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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Can the men's movement attract young men? The men in dialogue association

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One challenge facing the men's movement is how to attract a more diverse range of participants, especially in terms of age and culture. In Spain, people generally believe that the men's movement has had little impact on young people, focused as it is on issues such as doing chores or caring for children, issues that affect only a particular group of men. Seeking ways to attract more young men to the movement, the authors conducted a case study with the Men in Dialogue association (MiD). MiD has developed a new approach to masculinity by incorporating in its discourse issues that young people face in their everyday lives. The authors analysed this discourse and identified key aspects – desire, friendship and solidarity, and equality – of the MiD messages that are attractive to young heterosexual males.

Keywords: desire; youth; equality; masculinity; men's movement

Introduction

How can the men's movement in Spain be more attractive to young men? This has been a key question for Men in Dialogue (MiD), a group that aims to connect with various groups of young men. MiD members discuss equality and issues related with desire in their activities, which include workshops, video forums and conferences, all of them targeting young people. In doing so, MiD is joining the international debate on egalitarian masculinities; it also helps to drive the development of the men's movement around the world by recruiting as many men as it can, and making itself the most diverse group possible. For MiD to attract more young men, it must involve a wide range of men in the movement; within that diversity, it must include the myriad of masculine identities that are present in society but too rarely represented in men's movements.

The men's movement in Spain has focused its activities on the needs and concerns of a specific sector of the population. Today, the men involved in such groups are aware that they are not connecting effectively with younger men in Spain, but they want, and need, to attract them to the movement. Therefore, they recognize the crucial challenge of motivating young people to participate in their groups. In this article, we reflect on the personal reasons why young men do not connect with the men's movement, and also shed some light on ways to address this problem.

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The case study we conducted with MiD reveals some of the aspects that have attracted young men to participate actively in MiD activities, providing key information on how to better run men's movement associations. MiD promotes plurality among its members in terms of age and cultural and socio-economic background, and also in terms of the diverse masculine identities they enact in their daily lives. MiD members deeply want the young men who participate in their activities to feel free to express diverse forms of masculinity, so they are seeking antidotes to the tendency towards homogeneity that is found in some academic discourses. The activities that MiD organizes are quite diverse, but here we focus on those that aim to prevent violence against women; an important aim of MiD and also one of the dominant discourses of 'hegemonic masculinity'. Given this focus on violence against women, the reflections and discussions we offer here apply to heterosexual affective and sexual relationships. MiD also works to counter bullying and homophobia, but we do not address those activities here.

We first review scientific literature that has explored the challenge of diversifying the men's movement at the international level, focusing specifically on Spain, and especially regarding age. We then describe MiD. In the Methods section, we describe our data collection, access to information, the discourse analysis we performed and our approach to ethical issues, along with other details of our research method. In the Results section, we present our main finding: the MiD discourse incorporates a new approach which seeks to attract young men by uniting 'equality' with a gendered image alternative to hegemonic masculinity and which young men will desire, in the sense that they will find such image attractive. The data collected indicate that MiD achieved this through a consolidated discourse which does not re-inscribe the idea of male attractiveness as understood in heteronormative constructions of masculinity, but participants in MiD have created other ways to express their alternative masculinities, placing 'desire', 'friendship', 'solidarity' and 'equality' at the centre of the MiD discourse. We end with some conclusions.

Involving young men in the movement

Since Connell (1987) developed the concept of hegemonic masculinity, discussions have been developed for decades now, revealing internal contradictions and the difficulties of embodying the complexity of masculinities in the current society. A decade later, Edley and Wetherell (1997) pointed out that individuals are both products and producers of discourse, showing how intricately masculinities are linked with everyday social reality. Their analysis also reminds us that hegemonic masculinity makes it only too easy to develop a homogenous concept of masculinity, so that we may well fail to note some of the wide range of potential masculinities.

To contribute to this theoretical debate on masculinities, in this article we focus on one men's group, MiD, analysing its discourse on egalitarian masculinities. MiD appreciates and fosters a complex range of masculine identities; it also works hard to make its conversations about masculinities more attractive and to provide engaging discussions in a range of venues. To define its discourse and why it succeeds, we have identified some of its main characteristics: desire, friendship and solidarity, and equality. This set of characteristics summarizes the way that MiD members speak about subjects that are very important to young men. MiD promotes an image of non-hegemonic masculinity that young men desire. It also helps the organization to include men with a range of masculine identities. Thus, the group's open discourse allows it to develop and promote a diversity of new masculinities that have often been hidden behind hegemonic analysis or homogeneous discourses about masculinity.

In the 1990s, associations such as the National Organization for Men against Sexism (NOMAS) and the White Ribbon Campaign (WRC) brought more attention to men's movements (Kimmel and Kaufman 1995). More recently, they have attracted the support of international organizations such as the United Nations (Lang 2003). Despite their growing importance, men's groups around the world continue to discuss the challenge of reaching out to diverse constituencies. Moreover, they are considering how to break with the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which is also an important concern in the academic community. Moller (2007) presents a constructive critique of the way that some studies of masculinity have overlooked its complexity. Rather than conceptualize masculinities as if they constitute a complete system, as some have done, he develops a more complex theory that includes the diversity of men's practices and motivations. Along the same lines, Wedgwood (2009) shows how that the concept of hegemonic masculinity has been over-utilized and overemphasized. He describes how Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) have reformulated the concept to get around its internal contradiction; he also alerts us to the risk of promoting a new form of sociological determinism that depends on the way the concept is used in research.

Several researchers have also captured these internal discussions on ways to inform as many men as possible about the struggle for gender equality (Lorentzen 2005, Kaufman 2007, Komter *et al.* 2012). Associations such as NOMAS and WRC have now pledged to make themselves more diverse, in terms of religion, culture and age, and have made significant progress in that direction (Kimmel and Kaufman 1995).

In Spain, the men's movement began by following in the footsteps of NOMAS and WRC, and drew on the ideas of Marqués (1987) about masculine models. It has grown considerably since 2000. For example, the Association of Men for Gender Equality (AHIGE) has a strong public presence because it has established groups around the country.³ Men's groups have planned their activities to promote a model of egalitarian masculinity based on more equity-based and anti-sexist attitudes. They have also developed online activities and created a Network of Young People to focus on preventing gender-based violence.⁴

However, the model of the egalitarian man that such groups present does not resonate with the everyday reality of many young people. The activists of the men's movement are largely white middle-class men, averaging around 40 years old, living with their partners and their one child, if any; most have university degrees, many are connected to NGOs, either educational or social, and participate in research studies on masculinity (Díez and Domingo 2008). The predominant discourse about the men's movement that these men share is quite distant from the everyday concerns of young people – a fact that means young men rarely become involved in men's groups and their activities. Similarly, theorists observe that young men are increasingly distant from this discourse, partly because concepts such as hegemonic masculinity are increasingly failing to describe the diverse and complex reality of young men's lives and ways of perceiving masculinity.

Edley and Wetherell (1997) explain that even if male identities exist *per se*, the concept of masculinity has been constructed in contrast to other concepts, such as femininity. In response, MiD offers several elements that avoid creating definitions through opposition or differentiation, and members of MiD break with preconceived categories of masculinity. As they enact various kinds of alternative egalitarian masculinities, their very lifestyles acknowledge their multiple subjectivities and diverse attitudes as men. These diverse masculinities become connected through dialogue, as they identify common aims and shared principles, including freedom, respect and non-violence.⁵

Because we see great potential to involve youth in efforts to promote gender equality, and because their underrepresentation in men's movements presents a challenge, we are

interested in understanding this lack of involvement, and then seeking solutions. Wedgwood (2009) sees the need for more research to understand how we can undermine the male-dominated order and construct more egalitarian masculinities. Our case study contributes to this effort because it shows how young men can become involved in the men's movement and it showcases a successful group, MiD. We believe it helps us better understand affective and sexual relationships, especially heterosexual ones, and how they connect with the process of constructing masculinities.

Case study: the MiD

Composed of diverse and comparatively young members, MiD stands out from the rest of Spain's men's movement. Founded in 2006 by a group of young men, its main objective is to foster the recognition of egalitarian masculinities, categories of masculinity which are anything but static, and are based on desire, friendship and solidarity, and equality.

As others have described, academics conducting research on masculinities have questioned and modified the initial conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity, and they have discovered diverse typologies of masculinities, both hegemonic and non-hegemonic (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Cultural and historical elements continuously influence masculine behaviour and thus explain the evolution of these types (Edley and Wetherell 1997). Therefore, social situations and historical times might be influencing the way that men take on particular masculinities.

The MiD association is one example of how efforts to (re)construct masculinity influence the theoretical discourse on masculinities and contradict the hierarchical and oppressive masculinity that predominated during the twentieth century. According to Butler (Beck-Gernsheim *et al.* 2003), dialogue and reflection among diverse people can debunk the heteronormativity that imposes binary identity categories.

MiD began as with eight men aged 23–34. The majority are professionals, working mostly in education and other social fields. The group is quite diverse: some of the men are heterosexual and others homosexual, and they have very different domestic arrangements: married, single, separated, in the living apart together model (LAT), among others.

Some of the members believe that this stated diversity within the association makes their discourse more attractive to men of all ages. This is reflected in the discussions that MiD facilitates, which never focus on presenting one lifestyle or one particular way to experience masculinity as the 'best' or the 'most convenient'. On the contrary, MiD members actively defend all possible life options, as long as those involved desire them and agree on them; similarly, they urge participants to consider all the possible types of emotional and romantic relationships, from a religious marriage to an 'open relationship'. Overall, they focus on the freedom to make one's own life choices.

We chose to conduct a case study with MiD for three reasons. The first, and most important, was the ability to recruit young men to participate actively in their activities. MiD organizes workshops and debates in educational and public settings where they can connect with young men, and invite them to get involved in the organization. The second reason is the fluid relationship that MiD has established with academia; MiD members are involved in social science research seeking ways to overcome gender violence.

The third reason is that, since 2006, MiD has been developing activities specifically connected to education. Educational institutions play a central role in socializing males into masculinity (Edley and Wetherell 1997, Gini and Pozzoli 2006). MiD builds on this fact, creating spaces for open and critical discussion, and offering information on types of masculinity that promote equality and respect.

Methods

The men's movement faces a major question: How can it make itself more diverse? This question led us to engage in the case study of MiD. We wanted to identify some of the characteristics of MiD that may help the men's movement attract a more diverse membership. Specifically, we have analysed elements of MiD's discourse that might help to make the men's movement more attractive to younger males. During the study, we assumed the position that Edley and Wetherell (1997) call 'bottom-up' researchers; this allowed us to better connect with the sense of MiD activities and discourses, extracting better and more meaningful data.

Data collection

We collected the data for this case study between 2007 and 2012, using the communicative methodology (CM) approach. This perspective has been endorsed by the international scientific community. Indeed, the European Union has acknowledged its power to increase the social and political impact of research (EU Spanish Presidency 2010, Valls and Padrós 2011). CM starts from two premises: that people construct knowledge through social interaction and that all individuals and groups have the critical skills they need to analyse their life situations and participate in a dialogue. Thus, through CM, researchers work together with those whose situation they are studying to develop solid empirical knowledge about it; in this process, the accumulated knowledge from the academic world, contributed by the researchers, is contrasted with knowledge from of everyday experiences, contributed by the research participants (Gómez *et al.* 2011).

In conducting this case study, we used several qualitative techniques to collect our data, some of them with a communicative orientation. First, we reviewed the relevant literature on the subject and analysed materials and texts that several MiD members produced as they participated in educational, academic and public forums. Among the documents we reviewed, some of the most revealing were presentations that members of MiD made at conferences and congresses throughout Spain, and those generated by MiD members involved in research studies and in radio programmes that discuss gender violence. We also analysed documents from the sessions that MiD organizes for first-year university students.

Second, we carried out 10 in-depth interviews: four with the MiD president and six with MiD members and collaborators. A key topic in those interviews was how and why younger men participate in MiD activities. Those interviews led to the two communicative focus groups we conducted with members of MiD. The first was conducted in March 2012 with five members of MiD, and the second, conducted in July 2012, included nine MiD members.

In addition, we conducted six communicative observations of MiD's work meetings, discussions and preparation for workshops and other activities, mostly in 2007 and 2011, and one more in 2012 during the conference 'How do we speak of new masculinities? Men, equality and desire', organized as part of a competitive research project funded by the Spanish Government (Soler 2010–2012). In the communicative observations conducted, researchers and study participants shared and argued meanings and interpretations of the observed actions, events and situations, contrasting the information obtained through the observation.

We should point out that the two male authors of this article are involved in most MiD activities and reflections; this has naturally facilitated our access to relevant information. Their involvement in joint reflections with other MiD members on the crucial elements we

describe here has enabled us to more deeply analyse how masculinities are currently being constructed. Likewise, the men who participated in the interviews, focus groups and observations were quite diverse, like the MiD membership itself. This ensured that a wide range of views would emerge, given their everyday experiences of multiple masculinities. Moreover, the use of the CM ensured that we could capture this diversity in the data because, as described earlier, CM encourages more egalitarian relationships between researchers and participants, and among the participants themselves.

Data analysis

We analysed the data to track how the members' discourse had evolved over the past few years, after MiD established more contact with young men. To identify the characteristics that made MiD more attractive to young people, we used discourse analysis (Van Dijk 1993). We looked deeply into MiD's efforts to adapt its discourse and include the voices of those young men as they are being socialized, defining and (re)constructing their masculine identities as they interact with the various values that society transmits to them and that they understand as individuals.

As in many studies using the CM, we analysed the data according to two dimensions: the exclusionary and the transformative (Puigvert *et al.* 2012). Here we discuss the transformative dimension, which revealed these three essential aspects in the discourse of MiD. These elements are transformative because they help MiD connect with young men and meanwhile make diverse masculinities visible. Thus, in this study we move beyond simply describing what keeps young men from becoming involved with MiD, to look at new spaces where men are free to choose their form of masculinity. Within these spaces, men can acknowledge the complex and multiple contexts where masculinity is constructed and which are part of the daily life of young men today.

This study adheres to the ethical premises of the CM, which follow those established by the European Commission (2010). Our findings come only from the members of MiD involved in the study, all of whom are adults, able to choose to participate in the study. We informed them about our research aims and said we planned to publish the results. We also explained, from the very beginning, the study's possible impact and its potential contributions for the participants, and for other men's associations and the wider society. We also informed them that their participation was voluntary and could be interrupted or ended at any point during the research period. Finally, to preserve their anonymity, we have replaced all their names with pseudonyms.

Results

Our analysis revealed several key elements of the discourse about egalitarian masculinities that are related to the concerns of young men in Spain. They are desire, friendship and solidarity, and equality. Please note that this case study includes only discourses regarding heterosexual relationships. Clearly, future research on this topic should focus on other kinds of relationships and sexual orientations, to address this limitation in the analysis we present here.

Desire: towards a change in the discourse about masculinities

As MiD members talk about masculinities, they use a perspective unlike that of most other men's groups. They focus the discussion on topics that matter to teenagers, such as how to

be more attractive, how to be valuable to one's friends and how to develop successful friendships with both males and females. In choosing this perspective, MiD challenges the dominant definition of masculinity, which does not include the wide range of ordinary men's voices and practices. As young men understand this emphasis on the new masculinities, they come to appreciate a way of acting, of attracting others, and of living in sexual relationships that is far removed from any type of violence or submission. In one of the focus group with MiD members, Lluç explained this perspective:

It is about promoting this image [about new masculinities] and talking more about desire, about attraction and sex. And to separate this from the issue of how many dishes you wash in a day or a week, right? Because if you really do it well in this relationship you are being egalitarian and you have better sexual relationships... that you would not have with people who do not care about you.

MiD members introduce the topics that most concern adolescents, using vignettes from popular films, songs and other media that are familiar to them and resonate with their everyday experiences. For instance, they use a very successful recent Spanish television series, *Sin tetas no hay paraíso* [No paradise without boobs]. Its main male character is a procurer called *El Duque* [The Duke]. He engages in violence, has no conscience and despises women. The series presents him as the most desirable of men, promoting a model of attractiveness based on violence that leads Catalina, the main female character, to work her way into the prostitution industry and the Mafia in order to gain access to him. When MiD members use such examples in the workshops, they allow the young men to start very sincere discussions based on their own experiences, as some of their socialization resonates the dynamics showed in the show. Ricard, a MiD volunteer, sees the discussions about new masculinities that MiD arranges as motivating younger men to participate:

Normally it is hard for young people to approach existing groups of men. In some cases, when men ... are in relationships with feminist women, their partners ... push them to do so. I think that giving them alternatives is a way for these boys to join the movement, alternatives through a language and discourse that is close to them.

Because MiD discussions move beyond the model of only one type of masculinity, they enable young people to critically analyse their own situation and to understand why they do or do not attract romantic partners, why they feel attracted to violence and even why they might get involved with people, male or female, who could hurt them. To ensure that these young people engage in these discussions and come to deeply understand these issues, MiD members are very careful to avoid any moralizing and to speak openly during the discussions.

By orienting discussions in this way, MiD gives adolescents a feeling of great freedom that they find attractive at all levels, but especially in the domain of emotional and romantic relationships. Juan, a MiD member, explained that during discussions, he positions himself 'not as a moralist who is above them and who is dedicated to telling them what to do and what not to do'. Instead, he says, 'you show yourself as above all that, criticizing and ridiculing the sexist comment that has been made, or the insult to a man or a woman.'

Among all the data we gathered, one set of workshops stands out: those on new masculinities that MiD offered, working with the Unitary Platform Against Gender Violence.⁶ We were especially struck by the great sincerity with which these young people engaged in discussions about attractiveness. This is the way Marcel described it in a focus group:

At the beginning of the workshop the expectation the guys have is, what will they tell me once again? 'About [avoiding] violence that we need to be good, whatever!' Then what we do is

enter directly into the topic of attraction, what people like and what they don't. I believe that this gets their attention, and it questions the hegemonic model little by little, although it is difficult to take this step.

MiD connects with young men and teenage boys because it introduces issues such as the social constructions of attractiveness that are so relevant to them, especially for heterosexual young men. In addition, it provides them with tools and basic information they can use to analyze their own situation, to understand what makes them attractive to others and what does not, and to help them become socialized into diverse masculinities that are opposed to violence, without having to place themselves as either for or against one of the violence and submission.

Friendship and solidarity: a social revolution and a key to attraction

Friendship and solidarity are other elements that have been identified as best making egalitarian masculinities more attractive. We found various examples of MiD members considering friendship and solidarity in all their activities. For example, Arnau, a MiD collaborator, described the reactions of young men in the workshops:

What I have always seen in the workshops is that the boy taking part in it is the 'nice' guy. The 'bad' one does not participate, he closes down a little, or he might get angry. But normally he [the 'bad' guy] tends not to participate because he is afraid to show himself because we have shown our cards. Then, if someone criticizes him, he can show himself [...] In the same workshop I have seen an element of transformation because the one who takes the lead is the 'nice' one, who is participating, who shows himself, because he somehow makes a better impression among his peers.

This experience of solidarity extends to the discussions, where MiD members support the participation of those egalitarian males who are very often not the more outspoken ones. This is how Julio expresses it:

It is a way to support [the nice guy] and we are alert to do it based on what he says. That is, we do not disregard him and just say 'hmm, ok, ok'; instead, we take his intervention and support it, we ask what the rest think about it.

As MiD promotes this attitude of solidarity in its workshops, members take it in and pass it on in other situations, often with groups of friends. In one focus group, Albert recalled a situation when a group of friends took a trip to the mountains: a girl working in a shop there was very disrespectful to some of them. Then, supported by his other friends, Albert's friend Jose took on a more assertive attitude and the girl changed her behaviour: instead of treating this group of egalitarian men with disdain, she treated them nicely. The key was Jose's attitude as he addressed her. But Albert pointed out what made it possible: the friendship that unites them, based on strong solidarity that avoids competition among men. In fact, when the group of friends returned from the trip, they described their experience to some girls in their circle. This showed how important it was for the group to provide positive reinforcement to Jose, and led the girls to see him as more attractive. Albert summarized the experience:

[Jose] said to [the girl in the shop]: 'hand me a 40-something size'. So she went from having the initiative and asking the size, to having to listen to what he was requesting. (...) And the way he transmitted it, the tone of his voice, the way he told her what he did, the face he put on, she was a little stunned (...) Then, afterwards, she was very ok with us, she was different (...). That was very cool, but it was even cooler when we got to Barcelona and we explained this to our group, [including] the girls. We generated a lot of interest in him. Because I am talking about a guy who develops egalitarian relationships with the girls and we know that very well.

MiD members promote friendship as a value that has great transformative potential for young people, and also as a tool for moving more deeply into discussions about attractiveness, new masculinities, love and sexual relationships in general. Miquel expressed it clearly:

Being in MiD gives you a chance to explain and share the situations that you live every day and to share strategies that help you face them and overcome them. This allows you, in the end, to promote an attractive kind of solidarity and respect among your groups of friends and at your job; it generates a very good atmosphere among the group of friends as well as at work.

Because they so value friendship and solidarity, these young men feel that with the support of friends they can become empowered to decide about their own masculinity. This is in line with the work of Edley and Wetherell (1997), who found that being exposed to ideas about friendship and solidarity facilitated a crucial shift for many youth who are struggling to find, and create, appropriate spaces for them within the larger society.

Equality: MiD, egalitarian and attractive men

I have the feeling that, when someone talks about an egalitarian man, they often mean the one who take cares of the children, who stays at home and this does not make him more attractive. And of course there are ways of being attractive and [...] egalitarian. But people don't talk like that. When you see that this is possible, you are hooked. So I would break with the idea that being egalitarian is not about being attractive. It is the other way around: it is possible to be egalitarian, attractive and much more! (Lluc)

Lluc expresses the sense of unease that many young men experience within both their everyday friendships and their romantic and sexual relationships. In discussions with young heterosexual men coming of age in this decade, MiD members have noticed a key issue for them: they realize that being more egalitarian makes them less attractive.

Thus, MiD sees the challenge of working to develop egalitarian masculinities that are also perceived as attractive, especially among younger men. This is why MiD men talk about the socialization processes that have historically informed men's masculinity. These processes have categorized some male behaviour as desirable and attractive and others as egalitarian, but MiD men dispute this dichotomy. Albert expressed this point in a focus group:

We are putting great effort into countering this message [that equality is not compatible with attractiveness]. For instance, a couple days ago, we celebrated the day of the egalitarian father. It is true that Father's Day can become the day of the egalitarian father, but it is also true that this does not attract young women. How else can we pursue this work?

MiD members consistently communicated this idea of combining equality and attractiveness in the various places where we studied their work. For example, Juan said this during one of the communicative observations:

There are many groups of egalitarian men, but for me, in MiD we have to point out that the idea is not to focus on blaming men for all the abuse and battering that women have suffered throughout history. Rather we must remember that there have been egalitarian men throughout history. And today there are many, and what we need to do is promote the fact that they, we ... egalitarian men are attractive.

One type of conversation about egalitarian masculinities does attract young people to MiD events: those about generating sexual desire. Not only are these conversations among MiD's most effective activities, they also motivate young people to attend more regularly. Discussions around the question of attractiveness have an impact beyond the sessions: those who attend continue to discuss it in other spaces, with both friends and colleagues,

more deeply exploring both their own experiences and key issues in their personal and professional futures.

For instance, Marc, a MiD collaborator who is also a professor, brought a group of first-year students to one of the workshops. He told us that, drawing on the discussion they experienced there, his students decided to organize debates and film forums as alternative forms of evaluation during the period when students were protesting increased university fees. They oriented all their activities towards talking about feminism and raised topics that are not usually addressed. The dialogues that MiD had left a deep mark on these future educators, and on their ways of analysing their own experiences. Students used this new perspective to question the hegemonic role of masculinity, arguing that they need to be critical of the imposed socialization that links attractiveness and violence and thus keeps them from connecting attractiveness and equality.

Conclusions

One of the main challenges for the men's movement today is to bring in a wider range of voices. One way to address this need is to include a wider range of masculine identities in men's associations, which can then demonstrate the diversity and complexity of masculine identities, especially to young people.

In this article, we have begun to address this challenge by examining the MiD association. We have focused on analysing its members' daily life experiences and reflecting on issues discussed during activities the group has organized. In the few years since its creation in 2006, MiD has found ways to connect with young males at key moments of their lives, when they are both becoming socialized as men and developing their sexual and masculine identities. MiD develops spaces where they can engage freely in dialogue; in such spaces, they start to understand the everyday complexity and plurality of masculinities, and are able to criticize and resist the exclusive and homogeneous model of masculinity that has been imposed on them. MiD members define themselves using new masculinities, meanwhile integrating the multiplicity of practices, feelings and identities that are now available to them. The discourse on new plural masculinities share three main traits that we found can engage young men in MiD: desire, friendship and solidarity, and equality.

MiD gives young men a prominent role and establishes egalitarian dialogues with them, during its actual activities and also during the process of designing all MiD projects and activities. This commitment responds to young men's needs and concerns; in fact, MiD members have become more involved in the men's movement when the activities they help develop connect with their own experiences. In particular, MiD attracts young people because all their activities include discussions about sexual attractiveness, love and desire; this focus guides them to reflect, in a critical and transformative way, on their own lives and the broader society (Aubert *et al.* 2011).

Here we see one of the greatest challenges for both MiD and the larger men's movement: how to include the issue of attractiveness in the discourse about egalitarian masculinities. It is crucial for men's groups to move away from the moralizing discourse that can lead young people to reject the movement. MiD escapes this dilemma by connecting attractiveness and desire to transformative values such as friendship and solidarity. This allows MiD members to develop new kinds of masculinities, separate from the two predominant models: men who set themselves up as attractive by exercising violence in their relationships and those who so stress equality in issues such as doing household chores or helping raise children that it becomes unattractive.

By constantly questioning the so-called hegemonic masculinity, MiD members have created a space where they can build a range of masculinities through egalitarian dialogue that respects plurality. Young men who participate in MiD discussions become very engaged in them. Not only do they develop new attitudes, they also help to create a new discourse regarding their own masculinity. Thus, we see these spaces of dialogue with young men as new social contexts where a complexity of masculinities and diversity can emerge freely.

Our findings lead us, inescapably, to reflect on the future of the men's movement. Why are young people not involved in this social movement? We cannot say it is their own fault or assume that young males are apathetic and have no interest in men's movements and endorsing new masculinities. The data we have presented here show that the opposite is true: young men do engage when they experience conversations that connect with their daily situation and their concerns, and that they move beyond the contradiction between equality and attractiveness. Our findings show the need to continue research on elements that involve some young men in the men's movement, and understand why they participate actively in these activities.

Here, we have shed light on a current challenge facing the men's movement in Spain, and similar organizations worldwide (Connell 2012). Still, based on the transformative elements of MiD discourse that we have identified, it is clear that we need a wider body of research, to provide approaches that can widen the diversity of men involved in the movement, considering not only age but also culture, ethnic group, sexual orientation and many other characteristics. This work is necessary if the movement is to ultimately accomplish its dream: to make a difference at all levels of society.

Notes

1. Email: Inaki.SantaCruz@uab.cat
2. Email: eduard.mondejart@udg.edu
3. For more information, see the AHIGE website: <http://www.ahige.org> [Accessed 7 February 2013].
4. For more information, see the Redjovenes.es website: <http://www.redjovenes.es/> [Accessed 7 June 2013].
5. For more information, see the MiD website: <http://homesendialeq.wordpress.com/> [Accessed 24 February 2013].
6. For more information, see the website of the Unitarian Platform Against Gender Violence: <http://www.violenciadegenere.org> [Accessed 10 August 2012].

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