

# Men's Violence Prevention and Peace Education: Drawing on Galtung to Explore the Plurality of Violence(s), Peace(s), and Masculinities

Men and Masculinities  
2023, Vol. 26(1) 69–90  
© The Author(s) 2023



Article reuse guidelines:  
[sagepub.com/journals-permissions](https://sagepub.com/journals-permissions)  
DOI: 10.1177/1097184X221149989  
[journals.sagepub.com/home/jmm](https://journals.sagepub.com/home/jmm)



**William W. McInerney and David Tim Archer**

## Abstract

This article examines a concern that some programs engaging men in the prevention of violence against women use overly homogenized conceptions of violence. In response, the authors draw on their experience teaching men's violence prevention in North America and the UK and their background in peace studies to bring Johan Galtung's influential peace and conflict frameworks into the men's violence prevention context. It is argued a feminist-informed Galtungian approach can support existing men's violence prevention by 1) incorporating heterogeneous conceptions of men's direct, cultural, and structural violences; 2) introducing conceptions of positive and negative peaces; and 3) outlining different programmatic strategies through peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding approaches. This article outlines how Galtung's framework can help improve men's violence prevention by providing an accessible, contextually adaptable, and analytically useful framework to support men in understanding violence, peace, and the interdependent relationships between violences, peaces, and peace-work in addressing violence against women.

---

University of Cambridge, UK

## Corresponding Author:

William W. McInerney, University of Cambridge, Faculty of Education, 184 Hills Rd, Cambridge CB2 8PQ UK.

Email: [wwm26@cam.ac.uk](mailto:wwm26@cam.ac.uk)

## Keywords

violence prevention, education, peace studies, violence against women, masculinities, peace education

## Introduction

As the field of engaging men in the prevention of violence against women (VAW), or men's violence prevention (MVP), continues to grow, it has faced increased calls for reflexivity and reform (Flood 2015; Macomber 2015; Pease 2019). Inspired by such calls and informed by our own research and practice, this paper addresses one key concern: overly simplified or homogenized conceptions of violence in work with men. We have worked in MVP programs in North America and the UK where curriculums disproportionately focused on isolated acts of men's physical or sexual VAW. They failed to clearly connect men's direct violence to patriarchal cultural and structural violences, as well as wider social inequalities. Flood (2014) echoes this observation when he notes, "Efforts to engage men and boys in ending violence tend also to treat violence itself as homogenous" (3). Burrell's (2018) research interviewing pro-feminist activists in the UK found similar frustrations. This is problematic because it ignores a foundational point: the complexity and multiplicity of men's *violences* (Hearn 1998). Feminists and pro-feminists have long noted the necessity of analysis which includes but also goes beyond isolated physical acts (Cockburn 2014; Hearn et al. 2020; Kelly 1996; Stark 2007). Conceptions of violence are at the heart of MVP work, and underdeveloped notions of men's violence lead to underdeveloped approaches to prevent it (Cockburn 2004).

This article aims to address homogenized understandings of violence in MVP by offering a framework drawn from peace studies. Peace studies is a transdisciplinary field which examines how to transform conflicts and promote sustainable peace. Peace studies and MVP are highly complementary but often siloed fields. This is particularly notable in the lack of engagement with the concept of peace in MVP work (Hearn et al. 2021). To address this underexplored lens, we apply one of peace studies' most widely cited approaches, Johan Galtung's theory of conflict, to MVP. After engaging with important feminist critiques of Galtung's work (Confortini 2006), we argue that an adapted version can enrich MVP in three ways: first, by incorporating heterogeneous concepts of men's direct, structural, and cultural violences; second, by introducing positive and negative peaces to address the peace conceptual vacuum in MVP; and third, by outlining different context-adaptable strategies through peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding approaches. While complex notions of violence are not new, nor unique to peace studies, Galtung's work can resonate with feminist scholarship and offer an accessible framework for practitioners that is analytically and practically useful in MVP. We have found it is particularly helpful in the ways in which it introduces men's violences to those who may be less familiar with the subject and highlights the interdependent relationships amongst violences, peaces, and peace-work strategies in addressing violence against women.

The goal of this article is not to provide a universal template for using Galtung's work in MVP, nor to argue that its application is always the best fit. Our focus here is on responding to our own experiences working with men, engaging with similar critiques found in the literature, and offering a framework that we have found helpful. We acknowledge that our focus is grounded in our own practice working in school and community settings with young men in North America and the UK and is therefore limited by this scope. However, the application and adaptation of Galtung's theories to settings around the world for over 50 years in peace studies (Galtung and Fischer 2013) gives us hope that the approach discussed in this paper could also be adapted to support MVP programs in different contexts. This article will be split into three sections. First, we briefly outline the field of MVP and the problem of homogenous conceptions of violence. Secondly, we summarize Galtung's theory of conflict and engage relevant criticisms of his work. Finally, we draw on our own practices to discuss possible applications of Galtung's work to MVP.

## Men's Violence Prevention

This section is divided into four parts. First, we introduce MVP and discuss the rationale for engaging men by exploring the links between men, masculinities, and violence. Second, we explore some core ideas drawn from feminist theorizations of masculinities which guide MVP work. Third, we review what MVP work looks like in practice. And fourth, we highlight the problem of homogenized conceptions of violence in MVP.

### *Engaging Men*

Research from the [World Health Organization \(2021\)](#) indicates one in three women experience intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime. Men's violence against women is a pervasive problem requiring multiple interventions—including supporting survivors, holding perpetrators accountable, addressing structural inequalities, and centering women's work and activism against violence. An increasingly popular complementary approach has been to work directly with boys and men in feminist-informed violence prevention efforts (Casey et al. 2013; Messner, Greenberg, and Peretz 2015; Ricardo 2015). Flood (2011) notes the rationale for such efforts are strong for three reasons. First, most violence against women is committed by men (Messerschmidt 2018; Tjaden and Thoennes 2000; Westmarland 2015)—meaning it is men who need to change. Second, harmful norms associated with masculinities, particularly those espousing control over women, rigid gender roles, and sexist and violence-supportive attitudes and behaviors, play a pivotal role in driving VAW (Casey et al. 2016; Herrero et al. 2017). Heilman and Barker's (2018) review of the literature in this area concludes that such harmful masculine norms are “undeniably linked with violence” (8).

Expanding on these first two rationales, it is important to note men's VAW is driven by a multitude of unequal practices, norms, and structures (Flood 2019). While Connell's (2005) theory of hegemonic masculinity is the most influential theory in this field, diverse strands of radical, socialist, intersectional, and queer feminist scholarship have explored the many connections between men, masculinities, and violence (Berggren et al., 2021). There are a few points of emphasis to note here that often inform MVP work. First, several key feminist theories point towards men's violence not only as discrete and visible acts, but also as patterns of coercive control (Stark 2007) and cast men's violence as a continuum from the everyday to the extreme (Kelly 1996). Second, individual accounts of men's violence are insufficient by themselves; a structural analysis of patriarchy is essential as well (Connell 2005). hooks (2004) situates men's violence within a wider interlocking structural analysis of what she calls "imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy" to show how VAW is inseparable from a broader systemic analysis of inequalities (17). For hooks (2003), and many feminist theories in this area, men's violence against women is grounded in unequal structural and relational arrangements of power which confer men dominance over women - and some men dominance over other men. As Hearn et al. (2021) writes, "Violence is structure, practice, process and outcome of domination" (35). Fully unpacking the various feminist theories on men's violence is beyond the scope of our work here, and it is important to state that there is not a singular feminism (Delap 2020), a singular feminist theory of men's violence (Berggren, Gottzén, and Bornä 2021), or a sole feminist approach to MVP (Burrell and Flood 2019). Rather, there are complex constellations of different feminist theories in applied in diverse contexts. However, returning to the rationale for MVP, a common thread across many feminist theories reveals the multitude of men's violence and notes that it is men's practices, masculine norms, and patriarchal structures which must be examined and transformed to prevent VAW.

Lastly, Flood's (2011) third rationale for engaging men notes that men can and should play a proactive role in the vital efforts to end VAW. Historically, men as a group have been absent and unaccountable in efforts to prevent men's violence (Katz 2006; Kaufman 2019). MVP works to disrupt the status quo of men's silence and complicity, encouraging men to support women's work and activism.<sup>1</sup> Importantly, this three-part rationale for MVP points away from biological arguments that men are inherently violent and towards work grounded in a feminist social constructionist approach which sees the possibilities for, and necessity of, men and masculinities changing.

## *Masculinities*

Men's violence prevention is often built upon a social constructionist approach which examines the culturally, historically, and politically constructed dimensions of gender and unveils an understanding of masculinities as plural and changing (Connell 2005; Connell and Pearse 2014). This multiple masculinities understanding suggests there is no one right or inevitable way to be a man. As Pascoe and Bridges (2016) write,

masculinities are not “transhistorical or universal” and the differences among men may be as essential as the differences between men and people of other genders (4). Thus, it is essential to engage the complex ways that men’s experiences with masculinities and violence are impacted by their race, sexuality, and class identities (among others) and the ways that men can simultaneously experience both privilege and oppression (Hurtado and Sinha 2008; Peretz 2017). This approach also makes clear that masculinities can and do change—something foundational to the rationale for MVP work. However, it is less clear if the rise of more inclusive or gender equal masculinities (e.g., Anderson 2009) that adopt less traditional masculine norms associated with VAW signals a meaningful move towards dismantling patriarchy (Barber 2016; Messerschmidt 2016). Bridges and Pascoe (2014) contend a majority of research in this area remains skeptical, and that such “hybrid” masculinities represent “shifts in—rather than challenges to—systems of power and inequality” (256). Thus, while MVP is often grounded in the social constructive idea that masculinities are both plural and changing, it is necessary to be critical and cautious about what such changes means in terms of addressing the multiplicity of men’s violences.

### *Men’s Violence Prevention in Practice*

With a rationale that connects men and masculinities to violence, and a belief in the capacity for men to resist and challenge these connections, MVP aims to educate, organize, and mobilize men to address men’s violences (Funk 2018). Trends in feminist scholarship, and more recently public health, point towards the importance of engaging all men, not just those identified as perpetrators, through primary prevention efforts (Flood 2019). This approach seeks to stop violence before it happens by raising men’s awareness about VAW, teaching bystander intervention skills, promoting healthy and equitable relationships, and challenging what Berkowitz (2004) calls, “the root causes of men and boys’ violence, including social and structural ones” (2). Thus, MVP requires a range of different interventions (Casey et al. 2013) and context-sensitive approaches, with the most common programmatic format being group education programs (Flood 2019). However, this work is not limited to classrooms. The popular use of frameworks like the prevention spectrum and social ecological theories of change show how MVP must be part of a “multi-systems, multi-layered approach to organizing change strategies” (Carlson et al. 2015, 3) which engage men in a variety of different contexts. Connecting back to theories of men and masculinities, the work must also be responsive to the diversity amongst men (Alcalde 2014; White and Peretz 2010) and counter reductionist understandings of men, masculinities, and MVP as a white, cis-gender, and heteronormative praxis (Peretz 2017). Scholars have also noted the importance of decolonial perspectives in examining the study of masculinities broadly (Connell 2022), and in the situated linkages between patriarchies, masculinities, and men’s perpetration of and complicity in violences (Van Nierkerk 2021). Boonzaier, Huysamen, and Van Nierkerk (2021) argue there is a need to shift MVP work from “Eurocentric framings and Northern models... towards the development of local

knowledge projects of gender and violence” (84). [Van Nierkerk \(2021\)](#) adds that work in this area should be “theorised *in* the south for people in the south” (262). Thus, while programs can learn from one another and share practices and approaches, there is no one-size-fits-all solution.

Meta-evaluations of men’s violence prevention programs show that well-designed efforts can foster positive changes in men’s violence-supportive attitudes and behaviors ([Barker, Ricardo, and Nascimento 2007](#); [Dworkin et al. 2013](#); [Jewkes et al. 2015](#); [Ricardo, Eads, and Barker 2011](#)). However, as [Flood \(2019\)](#) notes, these studies also show many programs are not well-designed or properly evaluated, and that some programs have limited or even negative outcomes. In addition to these mixed outcomes, MVP is not without criticism, particularly as it relates to men’s accountability ([COFEM 2017](#); [Macomber 2015](#)). [Flood \(2014, 2015\)](#) has drawn attention to a range of issues within the field including the use of overly simplified notions of men, masculinities, and violence within programs and the risks of overly centering men in this work. While all these issues are worthy of exploration, this article focuses on one critique: the use of homogenous notions of violence in MVP.

### *Addressing Violence*

We use the phrase homogenous violence to describe MVP approaches which disproportionately or exclusively focus on individual, often physical, acts of violence. Such work masks the complexity of men’s violences ([Hearn 1998](#)). [Flood \(2014\)](#) argues MVP programs “treat violence itself as homogenous.” (3) [Edstrom et al. \(2015\)](#) also note the preponderance of programming focused on individual men’s attitudes and lack of attention to structural violence (see also [Flood 2015](#); [Pease and Flood 2008](#)). Since feminist scholarship has led the way in spotlighting the linkages between men, masculinities, and a plurality of violences, clearly homogeneous accounts of men’s violence are inadequate in MVP. [Burrell’s \(2018\)](#) research on activists working with men in the UK presents more evidence of this problem. His interviews revealed a frustration that some MVP efforts—specifically university programs—limited their focus to certain types of violence (e.g., only sexual violence). Further, noting the lack of attention to structural violence, [Burrell’s \(2018\)](#) research reveals, “work with men is too often on changing individual attitudes, leaving patriarchal structures that provide the foundations for men’s violence largely untouched” (459). In response, Burrell proposes a ‘triadic approach’ to working with men that addresses men (individually), masculinities (culturally), and patriarchy (structurally). He argues such an approach can help men “make sense of the micro, meso and macro dynamics through which violence against women is perpetuated, and how they relate to their own lives, personally and politically” ([Burrell 2018](#), 456).

In our experience working in MVP, homogenized notions of violence are easier to teach and learn because they rely on simple messages and often binary framing of good guys (who don’t hit women) and bad guys (who do). While stopping direct acts of violence is vital, this approach obfuscates men’s complicity within structures and

cultures of privilege, power, and inequality. As peace studies scholars and educationalists, we believe this problem is ripe for interdisciplinary reflection. Specifically, we believe feminist work on the multiplicity of violences combined with insights from Burrell's (2018) triadic approach resonates with foundational peace scholarship from Galtung (1969).

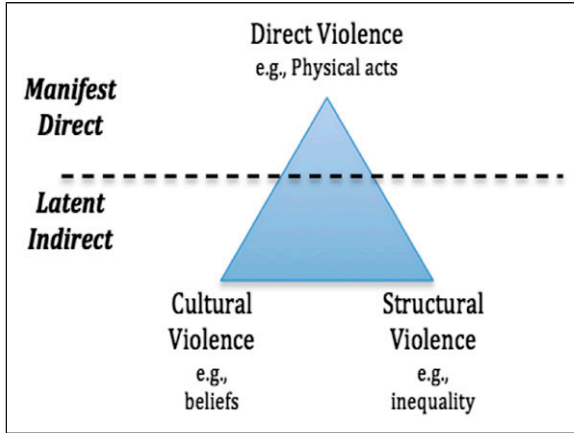
## **Galtung's Theory of Conflict**

Galtung's theory of conflict (Galtung 1969) illustrates the complexity and correlations amongst violences and violence and can provide practical and accessible pedagogical frameworks for MVP work. First, we will briefly introduce his theory of conflict through three separate yet interlocked frameworks: the violence triangle, the violences framework, and the peace-work triangle. Next, we address important feminist critiques and bring a gendered focus to Galtung's work, before turning these theoretical insights towards MVP.

### *Framework 1: The Violence Triangle*

Galtung defines violence broadly as the gaps between our actual and potential somatic and mental realizations resulting in harm to the body, mind, or spirit (Galtung 1969). To address the large scope of his definition, Galtung developed a taxonomy of violences to demonstrate their multidimensional and interdependent nature (Galtung 1996). First, he divided violence into two categories: direct and indirect. Direct violence consists of physical, material, or psychological acts of harm. These are discrete acts of violence manifested by discernable actors. In contrast, indirect violence is a latent form of violence. Indirect violence causes harm to people, but it is not a punch thrown or a bullet fired; it is harm resulting from social and cultural arrangements.

Galtung delineates indirect violence into two further categories: structural and cultural. Structural violence is the harm caused by social structures and institutions. This is the "non-intended slow, massive suffering caused by economic and political structures in the form of massive exploitation and repression" (Galtung and Fischer 2013, loc 4105). For example, gender inequality is a form of structural violence that causes harm to individuals in societies. However, there is not necessarily a single isolatable act of violence that we can call gender inequality. Instead, it is a series of structural arrangements within societies that produce an outcome that causes harm. Galtung notes this violence is fueled by the second category of indirect violence: cultural violence. Cultural violence is defined as cultural norms that cause harm. These cultural ideas "can be used to justify, legitimize direct or structural violence" (Galtung and Fischer 2013, loc 1086), and once accepted as norms, show how some forms of direct and structural violence become "rendered acceptable in society" (Galtung and Fischer 2013, loc 1034). Galtung conceptualizes direct, structural, and cultural violence as three interconnected points of a conflict triangle (Galtung 1969). Crucially, these three points compound one another; Galtung notes, "[t]here are linkages and causal



**Figure 1.** Galtung's violence triangle

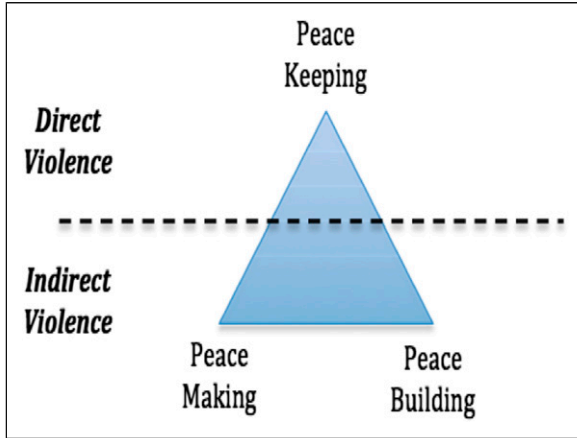
flows in all directions” of the triangle and the connections within the triangle show us that “violence breeds violence” (Galtung and Fischer 2013, loc 2019). See figure 1.

### *Framework 2: Positive and Negative Peaces Framework*

Second, Galtung turns to the concept of peace (Galtung 1969). While acknowledging subjectivities and complexities of peace, Galtung delineates two foundational types of peaces—positive and negative—to help analyze the many realizations of peace within given contexts. Negative peace is the absence of direct violence or the fear of violence. However, negative peace is insufficient by itself. Positive peace is the absence of direct *and* indirect violence through the promotion of harmony, cooperation, and justice (Galtung 1996). Positive peace is created through collective work to address the attitudes, institutions, and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies and remove the likelihood of violence reemerging (IEP 2020).

### *Framework 3: The Peace-work Triangle*

Lastly, Galtung introduces a framework of interventions to move from violences to peaces. We refer to this framework as the peace-work triangle. Galtung's peace-work is broken down into three forms: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. Peacekeeping involves actions focusing on the cessation of and protection against direct forms of violence. Galtung (1976) calls this a dissociative approach where “the antagonists are kept away from each other under mutual threat of considerable punishment” (282). Peacemaking involves approaches aimed at resolving the conflict with the belief that by removing “the source of tension, the underlying conflict, and the rest will take care of itself” (Galtung 1976, 290). However, Galtung acknowledges that



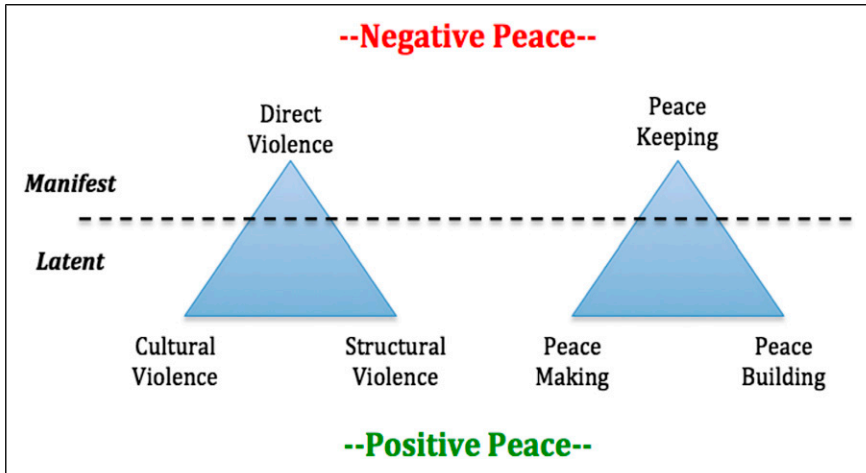
**Figure 2.** The peace-work triangle

conflict resolution mechanisms do not necessarily mean the end of violence. Finally, peacebuilding is what [Galtung \(1976\)](#) calls the associative approach where “structures must be found that remove causes of war and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur” (298). Peacebuilding seeks to address the resurgence of violence by building institutions based upon equality, equity, and positive peace. Such definitions therefore relate to the previously mentioned conflict triangle and types of peace. Peacekeeping, for example, mostly focuses on direct violence and leads to negative peace, while peacemaking and peacebuilding aim at cultivating positive peace through the transformation of cultural and structural arrangements that reproduce violence. See [figure 2](#).

Galtung’s theory of conflict uses the violence triangle, negative and positive peaces, and the peace-work triangle frameworks to present an accessible and holistic way of understanding violence, promoting peace, and working towards transformation on both individual and systemic levels. This framework is not meant to explain the complex drivers of all kinds of violence. Rather, it is a starting point of analysis that can be adapted and specified to understand the interdependent relationships amongst violence, peaces, and peace-work. See [figure 3](#).

## Critiquing and Gendering Galtung

While Galtung is considered one of the most influential scholars in peace studies, his work is not without challenge (e.g., [Coady 2008](#); [Hansen 2016](#); [Hajir and Kester 2020](#)). Before Galtung’s theories can be applied to MVP, we must first engage with feminist critiques of his work. This is essential because as scholars like [Pease \(2019\)](#) and [Wu \(2018\)](#) have noted, there is a risk of diluting feminist analysis within MVP work by incorporating other approaches. While we believe the field benefits from a



**Figure 3.** Galtung's theory of conflict

transdisciplinary perspective, we agree that retaining the centrality of feminist analysis of men's VAW is core to MVP work. To bring Galtung's work into MVP, it is therefore helpful to understand how his theories account for gender and violence.

Confortini (2006) notes that Galtung engages the relationship between gender and violence by examining the structural, cultural, and direct violence of patriarchy and by looking at gender as a conflict analysis variable. While Galtung approaches gender as one variable in the complex equation of violence, feminist perspectives from within peace studies argue the relationship between violence, peace, and gender is significantly more consequential (Brock-Utne 2009; Finley 2018; McLeod and O'Reilly 2019; Reardon 1985). Scholars like Confortini (2006), Alexander (2019), and Hewitt and True (2021) argue that Galtung's work on conflict needs to engage gender more fully as a socially constructed dynamic practice embodied within power relations. As Cockburn (2004) makes clear, a comprehensive gender perspective on violence is not just an extra or an aside; it is a necessity as gender links a continuum of forms of violence, temporal states of violence, and of realms of violence in society. This is not to say that gender is the sole or most important lens, but rather to note that all aspects of violence have a gendered dimension to them; thus, violence itself is gendered.

Cockburn (2004) cites the value of Galtung's structural violence concept in helping to understand men's VAW, and notes that although "this was not Galtung's main point, the notion prompts us to look again at male-dominant gender relations" (30). Thus, there is resonance in Galtung's frameworks and Cockburn's continuum of violence, but there is a clear need for an added focus on gender in his work. A feminist analysis of men's violence is particularly important when discussing violence against women, a practice, culture, and structure of violence deeply driven by gendered dynamics. Speaking about men's violence, Cockburn (2004) notes "the power imbalance of

gender relations in most (if not all) societies generates cultures of masculinities prone to violence. These gender relations are like a linking thread, a kind of fuse, along which violence runs.” (44). Cockburn concludes that if violence is so fundamentally gendered then our violence reduction efforts must be gendered too. Applied to our context here, if men’s VAW is gendered, then the frameworks for MVP must be too. Using Galtung’s theories in MVP thus requires an intentional focus on gender and feminist analysis.

## Applying Galtung’s Theories to MVP

Our experiences as educators working with young men in violence prevention has suggested that a Galtungian approach with a feminist-informed gender focus provides a useful framework for thinking about violence and peace in MVP work. We believe it adds accessible pedagogical and curricular applications for educators and participants. To be clear, we are not suggesting this as a panacea to men’s violences or that it is a one-size-fits-all solution. One of the strengths of this approach is that it emphasizes the relationships amongst men’s violences, peaces, and programmatic possibilities for change rather than prescribed specifics for what each of these variables may look like in a given context. Thus, we believe this work must always be culturally and contextually adapted in its implementation. Below we highlight three key ways this approach could support existing MVP. Each section will also present a table that provides examples of how we have incorporated these insights into our own thinking and teaching. These examples are not exhaustive or definitive but instead act as ways to suggest questions and possibilities.

### *Identifying Heterogeneous Conceptions of Violence in MVP*

First, Galtung’s violence triangle (Framework 1) engages [Flood \(2015\)](#) and [Burrell’s \(2018\)](#) call for more heterogeneous conceptions of violence and complements existing feminist and MVP literature by offering a framework for men’s violences. A Galtungian approach challenges the false binary between individualized and systemic violence and highlights the interdependencies between men’s violent acts, cultural gender norms, and patriarchal structures and resonates with [Flood’s \(2019\)](#) comments that men’s violence must be simultaneously understood as “coercive, structural, and complex” (30). Further, despite her valid criticism of his work, [Confortini \(2006\)](#) notes that Galtung’s theory offers a practical framework “within which violence against women can be seen in the larger context of societal violence” (356). Thus, by highlighting the connections amongst violences, the framework allows for an examination of the linkages between men’s violences and the wider inequalities within what [hooks \(2004\)](#) calls the imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy.

[Table 1](#) summarizes the application of Galtung’s violence triangle to MVP. The first two columns of [table 1](#) translate Galtung’s concepts into an MVP context. The third column provides examples of the framework in practice drawn from our thinking, teaching, and discussions with men in MVP programs. Example questions we have

**Table 1.** Applying Galtung's Violence Triangle to MVP

Galtung's concept	Galtung's Concept Applied to Violence Against Women	Examples That Emerge from Group Discussions and Reflections
Direct violence	Men's direct VAW: Acts, threats of violence, and patterns of coercive control. As well as how such acts interact with other forms of direct violence.	Individual acts and patterns of physical, sexual, emotional, and psychological violence, abuse, and coercive behavior. Specific ways in which women may also be targeted for direct violence based on intersecting forms of marginalization, for example, homophobic misogyny directed at Black trans women.
Structural violence	Patriarchal structural VAW: Social, political, and legal inequalities reproduced by patriarchies. As well as the ways in which such gendered structural violences interact with wider social inequalities.	Gender inequality across society that includes women's limited access to social and material resources, gender pay gaps, second shift domestic labor, and laws limiting women's rights, power, and wellbeing. Specific ways in which women may be targeted by compounding forms of structural violences, for example women living in poverty.
Cultural violence	Patriarchal cultural VAW: Sexist, homophobic, and transphobic gender norms. As well as the ways in which other harmful cultural norms interact with them.	Sexist cultures including depictions of women as helpless and men as dominant, social norms underpinning rape cultures that objectify and hypersexualize women, cultural ideals of masculinities and femininity that reinforce binary roles and exclude trans and gender diverse people, essentialism, and male-centric gendered hierarchies. Specific ways in which women may be targeted for compounding forms of cultural violence, for example intersecting forms of racism and sexism which target Indigenous women.

used while teaching include "What type of men's direct, cultural, or structural violence are present in your community?" and "In what ways do men's various forms of violence intersect and compound?"

Galtung's approach highlights the need to simultaneously address all three violences and their linkages. Applied to MVP, this analysis aligns with [Burrell's \(2018\)](#) tridactic approach and could include explorations of men as individual actors, masculinities as

gender norms constructed and embedded in culture, and patriarchy as a structural arrangement. This analysis also complements an intersectional lens to examine how they are situated within a wider context of violence. We have found that this framework provides an accessible entry point to discuss how to categorize and think about the many forms of men's violences against women, how to understand the ways different forms of men's violences fuel and sustain one another, and how we can consider addressing them both separately and collectively. While Galtung's framework for violence is not the only perspective needed, we have found it to be an effective entry point, a helpful catalyst for deeper conversation, and a holistic account of the many forms of violence MVP programs seek to address.

### *Identifying Positive and Negative Peaces in MVP*

Second, Galtung's peaces approach (Framework 2) addresses the lack of conceptualizations of peace in MVP, which we call the field's *peace theoretical vacuum*, by providing a framework for positive and negative peaces. As Hearn et al. (2021) note, "Compared to work on violence and masculinities, there is still less work on peace and masculinities relatively" (540). A theorization of peace in MVP is vital because peace can help conceptualize and promote more feminist-informed alternatives to men's violences in MVP programs. As Flood (2019) and hooks (2004) note, there is a strategic value in not only naming the problem but also exploring the alternatives. Thus, MVP work is often rooted in a "men-changing" approach (Berkowitz 2004), which believes men can and should play a more proactive and positive role in preventing VAW (Katz 2006). Galtung's work can help address this gap by providing a foundation framework for positive and negative peace.

Negative theories of peace highlight the need to stop and prevent direct acts of men's violence. Further, positive peace refocuses the lens in MVP towards an understanding that the absence of direct violence alone is inadequate to change patriarchal systems. This point connects back to the skepticism scholars have noted about hybrid masculinities that address some individuals' beliefs and practices without engaging the wider patriarchal base of inequality (Bridges and Pascoe 2014). Positive peace seeks to cultivate not only the absence of violence committed by men against women, but also equitable and inclusive cultures and structures. Ratele's (2012) examination of militarized masculinities through Galtung's work provides an insightful example of how the concept of positive peace can be used to highlight the complexity of peace and illuminate the inadequacies of negative peace from men's violence. Ratele argues the continuum of direct and indirect manifestations of men's violence "troubles the making of durable peace" and makes "the 'post' in post-conflict never past and unproblematic" (2012, 4). While Ratele is discussing specific conflict-affected contexts, we believe such insights about the complexity of peace can extend to other MVP settings as well.

Thus, a Galtungian approach could build beyond existing models of MVP that have been critiqued for their reliance on individualization of violence (Burrell 2018; Flood 2015). We believe such approaches prioritize a principal aim of restoring normative

states of negative peace based upon the behaviors of men and the securitization of existing systems. Instead, a feminist-informed Galtung framework points towards more generative models of negative and positive peace aimed at transformation on the individual, cultural, and structural levels. Questions that have assisted our conversations on peace with participants include “What are the different strategies for negative and positive peace in preventing VAW?”, and “How do we organize and mobilize for a sustainable positive peace in this context?” See [table 2](#).

Similar to the violences triangle discussed in the previous section, the peaces approach could address practical questions and support MVP curriculum by providing a simultaneously accessible and layered account of the concept of peace in learning contexts. As [hooks \(2004\)](#) notes, “men cannot change if there are no blueprints for change. Men cannot love if they are not taught the art of loving” (xvii). By shifting the argument to *how a better world could be envisioned* by men in the session, participants can be engaged in co-creating futures that are relevant and therefore more likely to be ventured for the good of all. In our experiences, addressing the peace conceptual vacuum in MVP by naming peace and unpacking its possibilities with this framework has inspired important conversations both about necessity and limitations of negative peace approaches as well as the challenges and importance of positive peace ones.

**Table 2.** Applying Galtung’s Peace Framework to Men’s Violence Prevention

Galtung’s concept	Galtung’s Concept Applied to Men’s Violence Against Women	Examples that Emerge from Group Discussions and Reflections
Negative peace	Men’s negative peace: A minimum standards approach to not committing direct acts of violence oneself or condoning it’s usage by others.	Not committing direct acts of violence, be it physical, psychological, or emotional. Not directly supporting behaviors, beliefs, and institutions which cause direct violence against women - but also not actively denouncing them either.
Positive peace	Men’s positive peace: Taking a proactive stance to address and transform the roots of men’s violence and work towards alternatives that challenge patriarchal cultures and structures.	Learning about and practicing more peaceful ideas of manhood and masculinities. Acting peacefully towards others through non-violent communication and bystander approaches. Advocating for legal, social, and political change to support equality. Engaging an intersectional analysis to see the connections to other forms of violence and inequalities. Cultivating a broader worldview based upon social, economic, and ecological models of equity.

### *Approaches for Addressing Violence and Promoting Peace in MVP*

Third, a spectrum of interventions aimed at responding to VAW can be crafted using Galtung's peace-work triangle: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. This framework puts the heterogeneous conceptualizations of violence and the theorization of positive and negative peace into practical applications for program designers, facilitators, and participants. A Galtungian framework could assist men in a violence prevention program in thinking about how peacekeeping strategies can work to interrupt VAW, how peacemaking strategies can work to address the way men understand, engage, and resolve conflicts, and how peacebuilding strategies can work to address the underlying causes and contexts that make men's violence a direct, structural, and cultural reality. Such a framework aligns with Burrell's (2018) tridactic insights and could be useful to discuss and compare societal needs from a peacekeeping (criminal justice), peacemaking (partner and interpersonal relations), and peacebuilding (social, economic, and ecological equities) perspective. At the same time, such a framework could also be useful to assist participants to look within and examine their own needs for peacekeeping (safety), peacemaking (alternative dispute resolution and communication), and peacebuilding (social justice, resource access, well-being, etc.) towards the realization of the elimination of violence. This could allow for MVP programs to both analyze suitable and sustainable solutions to men's violence, while also providing practical steps that are relevant for the men participating.

With the first two frameworks assisting the analytical work in MVP, we believe this final framework draws the pieces together towards tangible action in practice. In doing so, a Galtungian peace-work approach complements existing approaches to MVP that encourage working at different levels of engagement and noting the importance of adapting to different contexts (Carlson et al. 2015). Furthermore, like the two previous frameworks, this approach can also be adapted to engage with the ways in which peacekeeping, making, and building approaches can focus on gender and simultaneously engage with other forms of violence (Peretz 2017). Table 3 illustrates some practical applications that could emerge from framing MVP as peacekeeping, making, and building. Example questions we have used include: "What does peacekeeping, making, building mean in this local context?" and "How could this framework support a more whole-of-society approach to addressing different men with different needs, interests, and levels of engagement?"

Galtung's peace-work approach could provide a foundation for MVP practitioners to engage participants in the learning and action necessary to move from men's violence to men's peace. For example, Galtung's work could help practitioners develop and organize programming efforts based on the differing needs of participants and communities (Casey et al. 2013). This work could complement existing efforts like Funk's (2018) "continuum of male engagement" which encourages an alignment of tactics and strategies to meet men where they are in terms of "readiness to be engaged" (4). Some MVP efforts will require a peacekeeping program that works with perpetrators or those at risk of perpetration and focuses on identifying and interrupting patterns of violence.

**Table 3.** Applying Galtung's Peace-work Triangle to Men's Violence Prevention

Galtung's Concept	Galtung's Concept Applied to Men's Violence Against Women	Examples that Emerge from Group Discussions and Reflections
Peacekeeping	Men's peacekeeping work: interrupting violence. Stopping men's direct violence and establishing men's negative peace. Focus on safety, security, and avoiding violence.	Learning more about laws on violence and domestic violence support services. Developing skills and strategies for responding to moments of violence. Considering ways in which VAW intersects with other forms of violence.
Peacemaking	Men's peacemaking work: reconciling conflict. Sustaining men's negative peace and opening the door to men's positive peace. Focus on increasing men's interest, knowledge, and skills around conflict resolution and alternatives to violence.	Exploring how men understand and wield privilege, entitlement, power, and control. Learning about and developing non-violent communication skills and emotional intelligence. Learning about models of allyship and bystander approaches. Working to actively integrate the work within a wider intersectional analysis of violence.
Peacebuilding	Men's peacebuilding work: transforming violences. Cultivating men's positive peace by addressing the intersecting roots of men's direct, structural, and cultural violence. Focus on critical consciousness-raising and action to understand and transform patriarchal structural and cultural violence through gender transformative approaches.	Learning about and actively seeking to transform the underlying patriarchal beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that drive men's VAW. Exploring how to support legal and policy advocacy efforts to affect social change. Appreciating a robust intersectional analysis into all efforts towards peace. Engaging in political and social organizing and mobilizing efforts in collaboration with women's groups, feminist organizations, and broader social justice movements. Exploring the concept and upholding the practice of accountability.

Other programs may work with general populations of men and apply a broader peacebuilding program to address the underlying social and political issues that men can help transform. Hence, the peace-work framework may serve as a blueprint for thinking about such transformational change on both direct personal levels as well as indirect structural and cultural levels.

## Conclusion

Our experience in MVP classrooms, background in peace scholarship and practice, and engagement with feminist and pro-feminist literature leads us to believe that, while needing contextual tailoring, a Galtungian framework could provide nuanced and practical ways of thinking and teaching about both violence and peace in MVP. However, we are cautious of oversimplifying complex theories of men's violences and diluting feminist analysis for the sake of engaging men. [Waling \(2019\)](#) has noted similar concerns around the simplistic use of "toxic" and "healthy" masculinities in public discourses and urged to be careful about "what is lost in the process" (371). Thus, we emphasize here that we have found Galtung's framework to be a helpful starting point for talking about men's violences in MVP and that it can and should be complexified over time in work with men.

Overall, this paper has argued that Galtung's framework aligns with [Burrell's \(2018\)](#) tridactic approach for engaging men and presents heterogeneous and interconnected conceptions that could help men identify, understand, and work to prevent direct, structural, and cultural violences. Further, Galtung's theory could support men in complexifying the solutions to violence with negative and positive peaces, and crafting specific actions through a range of peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding practices. With our caution noted above in mind, we believe a Galtungian approach can learn from and resonate with a feminist analysis of violence, respond to problems with homogenous violence in MVP that [Flood \(2015\)](#) and [Burrell \(2018\)](#) have noted, and open the door to new and innovative possibilities for making MVP more effective at both challenging violence and promoting more peaceful paths forward.

## Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This work was supported by the Gates Cambridge Trust (Gates Cambridge Scholarship (Author 1)).

## Note

1. Various research has explored men's diverse pathways into anti-sexism activism and violence prevention work, including both the benefits of their involvement and risks and challenges of such work ([Macomber 2015](#); [Westmarland et al. 2021](#)).

## References

- Alcalde, M. C. 2014. "An Intersectional Approach to Latino Anti-Violence Engagement." *Culture, Society and Masculinities* 6, no. 1: 35–51.

- Alexander, R. 2019. "Gender, Structural Violence, and Peace." In *The Routledge Handbook of Gender and Security*, edited by Gentry, C., S. Laura, and L. Sjoberg, 27–36. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Anderson, E. 2009. *Inclusive Masculinity*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Barker, G., C. Ricardo, and M. Nascimento, 2007. *Engaging Men and Boys in Changing Gender-Based Inequity in Health: Evidence from Programme Interventions*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Barber, K. 2016. *Styling Masculinity: Gender, Class, and Inequality in the Men's Grooming Industry*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Bridges, T., and C. J. Pascoe, 2014. "Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities." *Sociology Compass* 8, no. 3: 246–58.
- Berkowitz, A. 2004. "Working With Men to Prevent Violence Against Women: An Overview." <http://alanberkowitz.com/articles/VAWNET.pdf> (accessed May 1, 2020).
- Berggren, K., L. Gottzén, and H. Bornäs. 2021. "Theorising Masculinity and Intimate Partner Violence." In *Men, Masculinities and Intimate Partner Violence*, edited by Gottzén, L., M. Bjørnholt, and F. Boonzaier. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Boonzaier, F., M. Huysamen, and T. Van Niekerk. 2021. "Men from the South: Feminist, Decolonial and Intersectional Perspectives on Men Masculinities and Intimate Partner Violence." In *Men, Masculinities and Intimate Partner Violence*, edited by Gottzén, L., M. Bjørnholt, and F. Boonzaier. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Brock-Utne, B. 2009. "A Gender Perspective on Peace Education and the Work for Peace." *International Review of Education* 55: 205–20.
- Burrell, S. R. 2018. "The Contradictory Possibilities of Engaging Men and Boys in the Prevention of Men's Violence Against Women in the UK." *Journal of Gender-Based Violence* 3: 447–64.
- Burrell, S. R., and M. Flood, 2019. "Which Feminism? Dilemmas in Profeminist Men's Praxis to End Violence Against Women." *Global Social Welfare* 6, no. 4: 231–44.
- Carlson, J., E. Casey, J. Edleson, R. Tolman, T. Walsh, and E. Kimball, 2015. "Strategies to Engage Men and Boys in Violence Prevention." *Violence Against Women* 21, no. 11: 1406–25.
- Casey, E. A., J. Carlson, C. Fraguera-Rios, E. Kimball, T. B. Neugut, R. M. Tolman, and J. L. Edleson, 2013. "Context, Challenges, and Tensions in Global Efforts to Engage Men in the Prevention of Violence Against Women: An Ecological Analysis." *Men and Masculinities* 16, no. 2: 228–51.
- Casey, E. A., N. T. Masters, B. Beadnell, E. A. Wells, D. M. Morrison, and M. J. Hoppe, 2016. "A Latent Class Analysis of Heterosexual Young Men's Masculinities." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 45, no. 5: 1039–50.
- COFEM: Coalition of Feminist for Social Change (2017). "How a Lack of Accountability Undermines Work to Address Violence Against Women and Girls." *Feminist Perspectives on Addressing Violence Against Women and Girls Series*, Paper No. 1. Coalition of Feminists for Social Change.
- Coady, C. A. J. 2008. *Morality and Political Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Cockburn, C. 2004. "The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace." In *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, edited by Giles, W, 24–44. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Cockburn, C. 2014. "A Continuum of Violence: Gender, War and Peace." In *The Criminology of War*, edited by Jameson, R, 357–375. London: Routledge.
- Confortini, C. 2006. "Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance." *Peace and Change* 31, no. 3: 333–67.
- Connell, R. 2022. "Playing with Fire: The Sociology of Masculinities." *Global Dialogue* 12, no. 1: 34–6.
- Connell, R. W. 2005. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R., and R. Pearse, 2014. *Gender in World Perspective*. 3rd ed. New York: Wiley.
- Delap, L. 2020. *Feminisms*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Dworkin, S. L., S. Treves-Kagan, and S. A. Lippman, 2013. "Gender-Transformative Interventions to Reduce HIV Risks and Violence with Heterosexually-Active Men: A Review of the Global Evidence." *AIDS and Behavior* 17, no. 9: 2845–63.
- Edstrom, J., A. Hassink, T. Shakrokh, and E. Stern. 2015, *Engendering Men: A Collaborative Review of Evidence of Men and Boys in Social Change and Gender Equality, EMERGE Evidence Review. Promundo-US, Sonke Gender Justice and the Institute for Development Studies*. Brighton: IDS.
- Finley, L. 2018. *Gender, Sexuality, and Peace Education: Issues and Perspectives in Higher Education*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Flood, M. 2011. "Involving Men in Efforts to End Violence Against Women." *Men and Masculinities* 14, no. 3: 358–77.
- Flood, M. (2014). "Work with Men to End Violence Against Women: Critical Assessment and Future Directions." Paper to the 2nd MenEngage Global Symposium 2014: Men and Boys for Gender Justice, New Delhi, 10–13 November.
- Flood, M. 2015. "Work with Men to End Violence Against Women: A Critical Stocktake." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 17, no. 2: 159–76. DOI: [10.1080/13691058.2015.1070435](https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1070435)
- Flood, M. 2019. *Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Funk, R. 2018. "Continuum of Male Engagement." <http://rusfunk.me> (accessed June 1, 2020).
- Galtung, Johan. 1969. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3: 167–91.
- Galtung, J. (1976). "Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding. Impact of Science on Society 1/2 (1976)." PRIO Publications No. 25(9).
- Galtung, J. 1996. *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. New York: Sage.
- Galtung, J., and D. Fischer. 2013. *Johan Galtung Pioneer of Peace Research*. London: Springer.
- Hajir, B., and K. Kester. 2020. "Toward a Decolonial Praxis in Critical Peace Education: Postcolonial Insights and Pedagogic Possibilities." *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 39: 515–532.
- Hansen, T. 2016. "Holistic Peace, Holistic Peace." *Peace Review* 28, no. 2: 212–19.

- Hearn, J. 1998. *The Violences of Men: How Men Talk About and How Agencies Respond to Men's Violence to Women*. London: Sage.
- Hearn, J., S. Strid, A.L. Humbart, D. Balkmar, and M. Delaunay, 2020. "From Gender Regimes to Violence Regimes: Re-thinking the position of Violence." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 29: 682–705. DOI: [10.1093/sp/jxaa022](https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxaa022).
- Hearn, J., K. Ratele, T. Shefer, and A. R. Khan, 2021. "Men, Masculinities, peace, and Violence: A Multi-Level Overview on Justice and Conflict." In *Routledge Handbook of Feminist PEACE Research*, edited by Väyrynen, T., S. Parashar, E. Féron, and C. C Confortini, 313–23. London UK: Routledge.
- Heilman, B., and G. Barker, 2018. *Masculine Norms and Violence: Making the Connections*. Washington, DC: Promundo-US.
- Herrero, J., A. Torres, F. J. Rodríguez, and J. Juarros-Basterretxea, 2017. "Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in the European Union: The Influence of Male Partners' Traditional Gender Roles and General Violence." *Psychology of Violence* 7, no. 3: 385–94.
- Hewitt, S., and J. True, 2021. "Is Feminist Peace Possible? Constraints and Opportunities in a Global Political Economy." In *Routledge Handbook of Feminist Peace Research*, edited by Väyrynen, T., S. Parashar, E. Féron, and C. C Confortini. London UK: Routledge.
- hooks, b. 2003. *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity*. New York: Routledge.
- hooks, b. 2004. *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love*. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Hurtado, A., and M. Sinha, 2008. "More than Men: Latino Feminist Masculinities and Intersectionality." *Sex Roles* 59, no. 5-6: 337–49.
- Institute for Economics and Peace. 2019. "Positive Peace Report 2019: Analyzing the Factors that Sustain Peace. Sydney, October 2019." <http://visionofhumanity.org/reports> (accessed June 1, 2020).
- Jewkes, R., M. Flood, and J Lang. 2015. "From Work with Men and Boys to Changes of Social Norms and Reduction of Inequities in Gender Relations: A Conceptual Shift in Prevention of Violence Against Women and Girls." *The Lancet* 385, no. 9977: 1580–88.
- Kaufman, M. 2019. *The Time Has Come: Why Men Must Join the Gender Equality Revolution*. Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint Press.
- Katz, J. 2006. *The Macho Paradox: Why Some Men Hurt Women and How All Men Can Help*. Naperville: Ill.: Sourcebooks, Inc.
- Kelly, L. 1996. "It's Everywhere: Sexual Violence as a Continuum." In *Feminism and Sexuality: A Reader*, edited by S. Jackson, and S. Scott, 191–207. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Macomber, K. 2015. "I'm Sure as Hell Not Putting Any Man on a Pedestal: Male Privilege and Accountability in Domestic and Sexual Violence Work." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 33, no. 9: 1–28.
- McLeod, L., and M. O'Reilly, 2019. "Critical Peace and Conflict Studies: Feminist Interventions." *Peacebuilding* 7, no. 2: 127–45.
- Messner, M. A., M. A. Greenberg, and T. Peretz, 2015. *Some Men: Feminist Allies and the Movement to End Violence Against Women*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Messerschmidt, J. 2016. *Masculinities in the Making: From the Local to the Global*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Messerschmidt, J. 2018. *Masculinities and Crime: A Quarter Century of Theory and Research*. Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield.
- Pascoe, C. J., and T. Bridges, 2016. *Exploring masculinities*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pease, B. 2019. *Facing Patriarchy: Overcoming a Violent Gender Order*. London: Zed Books.
- Pease, B., and M. Flood, 2008. "Rethinking the Significance of 'Attitudes' in Challenging Men's Violence Against Women." *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 43: 547–61.
- Peretz, T. 2017. "Engaging Diverse Men: An Intersectional Analysis of Men's Pathways to Antiviolence Activism." *Gender and Society* 31, no. 4: 526–48.
- Reardon, B. A. 1985. *Sexism and the War System*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Ratele, K. 2012. "Violence, Militarised Masculinity and Positive Peace." Cape Town: Pam-bazuka. (<http://www.fahamu.org/resources/Ratele-ViolenceMilitarised-Masculinity6.pdf>) (accessed August 10, 2020).
- Ricardo, C. 2015. *Men, Masculinities, and Changing Power: A Discussion Paper on Engaging Men in Gender Equality from Beijing 1995 to 2015*. Washington, DC: MenEngage Alliance and UN Women.
- Ricardo, C., M. Eads, and G. Barker. 2011. *Engaging Boys and Men in the Prevention of Sexual Violence. Sexual Violence Research Initiative and Promundo*. Pretoria: South Africa.
- Stark, E. 2007. *Coercive Control: How Men Entrap Women in Personal Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tjaden, P., and N. Thoennes, 2000. *Full Report of the Prevalence, Incidence, and Consequences of Violence Against Women: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Van Niekerk, T. 2021. "Re-Envisioning Interventions for Partner Violent Men in the Global South Through Decolonial Feminist Praxes." In *Men, Masculinities and Intimate Partner Violence*, edited by Gottzén, L., M. Bjørnholt, and F. Boonzaier. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Waling, A. 2019. "Problematising 'Toxic' and 'Healthy' Masculinity for Addressing Gender Inequalities." *Australian Feminist Studies* 34, no. 101: 362–75.
- Westmarland, N. 2015. *Violence Against Women: Criminological Perspectives on Men's Violences*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Westmarland, N., A. Almqvist, L. Egeberg Holmgren, S. Ruxton, S. Burrell, and C. Delgado Valbuena. 2021. *Men's Activism to End Violence Against Women: Voices from Spain, Sweden and the UK*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- White, A. M., and T. Peretz, 2010. "Emotions and Redefining Black Masculinity: Movement Narratives of Two Profeminist Organizers." *Men and Masculinities* 12, no. 4: 403–24.
- World Health Organization. 2021. *Violence Against Women Prevalence Estimates, 2018*. Geneva: WHO. <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240022256> (accessed April 30, 2022).
- Wu, J. 2018. *Involving Men in Ending Violence against Women: Development, Gender and VAW in Times of Conflict*. London: Routledge.

**Author Biographies**

**William W. McNerney** is a research officer at the London School of Economics' Centre for Women, Peace and Security where he works on the Gender, Justice and Security Hub. He recently completed his PhD as a Gates Cambridge Scholar at the Faculty of Education at the University of Cambridge. McNerney's research interests include peace education, gender justice, arts-based peacebuilding, and engaging men in violence prevention. He has published on these topics including as a co-editor of the book, *Innovations in Peace and Education Praxis* and as a co-author of the book, *Das Buch, das jeder Mann lesen sollte: In 4 Schritten zum Feministen*.

**David Tim Archer** is an internationally experienced peace, conflict, and education pracademic, with a particular interest in peace education pedagogies for young men. He completed his PhD at the University of Cambridge in 2021 as a Hughes Hall College Scholar. Tim has published several chapters and articles on the topics of peace education and conflict resolution, most recently also co-editing the book, *Innovations in Peace and Education Praxis*.