugee men would also recognise that the sphere of influence of men varies depending on their particular socio-economic and political circumstances. The influence of male factory workers in their workplaces, for example, is limited when compared to that of an anglo-Australian manager in that same workplace. While managers might be able to change organisational structures and policies to build gender equity into the workplace, the men on the factory floor do not have the same level of power in the workplace. This is not to say that they are powerless in that context, but that violence prevention strategies with these men need to take account of this hierarchicalised power difference. Similarly, men who do not have citizenship and/or have come to Australia on temporary visas, such as student and 457 visas, have a limited capacity to engage in Australian civic and political life. They are not eligible to vote and are not seen to be entitled to political representation. Engagement strategies will need to take these factors into account.

5. Strengthen communities

As discussed in the previous sections, difficulties surrounding the migration and settlement process—especially those relating to norms and practices of their country of origin—are likely to be more pronounced for immigrant and refugee men and intersect with other social categories of disadvantage. Direct education programs such as those outlined below, have been shown to be an effective means through which to engage immigrant men, both as facilitators and participants, and to capitalise on messages conveyed through communication and social marketing campaigns.

Direct participation programs can include:

- Education and mentoring programs: Appropriate education training and/or mentoring can provide immigrant men from new, emerging and well-established communities with the confidence, skills and knowledge to actively participate in violence prevention efforts.
- As part of their Diversity Program, White Ribbon have been running prevention training workshops specifically tailored to immigrant and refugee men. These workshops aim to: promote understanding of the value of involving men in gender-based violence prevention; increase men's ability to take action to challenge gender-based violence; increase the capacity of men to work together as allies for violence prevention; and strengthen a multicultural men's network for violence prevention and positive role modelling for all men.
- Bilingual education programs: The 'CALD Domestic Violence Access Project' (WA) aimed to increase immigrant and refugee community awareness of legal issues regarding domestic violence. Five bilingual community educators were trained to deliver information sessions in the community and on ethnic radio, develop written information and advocate on domestic violence issues to community leaders.
- Leadership programs: Although not specifically aimed at violence prevention, numerous youth leadership programs conducted across Australia have set benchmarks on which future youth leadership programs could be based. Leadership programs should include the following:
 - Gender-specific components so that gendered issues can be discussed both in violence prevention-specific and gender equity contexts;
 - Tailored modules that meet the needs of youth at each stage of their immigration and settlement phase.
- Health and wellbeing programs: As the transition to parenthood is a time when women are particularly vulnerable to violence, the 'Baby Makes 3' Program is a successful program aimed at first time parents for preventing violence against women. The program, which was initially developed by Whitehorse City Council in Victoria through funding from VicHealth, is now being implemented by five rural local councils in Victoria.

The following aspects can also increase engagement with immigrant men:

- Peer-to-peer approaches, using men and boys as educators, have been shown to increase men's willingness to engage with prevention messages. However, accountability mechanisms should also be in place to ensure that women's leadership is valued and fostered. For programs aimed at small groups, it has been suggested that men and women act as co-facilitators in order to model respectful relationships and equal cooperation (Stathopoulos 2013).
- Community strengthening is best achieved by engaging men and boys in the contexts of where they live, work, study and play. Carmody *et al.* (2014) cite the 'Stronger Aboriginal Men' (SAM) Program as an exemplar prevention program focused on community strengthening and development, which could be used as a template for immigrant communities.

6. Conduct research and evaluation

Ideally, the development of engagement strategies for immigrant and refugee men should be based on evidence. However, disappointingly, there is a paucity of research and/or comprehensive evaluations conducted in relation to working with immigrant and refugee communities to prevent violence, (Poljski 2011 : 31). There are nevertheless general principles and essential elements (Flood 2013; Pease 2008) that can help guide us toward the development and implementation of strategies that engage immigrant and refugee men.

The types of literature which will help guide the development of effective strategies are: evaluation of successful best practice examples of engagement with migrant men internationally; research on immigrant and refugee men's masculinity; research on attitudes to gender equality and violence against women; and qualitative research on immigrant and refugee women's experiences of violence.

The limited research base means that there is significant scope for future research and evaluation in this area. In principle, research to guide the development of effective engagement strategies will be community-led and participatory. It will ensure that findings accurately communicate community attitudes and approaches to gendered practices, rather than reflect binary understandings of traditional and modern approaches to gender relations, and common stereotypes of migrant cultures. Best practice research will:

- adopt feminist frameworks and methodologies;
- adopt a critical, complex and intersectional analysis of 'culture';
- adopt a relational definition of gender;
- be community-led, multilingual and participatory;
- value and build on women's leadership;
- centralise women's concerns and priorities;
- involve key community members in the research design;
- aim to bring the voices of the research subjects to the fore; and
- challenge, rather than reinforce, gender and cultural stereotypes.

Conclusion

Following a feminist and intersectional approach, we have outlined some key considerations in the engagement of immigrant and refugee men in violence prevention activities. We have noted that it is not sufficient to consider only a man's 'culture', defined in a one-dimensional way, in the development of violence prevention strategies. Rather, there is a complex interplay between immigrant and refugee men's structural location in Australia, and the way that economic, political, and cultural factors intertwine with the structural, to define gendered relationships, and attitudes towards violence against women.

Immigrant and refugee men are both privileged and oppressed. As men, they share in male privilege, albeit not in equal amounts, and as immigrants, they share with immigrant women, albeit in gendered and therefore different ways, a structural location and migration-related experiences such as social isolation, language barriers, racism, uncertain legal and visa status, and exclusion from social and civic participation.

Within these contradictory experiences, immigrant and refugee men negotiate their changing masculinities and dynamic gendered relationships, within their families, communities and workplaces. Immigrant and refugee women too, renegotiate their changing gendered identities during migration and settlement. Many have formed their own ways of fighting against gender inequality and violence in their lives and their communities.

This paper has sought to bring together these contradictory experiences in ways that harness the energy and effort that has been generated thus far in the fight to eliminate violence against women; that values the leadership of immigrant and refugee women in this field; and that best leads us to the achievement of an intersectional gender equality, a vision for gender equality that includes all women, including women from immigrant and refugee communities.

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