SAFERWORLD
PREVENTING VIOLENT CONFLICT. BUILDING SAFER LIVES

Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding

Perspectives on men through a gender lens

October 2014

Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding

Perspectives on men through a gender lens

Acknowledgements

Contents

Executive summary

ALL AROUND THE WORLD, men are the primary perpetrators of violence, making up 95 per cent of people convicted of homicide, as well as being the majority of combatants in conflicts. Interrogating the reasons behind this trend, this report does not argue that men are *naturally* violent. Nonetheless, in most cultures, violence is associated with men and boys in a way that it is not associated with women and girls. These socially constructed notions of masculinity can play a role in driving conflict and insecurity.

Where this is the case, Saferworld suggests that peacebuilding efforts can and should address this by taking steps to promote notions of masculinities which favour non-violence and gender equality. A number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have developed programming approaches for engaging men and boys to promote gender equality and non-violence, which have made demonstrable impacts on the lives of men and women. International donors, policymakers and NGOs should consider how such approaches can be developed to help build peace.

The need to apply a gender perspective to all efforts to prevent conflict and build peace is increasingly recognised. Taking a 'gender perspective' is often assumed to mean highlighting the roles, needs and rights of women and girls – vital to addressing persistent gender inequalities in access to power, influence, resources and security. However, truly taking a 'gender perspective' also requires critical examination of the roles and experiences of men and boys in conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

Men continue to dominate the field of peace and security. Nonetheless, the attitudes, values and behaviours of men within society are rarely considered from a gender perspective. Greater political will and resources are urgently needed to advance the women, peace and security agenda; at the same time, the socially constructed gender roles and identities of men and boys must not be neglected. Work on violent masculinities thus needs to be considered as an additional, complementary stream of work that when undertaken can deepen and strengthen peacebuilding processes.

Past research has identified a range of ways in which patriarchal gender norms – and masculinities in particular – can drive conflict and insecurity. In South Sudan and Somalia, militarised notions of masculinity which valorise domination and violence have motivated men to participate in violence and women to support them or pressure them to do so. In Kosovo, political and military actors have valorised violent masculinities in order to recruit combatants and build support for war. In Uganda, studies have documented the use of violence to attain other symbols of manhood, such as wealth or access to women. Accounts from Colombia and Uganda suggest that when men feel unable to live up to societal expectations of masculinity, they may be more susceptible to recruitment into armed groups as well as more likely to commit violence in the home.

Despite this, the role masculinities play in conflict dynamics is rarely analysed by international donors, policymakers or peacebuilding practitioners. While links between patriarchy and gender-based violence are increasingly recognised, links between masculinities and conflict – including forms of violence which are not generally thought of as 'gender-based' – are rarely discussed in the peacebuilding field. A few conflict prevention and peacebuilding projects have begun to put this analysis into practice. Some of them are outlined in this report.

'Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding' aims to advance discussions about integrating a masculinities perspective into peacebuilding policy and practice. It examines existing programmes that promote non-violent and gender equitable masculinities and poses key questions about how these can be further developed to challenge the gender norms which drive conflict and insecurity.

To identify promising approaches which could be adapted for peacebuilding purposes, Saferworld conducted desk research on projects and programmes by 19 organisations or networks across five continents. This report is therefore not a comprehensive review of all projects which engage with men and boys to change attitudes towards masculinity, of which there are many. Instead, it presents a cross-section of those deemed most relevant, those that deal primarily with the issue of masculinities and violence. Literature reviewed included evaluation reports, other project documents, training and campaign materials, and academic papers. Lessons learned from three programming models are summarised in the report: group education strategies, community outreach strategies, and integrated approaches which combine the two.

The research found that both group education and community outreach strategies have shown evidence of changes in attitudes and behaviour among men and boys, but that strategies which combine the two approaches have been found to have the most impact. Most evaluations demonstrate short-term changes in attitudes and behaviours, and further research is needed to understand whether these changes are sustained in the long term.

Implementing organisations have only relatively recently begun taking steps to scale up their interventions to achieve change at national level, including by influencing policymaking. This step is crucial – both to achieve sustainability of impacts and to address the structural factors which can reinforce patriarchal gender norms: gender norms relate not only to ideas and beliefs but also, for example, to education systems, laws around employment, marriage child custody, gendered marketing and media messages, and military, religious and cultural institutions. However, this area of work is relatively new, and it is too early to assess paths to sustainable, structural impacts.

If these approaches are to become effective in addressing violent masculinities as a core element of improved peace practice, there are some questions to answer along the way. Tools and approaches are needed to help incorporate analysis of masculinities and femininities into conflict analysis, and to develop and test context-specific theories of change for achieving positive impacts in conflict-sensitive ways. For example, in some cases political and military leaders may be responsible for promoting violent notions of masculinity. This would make them key targets for influencing, yet this also brings its own risks and sensitivities. In some contexts, men who are already peace activists may be the most effective agents of change, and women as well as men may be key targets for programming. Working to change structures and institutions that perpetuate patriarchal masculinities is likely to be key, and may include work with the security sector, for example through security sector reform (SSR) or disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) processes.

It is important to acknowledge that patriarchal masculinities cannot be described as the sole cause of any particular conflict. They combine with other factors to produce conflict and violence. Where patriarchal masculinities play a role in driving violent conflict, these should be addressed at the same time as other conflict drivers.

A comprehensive response should seek to address the causes of legitimate grievances through peaceful means whilst also working to change factors – including gender identities, roles and power relations – which might cause that sense of grievance to turn violent.

Recommendations

- **Look at men and boys from a gender perspective:** It is important that 'taking a gender perspective' is not interpreted simply as 'including women and girls' where they may otherwise have been ignored, though this is itself a necessary component of gender mainstreaming. Analysing the roles, attitudes and behaviours of men and boys from a gender perspective can also deepen understandings of conflict and insecurity, and should also be included in any gender analysis.

- **Deepen gender perspectives in conflict analysis:** Work is needed to develop effective conflict analysis tools and methodologies which incorporate a gender perspective. This must go beyond identifying the different impacts of conflict on women, men, boys and girls, by also seeking to understand the gendered drivers of conflict, including the role of masculinities and femininities in conflict dynamics. Gender analysis should be situated within a broader analysis of injustice, marginalisation and other grievances and drivers of conflict.

- **Build the evidence base:** Using these new tools and methodologies, further research is needed to explain how masculinities and femininities interact with conflict dynamics in specific contexts around the world. Existing studies provide rich analysis from a relatively small number of contexts: these should be expanded, updated and repeated elsewhere. Strategies for action should be built around evidence of how men develop and maintain positive, non-violent masculinities and use them to promote peace in practice.

- **Develop theories of change and pilot programming approaches:** Where conflict analysis indicates that masculinities do play a role in driving conflict, donors, multi-lateral organisations, national governments and civil society organisations should develop pilot projects that begin challenging those gender norms and lay the foundations for ongoing programmes. Careful research and analysis will be needed to develop and test theories of change which are tailored to each context, locally owned, conflict-sensitive, and which do not put participants at unnecessary risk.

- **Address gendered structures:** It is evident that gender norms are not simply a matter of attitudes and beliefs held by individuals, but are produced and perpetuated by political, economic, cultural and social structures, including education systems, the media, religious institutions, welfare systems, and security and justice systems to name a few. Challenging and reforming these structures is likely to be a long-term endeavour: it will take time to develop evidence as to how changing gendered structures can influence attitudes toward masculinities and to understand whether and how this can impact on conflict dynamics.

- **Mainstream a masculinities perspective in international interventions:** To fulfil their commitments to mainstream a gender perspective in peace, security and development efforts, international actors should examine how their activities – including, *inter alia*, development programming, military interventions, peacekeeping missions, and humanitarian assistance – influence masculinities. At a minimum, international actors should avoid promoting or entrenching notions of masculinity which perpetuate violence and inequality; wherever possible they should seek to promote non-violent and equitable gender norms.

■ **Evaluate impacts of working with the security sector:** Where a focus on masculinities is already being integrated into SSR and DDR processes, much could be gained from documenting approaches and impacts. For example, a useful avenue for exploration would be to look at whether such approaches can help prevent security providers from committing human rights abuses and transform patriarchal institutional cultures – a potentially important contribution to conflict prevention.

■ **Document long-term impacts:** While persuasive evidence has been produced that group education and community outreach strategies produce some degree of positive change in attitudes and behaviours in the short term, there is little evidence of what the long-term impacts are. Assessing long-term impacts is notoriously difficult due to the challenges of maintaining contact with participants and attributing changes to the programme intervention, but is nonetheless vital for setting the direction of future programming in this area.

■ **Advance the women, peace and security agenda:** New avenues for research, policy and programming on masculinities should be pursued in addition to, and not at the expense of, increasing resources and political will to implement commitments under the women, peace and security agenda, including the seven United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs), Beijing Platform for Action commitments on women and armed conflict, and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) Article 30. These two areas of work cannot be understood or pursued in isolation from one another. Efforts to promote and realise women's rights and efforts to break the links between gender norms and violence can and should be mutually reinforcing.

Introduction

THE DYNAMICS OF VIOLENCE AROUND THE WORLD are profoundly shaped by gender. Men make up 95 per cent of people convicted of homicide around the world as well as the majority of combatants. They are also four times as likely as women to be victims of homicide, and are more likely to suffer violent deaths during conflict.[1] Policy discourses around gender and conflict sometimes appear to endorse stereo-typed notions of gender differences which portray men as belligerents or perpetrators of violence while suggesting that women are either passive victims or peacemakers. While an appraisal of any actually existing conflict shows that the reality is much more complex, there are nonetheless clear gendered patterns at play which require further interrogation. At the same time as rejecting unhelpful stereotypes, it is necessary to examine how social norms relating to gender shape patterns of violence – who perpetrates it, who is targeted by it, and why.

In recent years there has been increasing acknowledgement of the need to apply a gender perspective to all efforts to prevent and resolve conflict and promote peace and security. This was recognised in UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (2000) which identified the adverse impacts of conflict on women and calls for their full and equal participation in efforts to end conflict and restore peace and security. UNSCR 1889 (2009) goes further, urging Member States to "ensure gender main-streaming in all post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery processes and sectors". In practice, taking a 'gender perspective' or 'gender mainstreaming' has tended to mean highlighting the roles, needs and rights of women and girls – including addressing violence against women and girls – and promoting women's participation in traditionally male-dominated peace and security processes. This is reflected in the framing of this agenda by the UN Security Council and others as being about 'women, peace and security'.

Women's participation in peace and security decision-making processes and increased attention to the impact of conflict on women and girls are vital in seeking to address persistent inequalities in access to power, influence and resources as well as protection from violence. However, this is only one side of the gender coin. Truly taking a 'gender perspective' also requires us to examine critically the roles and experiences of men and boys in conflict and peacebuilding.

A call to focus attention on men may at first seem surprising: after all, men and their influence are ubiquitous in conflict and in peace processes as they make up the majority of combatants, military and political leaders, diplomats, negotiators, mediators and media figures. The majority of discussion and decision making on issues of peace and security is done by, for, and about men. But despite this imbalance, the attitudes, values

---

1 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013), *Global study on homicide* (Vienna: UNODC), p 13; Peace Research Institute Oslo (2009), 'Armed conflict deaths disaggregated by gender'.

and behaviours of men are rarely considered from a gender perspective: that is, men are rarely considered in terms of their masculine identities. While discussion of gender tends to focus on women and girls, the influence of socially constructed gender roles and identities on men and boys is often under-examined, if examined at all.

Despite this, there is a growing body of research suggesting that gender roles – and patriarchal notions of masculinity in particular – can fuel conflict and insecurity. Militarised notions of masculinity which valorise domination and violence can: motivate men to participate in violence and women to support them or pressure them to do so; allow political and military actors to deliberately promote violent masculinities in order to recruit combatants and build support for war; allow, even where dominant conceptions of masculinity do not idealise it, violence to be seen as an acceptable means of attaining other symbols of manhood, such as wealth or access to women; render men who feel unable to live up to societal expectations of masculinity more susceptible to recruitment into armed groups as well as more likely to commit violence in the home.

There have been some moves in recent years to bring masculinities under the spotlight in policy debates on women, peace and security. For example, a relationship between patriarchal conceptions of masculinity and gender-based violence is increasingly widely acknowledged, with the UN Secretary-General recognising a role for "promoting positive constructions of masculinity" in efforts to prevent violence against women and girls, and the outcomes from the 2014 Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict noting agreement on the need to "challenge… notions of masculine identity as it affects sexual violence".[2] Yet attention to the relationship between masculinities, militarisation and conflict – including forms of violence which are not generally thought of as 'gender-based' – has not become part of mainstream thinking on peace and security.[3] While a concern with the relationships between patriarchy, masculinities and violence was a motivating factor for many of the activists who advocated the adoption of UNSCR 1325, in practice this analysis has not been taken forward by the UN and Member States in its language or implementation.

There has been increasing interest in the relationship between masculinities and conflict among academics and practitioners working in the field of gender, peace and security in recent years; however, this has not yet resulted in a well-developed policy or programming agenda. A literature review on gender, conflict and development published by the World Bank in 2005 noted that, while there exists a body of research on male gender roles and conflict, few studies "have a practical policy focus", and this largely remains true today.[4]

Equally, while a growing number of organisations and activists are implementing projects and programmes which engage with men and boys – and sometimes women and girls – to change attitudes toward masculinity, very few of these are designed explicitly with a view to preventing conflict.[5] Instead, they tend to address such issues as domestic violence, sexual health and the prevention of HIV/AIDS, and parenting roles. However, where these approaches have been shown to be successful in changing the behaviour of men and boys, there may be potential for adapting them to meet peacebuilding objectives.[6] In preparing this report, Saferworld has undertaken a

2 UN Secretary-General (2012), 'Prevention of violence against women and girls: Report of the Secretary-General', UN Economic and Social Council E/CN.6/2013/4; UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2014), 'Chair's summary – Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict'.

3 In this report, the term 'conflict' is used to refer to interstate or intrastate conflict, and is sometimes contrasted with 'gender-based violence', 'sexual violence' or 'domestic violence'. Saferworld acknowledges that these types of violence are forms of conflict in themselves, and that sexual and gender-based violence is sometimes used as a tactic of war. Notwithstanding this, for conceptual clarity a distinction is made between these forms of conflict/violence in this report in order to describe the different focuses of projects to transform masculinities.

4 Bouta T, Frerks G, Bannon I (2005), *Gender, conflict and development*, (Washington: World Bank), p 148.

5 One of the projects surveyed in this research, the Women Peacebuilders Program's *Overcoming violence: exploring masculinities, violence and peacebuilding* programme, is explicitly focused on peacebuilding. See page 31 for more information.

6 Saferworld takes a human security approach which acknowledges that a society experiencing high levels of gender-based violence cannot be said to be at peace. As such, preventing and reducing gender-based violence is itself a peacebuilding objective. However, in this report Saferworld contrasts programming objectives which focus specifically on ending gender-based violence with those that take a broader approach to building peaceful societies by addressing the root causes of conflict.

review of strategies and practical methods that have been used in diverse development and post-conflict settings to change attitudes toward masculinity and violence and transform men's and women's attitudes and behaviours.

This report aims to advance discussions about integrating a masculinities perspective into peacebuilding policy and practice by surveying the current state of play and posing key questions about how peacebuilders can meaningfully challenge gender norms which create and perpetuate conflict and insecurity. Saferworld hopes that this report will provide a useful opportunity for donors, policymakers, civil society organisations and academics to consider the implications of current knowledge about masculinities and conflict for their work. Saferworld emphasises that a focus on masculinities in peacebuilding must not divert political will or resources away from work on women, peace and security, but rather be considered an additional, complementary stream of work, that when undertaken can deepen and strengthen peacebuilding processes.

Chapter 1 examines the current evidence on the ways in which notions of masculinity can influence conflict dynamics, using examples from a range of conflict-affected countries. Responding to the question of how peacebuilders can and should respond to this evidence, chapter 2 sets out lessons learnt from existing programmes which seek to challenge harmful notions of masculinity, based on a review of projects and programmes by 19 organisations and a number of networks across five continents in order to identify promising approaches. Chapter 3 asks how these programming strategies might be adapted to help prevent violent conflict, raising key questions about how best to have an impact on conflict dynamics, and is followed by Saferworld's recommendations for the way forward on masculinities and peacebuilding.

1

Why focus on masculinities in peacebuilding?

What are 'masculinities'?

"Though most of the people enacting violence are men, most men are not violent, in the sense that they do not rape, kill, or beat people up. The differentiation of masculinities is a basic issue here."

Raewyn Connell, 'Organized powers: Masculinities, managers and violence'[7]

In all cultures, people have strongly held beliefs about the kinds of behaviours, attributes and values which are most appropriate for men and those which are most appropriate for women, and these are learnt from a young age. These socially constructed gender norms play a key role in shaping the lives of women, men, boys and girls. The term 'masculinity' simply refers to anything which is associated with men and boys in any given culture, just as 'femininity' refers to that which is culturally associated with women and girls. Ideas about what is masculine and what is feminine vary over time, as well as within and between cultures. Therefore, there are many different possible versions of masculinity – masculinities – and they are changing all the time.

In among these many masculinities, some forms of masculinity are prized as being more valuable for men and boys to aspire to than others. Which masculinities are most valued varies across different settings – for example, the type of masculinity which commands most respect among civil servants in a government department is likely to be different from that which is most respected within a military unit. Expectations of manhood are also influenced by ideas about race, ethnicity, class, (dis)ability and other sources of identity. The version of masculinity which is most valued in a particular context is sometimes described as the 'hegemonic' masculinity.[8]

There are often differences, however, between how men experience and envision their own masculinities and the ideals of masculinity which their societies expect them to live up to. In most if not all societies, patriarchal gender norms afford men power and privileges over women, but they also often put men under pressure to conform to prevailing masculine ideals, which may or may not be what individual men would otherwise aspire to. Masculinity is usually seen not as something which men and boys

7 Connell R (2011), 'Organized powers: Masculinities, managers and violence' in Cornwall A, Edstrom J and Greig A (eds), *Men and development: Politicising masculinities* (London: Zed Books), p 93.
8 The theory of hegemonic masculinity is most closely associated with R W Connell, and elaborated in Connell R (1995), *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

automatically possess but as something to be achieved by acting in accordance with these ideals. In many contexts this may include, for example, being independent, a provider for the family, courageous, aggressive, competitive, and hiding signs of emotion or sensitivity, all characteristics which are linked to achieving and wielding power. By contrast, femininity is often associated with being dependent, a homemaker or caregiver, timid, passive, cooperative and emotional. Just as women who transgress norms of femininity are often penalised by their societies, men who do not or cannot conform to societal expectations of masculinity may also pay a high social price.

To draw connections between patriarchal masculinity and violence is not to argue that men are naturally violent; Saferworld understands gender as a social construct and as a system of power which shapes the lives, opportunities, rights, relationships and access to resources of women, men, boys and girls. To draw links between patriarchal masculinity and violence in this case represents an acknowledgement that in most cultures, to a greater or lesser degree, violence is associated with men and boys in a way that it is not associated with women and girls.

Gender norms as drivers of conflict and violence

While efforts to apply a gender perspective to peace and security have often neglected to consider men and masculinities, they have also tended to focus on the gendered *impacts* of conflict while paying less attention to the gendered *drivers* of conflict. While peacebuilding actors are rightly giving increasing attention to the different impacts of conflict and insecurity on women, men, boys and girls, there remains relatively little analysis of how gender norms may contribute to fuelling conflict or, conversely, to promoting peace. To the extent that attention is given to gendered drivers of conflict, this has tended to focus on the use of sexual violence as weapon of war and its potential for perpetuating conflict.[9] While this is an important area of enquiry, evidence suggests that other gendered factors can also play a causal role. This lack of attention to gender dimensions which drive conflict may explain why conflict prevention has received relatively little attention within the women, peace and security agenda compared to the protection, participation, and relief and recovery pillars.

Political statements about the importance of gender equality and women's rights for peace and security have become commonplace.[10] Yet rarely is a clear explanation offered as to why gender inequality and conflict may be linked. There is a body of evidence suggesting that it is not gender inequality *per se* which is associated with conflict and violence, but rather the system of beliefs and values which underpin that inequality. That is to say, rather than looking to manifestations of gender inequality – such as an absence of women in parliaments, or denial of education to girls and young women – to explain conflicts, analysis has begun to focus on how ideas about masculinities and femininities which are used to justify these inequalities might also contribute to conflict and violence.

[9] See, for example, UN Security Council Resolution 1820, which notes that "sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security".

[10] For example, the UK National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2014-2017 states in its opening paragraphs that, "Building equality between women and men in countries affected by war and conflict is at the core of the UK's national security and that of the wider world – it is necessary to build lasting peace".

The militarisation of masculinities

"Constructing certain forms of masculinity is not incidental to militarism; rather, it is essential to its maintenance. Militarism requires a sustaining gender ideology as much as it needs guns and bullets."

Kimberly Theidon, 'Reconstructing masculinities: The disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants in Colombia'[11]

Feminist academics, researchers and activists have long highlighted a relationship between militarism, an ideology which legitimises violent solutions to conflict and disorder, and patriarchy, an ideology which legitimises the domination of men over women.[12] It is argued that militarism relies on the acceptance of patriarchal notions of masculinity and femininity in order to make militarised responses to conflict appear legitimate, normal, or even inevitable. Broadly speaking, these ideologies position men and militaries, who embody (stereotypical) masculine ideals, as protectors whose rationality and ability to use force make them best placed to make decisions on behalf of others. 'Women and children' – a phrase often used as a byword for 'civilians' – are assumed to be weaker, less rational, and in need of protection, which is provided in exchange for submission to the leadership of their protectors. If a society divided into 'protectors' and 'protected' is understood to be the natural order of things, and violence is assumed to be an inevitable feature of societies, then empowering 'protectors' to exercise authority and use violence is assumed to be necessary, whether protectors are (individual) men or militaries.

While this analysis of ideologies may at first appear abstract, a wealth of research and knowledge generated by those living and working in countries affected by conflict and fragility illustrates how gender norms are linked to conflict and militarism in particular contexts. Box 1 highlights the example of cattle raiding in South Sudan and its link to masculinity, rites of passage and the bride price system; other examples are included throughout this report.

Masculinities as mobilising tools

"Masculinity is not just a social construct. It is also a political weapon."

Chris Dolan, 'Militarised, religious and neo-colonial: The triple bind confronting men in contemporary Uganda'[13]

It has been noted in a range of contexts that dominant notions of masculinity often look different during conflict than they do during peacetime, often closely linking being a man with being a combatant. In times of war, men may come under pressure to support military action, to take up arms, fight, kill and be willing to die for their nation or community. This contrasts with expectations of women during conflict, which often include pressure to support their sons or husbands joining the war effort (seen as 'sacrificing' them for the greater good) or to have more children in order to further the survival and flourishing of their community or ethnic group. In liberation movements such as those in South Africa and Zimbabwe, for example, a kind of 'struggle masculinity' can become highly valued, in those cases linked to participation in violent confrontations with authorities.[14] In situations of prolonged conflict, the use and acceptance of violence often becomes normalised.[15] This may be linked to a narrowing in the number of acceptable expressions of masculinity, because the markers of masculinity which were valued during peacetime, such as being a breadwinner for one's family, are often much harder to achieve in conflict-affected societies.

11 Theidon K (2009), 'Reconstructing masculinities: The disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants in Colombia' in *Human Rights Quarterly* 31, p 3.

12 See, for example, Enloe C (1983), *Does khaki become you? The militarisation of women's lives* (London: Pluto Press); Enloe C (2007), *Globalisation and militarism: feminists make the link* (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield); Cockburn C (2010), 'Militarism, masculinity and men', talk delivered to the Annual General Meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 20 March 2010, accessed at www.womeninblack.org/files/WILPFAGM2010.pdf

13 Dolan C (2011), 'Militarised, religious and neo-colonial: The triple bind confronting men in contemporary Uganda' in Cornwall A, Edstrom J, Greig A (eds), *Men and development: Politicising masculinities* (London: Zed Books), p 135.

14 Barker G, Ricardo C (2006), 'Young men and the construction of masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict and violence' in Bannon I, Correira M (eds), *The other half of gender* (Washington DC: World Bank), p 165.

15 The use of some forms of violence, for example gender-based violence, can often also become normalised in countries usually thought of as being at peace.

A cattle keeper guarding his cattle with an AK-47 in South Sudan. Cattle raiding between the states of Jonglei, Warrap, Unity and Lakes is a continuous threat to security for local communities and a major threat to life and livelihoods.
© PETE MULLER

Box 1: Masculinity, cattle raiding and violence in South Sudan

In many parts of South Sudan, violence within and between communities is fuelled by cattle raiding. The increased availability of small arms in recent years has made cattle raids more deadly, often sparking revenge attacks and provoking cycles of violence which can leave hundreds of people injured or dead. Food insecurity, water scarcity, widespread unemployment, the availability of weapons and the absence of effective security forces all play a role in perpetuating this cycle.

Gender norms are also deeply implicated in the practice of cattle raiding. Owning a gun and participating in a cattle raid are rites of passage for adolescent boys, and for men these are symbols of manhood and virility which confer social status.[16] While it is men who carry out the raids, women can also be instrumental in reinforcing the association between masculinity and cattle raiding. For example, in many parts of South Sudan, women sing songs to shame men who have not gone on a cattle raid or who have failed to bring back cattle, and songs of praise for those who are successful.[17]

This connection between masculinity and cattle in pastoral communities is also underpinned by the bride price system, in which a young man is expected to pay his prospective bride's family in cattle before the couple is able to get married. An unpublished 2011 UN report stated that bride prices had increased by 44 per cent since 2005, making it increasingly difficult for many young men to get married.[18] In some cases, young men take brides either by consent or by force without having paid the full price expected by the bride's family, which can result in revenge attacks. In South Sudanese society, young males are not considered to be 'men' until they are married. In pastoral communities, cattle raiding therefore provides a means by which some young men can obtain enough cattle to pay the bride price and achieve manhood in the eyes of their communities.[19] Masculinity, weapons, cattle and marriage are therefore closely linked, combining to create powerful incentives for young men to participate in violence.

Militarised notions of masculinity also play a role in encouraging young men to join the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) or non-state armed groups linked to their communities or ethnic groups. Joining the SPLA or an armed group can provide a much-needed income, but its attraction is not only economic: even when salaries are not paid for many months, some young men will still remain in the army.[20] In the context of large-scale unemployment and few educational opportunities, it is not easy for men to achieve a sense of identity and to live up to societal expectations of them as men. Recruitment into the SPLA or non-state armed groups is closely linked with masculinity, and can provide a sense of identity and self-worth which would otherwise be difficult to find.

16 Saferworld and Conciliation Resources (2012), 'People's peacemaking perspectives: South Sudan'; Small Arms Survey (2010), 'Symptoms and causes: insecurity and underdevelopment in Eastern Equatoria', p 4; Oxfam (2013), 'Challenges to security, livelihoods and gender justice in South Sudan', p 13.

17 *Op cit* Small Arms Survey (2010), p 5.

18 Richmond M, Krause-Jackson F (2011), 'Cows-for-bride inflation spurs cattle theft in South Sudan' Bloomberg News, 26 July, accessed at www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-07-26/cows-forbride-inflation-spurs-cattle-theft-among-mundari-in-south-sudan.html.

19 *Op cit* Saferworld and Conciliation Resources (2012); *Op cit* Small Arms Survey (2010), p 4; *Op cit* Oxfam (2013), p 26; United States Institute of Peace (USIP) (2011), 'Dowry and division: youth and state building in South Sudan', pp 4–6.

20 Patinkin J, 'Young men and guns: Why South Sudan's war flamed so fast and brightly', *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 March 2014, accessed at www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2014/0319/Young-men-and-guns-Why-South-Sudan-s-war-flamed-so-fast-and-brightly-video.

Notions of masculinity which call upon men to use violence to protect their families and communities can prove useful to those seeking to mobilise men to take up arms. Both state militaries and non-state armed groups may deliberately promote such notions publicly in order to drive up recruitment, or within their ranks in order to prepare men to fight. In state militaries this may occur through training programmes: according to UN INSTRAW and the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), "Military training, or 'boot camp', is often a tightly choreo-graphed process aimed at breaking down individuality and building official military conduct and group loyalty. This process of socialisation is intimately gendered, as being a soldier is purposefully linked to being a 'real man'".[21] Accounts of training within the US military, for example, show how a particular form of masculinity is cultivated among troops which seeks to instil courage, control of emotions, and willingness to take risks and endure hardships, as well as physical toughness.[22] These studies suggest that the ability to suppress fear enables soldiers to engage in combat at great risk to their own safety, while the ability to suppress compassion and empathy for the enemy enables them to enact violence against others. Recruits have reported that shame and humiliation, including through the use of misogynistic and homophobic slurs, are used to enforce these masculine norms.[23] Equivalent processes are often used by non-state armed groups, for example in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Uganda, where they have forcibly recruited very young boys who are easiest to socialise and brutalise into carrying out violent acts.[24] The amount of energy often expended in socialising men and boys to use violence and to buy into a militarised vision of security and heroism underscores that it is a not a natural tendency but something which is learnt.

While militaries and other armed groups may cultivate their own cultures of 'hyper-masculinity' to service a particular political or operational purpose, these notions are not completely disconnected from more widely held beliefs about gender and masculinities. Rather, they gain their potency by drawing on gender norms within the wider societies which those institutions inhabit. This point is highlighted by the example from Kosovo outlined in Box 2, which illustrates how notions of manhood which had long been passed on through national myths and stories were used by both sides in the conflict to generate popular support for violent conflict and to enjoin young men to fight. Similarly, research funded by the World Bank on young men and conflict dynamics in sub-Saharan Africa found that young male combatants were often "acting out a socially recognised role of manhood taken to its extreme".[25]

Just as institutional cultures within military organisations are influenced by their wider societies, so too can militaries influence wider cultures.[26] In Israel, for example, where military service is compulsory for the majority of young men and women, militarised notions of masculinity and femininity reinforced in the military have also become norms accepted within Israeli civilian society.[27] Military service is a rite of passage, where male recruits are expected to develop "pragmatism, assertiveness, emotional toughness, and readiness to sacrifice one's life for the homeland", and is considered a necessary condition of being a true citizen.[28] By contrast, the majority of women within the Israeli military serve in non-combat positions, often working as

21 Valasek K (2008), 'Security sector reform and gender' in *Gender and security sector reform toolkit*, UN INSTRAW and Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, p 3.

22 Barrett F (1996), 'The organizational construction of hegemonic masculinity: The case of the US Navy' in *Gender, work and organisation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers), pp 129–142; Goldstein J (2001), *War and gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp 264–272.

23 *Op cit* Barrett (1996) p 133; *Op cit* Goldstein (2001) pp 264–72; Whitworth S (2008), 'Militarized masculinity and post-traumatic stress disorder' in Parpart J, Zalewski M (eds), *Rethinking the man question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations* (London: Zed Books), pp 112–3; Enloe C (1983), *Does khaki become you? The militarisation of women's lives* (London: Pluto Press), p 14.

24 *Op cit* Barker, Ricardo (2006) p 175.

25 *Op cit* Barker, Ricardo (2006) p 173.

26 Cockburn C (2013), 'War and security, women and gender: an overview of the issues', *Gender and Development* 21:3, pp 436–8; Morgan D, 'Theater of war: Combat, the military, and masculinities' (1994) in Brod H, Kaufman M, *Theorizing masculinities* (California: Sage Publications), pp 169, 175–6.

27 Sharoni S (1995), *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: The politics of women's resistance* (New York: Syracuse University Press) pp 40–7.

28 *Ibid* p 44.

A Kosovo Liberation Army soldier displays the tail assembly of a Serbian missile in Rezala village, 22 August, 1998.
© RADU SIGHETI/REUTERS

Box 2: Militarised masculinities and war in Kosovo

Analysis of nationalist discourses in Kosovo in the 1980s and 1990s demonstrates that notions of masculinity were closely linked with violence by both sides of the ensuing conflict, and played a role in mobilising support for the war.

Analysis of Yugoslav state-run and Serbian media discourses of the 1980s reveals a preoccupation with reporting alleged rapes of Serbian women by Albanian men in Kosovo, which resonated with long-held stereotypes of Muslim men as hypersexual, deviant and barbaric.[29] These 'nationalist rapes' were presented as a political attack by Kosovar Albanians on Serbia, which threatened the masculinity of Serbian men who were failing to protect 'their' women. In fact, there is little evidence of any increase in rapes of Serbian women by Albanian men during that period, and official statistics suggest that they were far outnumbered by those committed by Serbian men.[30]

In contrast to Serbian stereotypes of Albanian men, Serbians' own national identity had long been associated with a masculine ideal of toughness, dominance and heroism, but was portrayed as being emasculated by Kosovo's Albanian population. Serbian nationalists seized on these tropes, with one Serbian commentator describing Serbian women as issuing "almost a cry to the men, to those who can defend her, calling on them to prove themselves to *be* men at last".[31] This occurred in a context of high unemployment, a low Serbian birth rate and advances in women's empowerment, all of which had been presented in the popular press as threats to Serbian manliness. Nationalists "offered militarism as a way of winning back both individual manliness and national dignity", which played a role in "making war thinkable – even attractive".[32]

Interestingly, there is evidence that notions of masculinity may also have played a role in encouraging Kosovar Albanians to fight. In contrast to the Serbian nationalist portrayals of Albanian masculinity as depraved in its aggression, studies of Kosovar Albanian national myths and histories reveal a national narrative celebrating the use of violence in pursuit of justice as heroic, "applauding dominant masculine men as fighters and perpetrators of violence".[33] This has been balanced with alternative views of Kosovar masculinity as peaceful and rational. However, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) portrayed this masculinity, displayed by Kosovar intellectuals and politicians, as having failed to defend the rights of Kosovo, instead reasserting a need for "nationalist fighting heroes… seen as resolutely individualistic, moral, rebellious and tough".[34] This vision is reflected in testimony given by former KLA fighters about the recruitment of Kosovar men and boys to combat roles, which strongly connected the duty to fight with masculine identity. Of those who refused to join up, one stated: "They do not want to join us then they were cowards and not worth our time", while another said that "Some guys were under pressure from families not to fight or were scared, but after you squeeze them most came around to the idea. Other 'boys' were like the girls… running out of Kosovo and stepping on the grannies to get to a border, any border…".[35]

The years leading up to the war in Kosovo present an example of understandings of masculinity being deployed strategically to build support for and encourage participation in violent conflict. Clearly, a large range of factors drove conflict and violence in Kosovo in the 1990s, and a deeper understanding of the motivations of individual Serbs and Albanians who supported or took part in violence in Kosovo would be needed in order to assess what role masculinities played in relation to these other factors. Research also illustrates the efforts of Serb and Albanian men to resist these militarised versions of masculinity in their efforts to build peace.[36]

29 Bracewell W (2000), 'Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism* 6(4), p 570.
30 Slapsak S (2000), 'Hunting, ruling, sacrificing: traditional male practices in contemporary Balkan cultures' in Breines I, Connell R, Eide I, *Male roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective* (Paris: UNESCO); *op cit* Bracewell (2000) p 568.
31 Arasić B in *Vreme*, 7 December 1992, quoted in *op cit* Bracewell (2000) p 575.
32 *Op cit* Bracewell (2000) p 567.
33 Munn J, 'National myths and the creation of heroes' in Parpart J, Zalewski, M (2008), *Rethinking the man question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations* (London: Zed Books), p 146.
34 *Ibid* p 151.
35 *Ibid* p 153.
36 *Op cit* Bracewell (2000) pp 579–581; Munn J, 'National myths and the creation of heroes' in *op cit* Parpart, Zalewski, p 148.

secretaries, caterers and other traditionally feminine roles. The military is therefore one of the key sites in which societal gender norms are produced and reproduced.

The manipulation of masculinities by political and military actors during wartime raises important questions about whether violent notions of masculinity are a cause or a result of violent conflict. If notions of masculinity are used by parties to conflict to build support for war as they were in the Kosovo, this suggests that key drivers of conflict are already in play. This may point toward militarised gender norms as a result or tactic of conflict rather than a cause. At the same time, deliberate attempts to promote militarised notions of masculinity and femininity are made precisely because they help to promote violent solutions to conflict. This suggests that militarised gender norms can also drive conflict and violence. Furthermore, strategic promotion of militarised masculinities draws heavily on pre-existing gender norms. This suggests that the existence of patriarchal gender norms may act as an enabling factor for violent conflict.

Men's reasons for joining armed struggles vary widely, including political ideology and the need for income and protection, while – as noted above – many are also recruited by force. Similarly, participation in armed groups may genuinely be necessary to defend oneself or one's community from violence or exploitation. It is not suggested here that gender norms are the whole story. Further research is needed to understand how ideals of masculinity interact with other social, economic and political factors to make taking up arms appear a positive or necessary option for men and boys. Furthermore, in most conflicts the majority of men and boys – including those who are unemployed or otherwise unable to perform traditional gender roles – do not participate in armed combat, sometimes despite considerable pressure to do so. Even within armed forces where militarised masculinities dominate, some men express opposition to war as a solution to conflicts. Research is needed to improve understanding of the factors which precipitate this resistance and how alternative masculinities which favour peace and non-violence are developed and maintained in the face of militarisation.

"To do away with war, gender, especially the social-shaping of masculinity, must be addressed as one of its causes. At the same time, gender-as-we-know-it is also a consequence of war... War and gender relations are mutually shaping."
Cynthia Cockburn, 'War and security, women and gender: an overview of the issues'[37]

There is persuasive evidence, then, that gender norms both influence and are influenced by conflict and violence. However, it is impossible to make broad generalisations on the role of masculinities in conflict based on a small number of case studies. Further research is needed to better understand the different ways in which masculinities interact with conflict dynamics in different contexts.

'Thwarted' masculinities

In some contexts, many men and boys do not see the perpetration of violence as part of the ideal form of masculinity to which they aspire. For example, Saferworld participatory research with boys and young men in Eastern Nepal found that many young men saw the use of violence against women not as a sign of strength and manhood but as a sign of weakness, even if they also perceived it as inevitable in some contexts.[38] Nonetheless, even where committing violence is not seen as an important or desirable aspect of masculinity, notions of masculinity can still be implicated in the occurrence of violence.

The concept of 'thwarted' masculinities is sometimes used to describe the experiences of men who are unable to conform to standards of manhood imposed by their societies, for example because they are unable to find work, get married or support a family. It has been argued that men who are not able to achieve the type of masculinity expected

37 *Op cit* Cockburn (2013) p 445.
38 Saferworld (2014), '"How can you be a marda if you beat your wife?" Notions of masculinities and violence in Eastern Nepal'.

A group of youths in Aromo parish, Lira district play a local game called *'Omweso'*. Most young people in northern Uganda find it difficult to get jobs as they lack formal education and skills, having spent many years in camps and therefore missing out on chances to go to school.

©SAFERWORLD/CAPSON SAUSI

of them may be more likely to commit violence, whether in the home or as combatants in armed conflicts.[39] In such cases, violence can either provide a means of attaining other things deemed necessary to being a man – such as economic assets or access to women – or can itself present a means of reasserting one's masculinity in the absence of other, non-violent means.

In many parts of Uganda, poverty, violence and internal displacement resulting from conflict has made traditional avenues for achieving a sense of manhood much more difficult for many men, including marriage, fatherhood, and protecting and providing for the family. Men are not traditionally seen as adults until they are married, yet due to cattle raiding and the absence of economic opportunities, many young men are unable to pay bride prices and therefore are not considered men by their communities. Despite this, alternative forms of masculinity have not gained currency, and men still aspire to traditional norms, albeit often with little success. It has been argued that these circumstances have made joining the military a more appealing option for some civilian men to "recover lost masculinity", giving them access to higher salaries and the ability to attract 'temporary wives' without paying bride prices.[40] Research also suggests that the absence of economic opportunities has led some young men to join non-state armed groups in order to access what has been denied to them.[41] Chris Dolan argues that in this case it is not that violence is itself celebrated as a facet of masculinity but that it is accepted as a means to obtain other markers of masculinity.[42] This is perhaps supported by a conflict analysis conducted by Saferworld in Karamoja in 2010, which found that while women expected the men in their families to participate in cattle raids to obtain sufficient cattle for the family, and some saw it as a means for men to prove their strength in order to get married, most community members surveyed believed that violence is never acceptable and support for cattle raiding was very low.[43] This example also highlights the sometimes contradictory nature of societal expectations of men, including in relation to the acceptability of violence, which can consequently be impossible for men to meet.

39 *Op cit* Barker, Ricardo (2006), in *op cit* Bannon, Correira (eds) p 163.
40 *Op cit* Dolan (2011) in *op cit* Cornwall, Edstrom, Greig (eds) p 128; Dolan C (2003), 'Collapsing masculinities and weak states – a case study of northern Uganda' in Cleaver F (ed), *Making men matter: Men, masculinities and gender relations in development* (London: Zed Books), p 72.
41 *Ibid*.
42 *Ibid* p 78.
43 Saferworld (2010), 'Karamoja conflict and security assessment', pp viii, 35, 36.

In Somalia, protracted conflict and the resultant economic hardship have made it difficult for many men to fulfil the traditional masculine gender role of economic provider for and physical protector of their families. Many men who became refugees or were internally displaced have returned to their homes to find that women are now fulfilling roles which were previously reserved for men.[44] In Somalia's clan system, manhood is associated with becoming an elder, and power and status is traditionally concentrated in the hands of a subset of older men. It is possible for younger men to become elders, for example through respectable personal conduct and realisation of certain socially valued characteristics such as marriage, children and employment. However, in a context where unemployment and insecurity is widespread, fewer opportunities exist for younger men to attain such status. For some young men, joining Al Shabaab offers the prospect of an economic livelihood as well as social status and power, which can provide an alternative pathway to manhood.[45] It has also been suggested that the desire to salvage thwarted masculinity is implicated in inter-clan conflicts, with unemployed men participating in fighting to gain status and acceptance within the clan.[46] Somali women have also played a role in encouraging this view of masculinity by cooking for militia and shaming men who were defeated in battle.[47]

It has been noted in a range of contexts that the concentration of development programming on women's empowerment has left men feeling excluded and their masculinity threatened, which has created tensions within families and communities, and may have led to increases in violence against women.[48] The implications of this finding must be considered carefully in order to ensure that programming on women's empowerment can continue without putting them at risk. It points toward a need to promote non-violent forms of masculinity which are compatible with women's rights and gender equality. In contexts where many men also face difficult economic circumstances, livelihoods programming must also address their needs while taking care not to entrench gender inequalities. Of course, understanding and addressing the social and economic conditions which may make men more likely to commit violence does not negate the need to hold individual men accountable for any acts of violence they commit.

Masculinities and male vulnerabilities

The same gender norms and expectations around masculinity which can in some circumstances be used to motivate men to fight can also render men and boys vulnerable to violence.

The assumption that men are naturally prepared to use violence or that it is their duty to do so on behalf of their communities makes them – particularly men from lower socioeconomic classes – vulnerable to forced recruitment into both militaries and non-state armed groups. Given the use of coercion and its potential impacts, and the fact that men are often specifically targeted on the basis of their gender, this is arguably a form of gender-based violence. Closely related to this, the assumption in many conflicts that 'men of fighting age' are actual or potential combatants has led to their being targeted for violence on the basis of their gender. Reports of armed groups systematically killing men and boys while sparing women and girls have surfaced from conflicts in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, for example.[49] This also may explain

44 Rift Valley Institute (2013), 'A war on men? The enduring consequences of war and conflict on Somalia men'; Oxfam (2013), 'Masculinities: Understanding the impact of war on men and gender relations in South Sudan, Somalia and DRC' (unpublished), p 11.

45 *Op cit* Rift Valley Institute (2013).

46 *Op cit* Oxfam (2013) p 10.

47 *Ibid*.

48 See, for example, Amuyunzu-Nyamongo M, Francis P (2006), 'Collapsing livelihoods and the crisis of masculinity in rural Kenya' in *op cit* Bannon, Correia (eds); Lwambo D (2013), ' "Before the war, I was a man": Men and masculinities in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo', *Gender and Development* 21:1 (Routledge); McAslan Fraser, E (2012), 'Helpdesk research report: Economic empowerment and violence against women and girls', Governance and Social Development Resource Centre; *op cit* Dolan C (2011) in *op cit* Cornwall, Edstrom, Greig (eds) p 128.

49 Carpenter, R (2006), 'Recognising gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations', *Security Dialogue* 37, pp 89–90.

Colombia's Peace Commissioner Luis Carlos Restrepo, left, receives a rifle from a paramilitary fighter in La Rusia Ocho, in northwestern Colombia, June 2005, as part of an ongoing disarmament process.

© JAVIER GALEANO/AP/PA

Box 3: Masculinities and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration

Agencies implementing disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes with former combatants have in some cases found that ideas about masculinity have important impacts on the success of their programmes. While much useful research and guidance has been produced with the aim of ensuring that DDR programmes meet the gender-specific needs of women and girls, little consideration is given to how men and boys' gender roles and identities impact on DDR processes. Yet in countries such as Afghanistan, it has been noted that a strong cultural association between men, masculinity and guns may present a barrier to persuading men to disarm.[50]

The militarisation of masculinities can also become an obstacle to former combatants integrating back into civilian life. Research conducted by Kimberly Theidon with former combatants, their communities and programme staff implementing DDR in Colombia has revealed that while male combatants have learnt "to be hard and impenetrable, both physically and emotionally" as a result of their training and experiences of combat, these forms of hyper-masculinity have not served them well as they reintegrate into civilian communities.[51] While being a 'good man' in a paramilitary or guerrilla organisation had meant engaging in armed combat, in a civilian setting it meant providing for their families, and many former combatants struggled to readapt to this civilian masculine ideal. Staff running DDR programmes in Colombia noted high levels of domestic violence committed by former combatants, thought to be an effect of the militarised masculinity they learnt as combatants.[52] Saferworld research with former combatants in Nepal also found that notions of masculinity were linked to unwillingness to seek psychosocial support in response to trauma, which may be linked with likelihood of domestic violence, alcohol dependency and violence in the community.[53]

The UN's *Integrated disarmament, demobilization and integration standards* states that "finding alternatives to violent ways of expressing masculinity is vital in periods of transition from war to peace".[54] It proposes that DDR programmes can take some steps toward changing attitudes toward masculinities, while acknowledging that transformational change may take generations. An example of one programme which has aimed to do this is outlined in Box 9.

50 Sedra M (2002), 'Challenging the warlord culture: Security sector reform in post-Taliban Afghanistan' (Bonn International Centre for Conversion), p 37.
51 *Op cit* Theidon (2009) p 27.
52 *Ibid* p 21.
53 Saferworld (2010), 'Common ground? Gendered assessment of the needs and concerns of Maoist army combatants for rehabilitation and integration', pp xxii, 69.
54 United Nations (2006), *Integrated disarmament, demobilization and reintegration standards*, p 22.

why, in the current crisis in Syria, deaths among boys have been found to outnumber those among girls by two to one, and with older boys being "consistently the most frequent victims of targeted killings such as those involving sniper fire, execution or torture".[55] Data from northern Uganda has also shown male casualties of small arms violence far exceeding female ones, partly due to the trend of shooting young boys who are perceived as potential future cattle raiders.[56] This is also consistent with the finding that men are considerably more likely than women to suffer violent death in conflict.[57] Furthermore, in reports of the number of civilian casualties from particular episodes of violence it is not uncommon for estimates to be based on age and gender, with the assumption that women and children are civilians and adolescent boys and men may be combatants.

Ideas about masculinity also directly underpin the use of sexual violence against men, mainly by other men. In conflict situations, acts such as rape, castration and other forms of sexual mutilation are used to 'feminise' men, humiliating them by stripping them of their masculinity in the eyes of their communities and undermining their personal sense of identity. Norms of masculinity can also magnify the impacts of sexual violence in multiple ways: for example, social expectations that men should not show emotion or admit to their vulnerabilities make it difficult for male survivors to seek help, and the health and psychosocial impacts of sexual violence can prevent men from fulfilling their masculine roles as economic providers for their families.

Hierarchies of masculinities and conflict narratives

Particular understandings of masculinity have frequently been deployed in different contexts in order to justify violence and oppression toward certain social groups by positioning those groups as 'other'. This often takes the form of popular narratives which portray men from particular ethnic, religious or socioeconomic groups as displaying an inferior masculinity to the group which is seen to be dominant or superior. The case study on Kosovo in Box 2 provides one such example.

In Uganda, British colonisers divided communities, assigned roles and developed administrative structures based on ethnicity. They recruited many Acholi men into the police and armed forces, while ethnic groups from the south, such as the Baganda, were recruited as clerks and managers. The Acholi continued to dominate the military post-independence, and the government has used the Acholi's subsequent reputation for "militarism and violence" to justify imposing military control over the primarily Acholi North.[58]

European and North American settlers in colonised societies in the 19th and early 20th centuries contrasted the 'civilised' masculinity of white settlers, marked by chivalry and self-control, with the 'uncivilised' masculinity of colonised people.[59] Such comparisons served to justify colonialism as a 'civilising mission'. Parallels have been drawn with narratives surrounding the 'War on Terror' which portray Arab and/or Muslim men as displaying a masculinity characterised by random violence, misogyny and homophobia as compared to a Western masculinity portrayed as benevolent, tolerant and courageous.[60]

Any programming to challenge particular forms of masculinity must take into account whether and how narratives about masculinity have been used to demonise or promote discrimination against some groups of men, as further elaborated in chapter 3.

55 Oxford Research Group (2013), 'Stolen futures: the hidden toll of child casualties in Syria', p 5.
56 Mkutu K (2008), 'Uganda: Pastoral conflict and gender relations', *Review of African Political Economy* no. 116, p 68.
57 *Op cit* Peace Research Institute Oslo (2009).
58 *Op cit* Dolan (2003) in *op cit* Cleaver (ed) pp 63–4.
59 Enloe C (1989), *Bananas, beaches and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp 46–51; *op cit* Barker, Ricardo (2006) in *op cit* Bannon, Correira (eds) p 164.
60 Bhattacharyya G (2008), *Dangerous brown men: Exploiting sex, violence and feminism in the War on Terror* (London: Zed Books).

What about women?

Just as a gendered analysis of the causes of conflict does not entail a belief that men are inherently violent, neither does it entail a belief that women are inherently peaceful. Indeed, women have made up a substantial proportion of combatants in many conflicts, such as those in Algeria, Colombia, Eritrea, Liberia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe. However, when women do take up arms, they are usually considered to be transgressing traditional gender roles, because a willingness to use violence is considered a masculine, not a feminine trait. In Nepal, for example, women are believed to have made up approximately 20 per cent of Maoist combatants in the 1996–2006 civil war. Female ex-combatants have faced considerable difficulties in being accepted back into communities because they are considered to have broken with traditional gender roles.[61] Indeed, female combatants may feel the need to live up to the same masculine ideals as their male counterparts in order to prove their suitability for combat.

This poster was produced by E V Kealey in 1915 for the First World War British army recruitment campaign. Rather than using a simple call to arms, the poster pictures the women of Britain as defenceless and in need of protection and appeals to the same women to press their men-folk into service for King and Country.

© IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM

---

61 Saferworld (2010), 'Common ground? Gendered assessment of the needs and concerns of Maoist Army combatants for rehabilitation and integration', pp 32–4.

Women's culturally prescribed gender roles can also fuel violent conflict, however. Cultural notions of femininity often cast women as weak and defenceless, requiring protection from men who are physically strong and ready to use violence. As the examples from South Sudan and Somalia demonstrate, women can put pressure on men to commit violence, thereby reinforcing dominant conceptions of violent masculinity which complement ideas of passive femininity. This phenomenon was also seen in Britain and the United States during the First World War, when women organised a campaign to give white feathers to men who had not enlisted in the armed forces as a means of marking them out as cowards. As both women and men help to construct and uphold gender norms which fuel conflict and violence, both women and men must also participate in efforts to transform gender norms to promote equality and peace. Changes in men's gender roles and identities inevitably entail changes in the way that women's roles and identities are understood, and vice versa.

There is a clear need to understand and address masculinities and femininities in relation to one another. However, this report focuses primarily on masculinities because this area remains relatively under-explored in the field of peacebuilding. While work on women and peacebuilding is not usually framed in terms of 'femininities', women's gender roles are nonetheless under the spotlight more than ever before in peacebuilding policy and practice. The increasing attention being given to supporting women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict prevention is a welcome development, and there is still much further to go in ensuring a full and equal role for women in building peace and security. Saferworld suggests that a focus on masculinities in peacebuilding should come in addition to, and in no way be a diversion from, efforts to pursue the full implementation of international commitments on women, peace and security. As is further elaborated in chapter 3, work to transform masculinities in pursuit of peace should also aim to reinforce efforts to achieve gender equality and women's rights.

Gendered structures

The fact that gender norms are socially constructed does not mean that they are simply a matter of attitudes and ideas. On the contrary, as the above case studies demonstrate, gender norms are embedded within social, cultural, economic and political systems which reinforce and sustain them. Addressing gender norms which drive violence and insecurity is therefore not only a matter of changing the way men and women think about their identities but also examining the structures which uphold those gender norms and which are, in turn, upheld by them.

For example, notions of masculinity which fuel cattle raiding in South Sudan are themselves underpinned by structural factors, including local economies based largely on cattle, social hierarchies built around cattle ownership, and the bride price system. Participatory research conducted by Saferworld in 2012 found that local women saw increasing the age at which women get married and allowing them to stay in school for longer as an important means of empowering women and changing gender norms. Murle women in particular sought to end the system of 'booking', in which older men are able to 'book' young girls as future wives even before they are born. They believed that this, in turn, would help to reduce child abduction and cattle raiding.[62] This is just one example of how local efforts to change aspects of social and economic systems which reinforce certain gender norms might help to break links between masculinities and violence.

Of course, gender norms are never the sole cause of conflict. While addressing gender norms which drive violence may be a necessary and important component of conflict prevention, it is vital to combine this with efforts to address other structural drivers of

62 *Op cit* Saferworld and Conciliation Resources (2012).

conflict. Depending on the context, these may include factors such as lack of legitimate and accountable government, and lack of fair and equitable access to security, justice, health, education, and economic opportunities, all of which can also have gendered dimensions.

From evidence to practice

"Gender dynamics are by no means the whole story. Yet given the concentration of weapons and the practices of violence among men, gender patterns appear to be strategic… This is the new dimension in peace work which studies of men suggest: contesting the hegemony of masculinities which emphasise violence, confrontation and domination, and replacing them with patterns of masculinity more open to negotiation, cooperation and equality."

R W Connell, 'Masculinities, the reduction of violence and the pursuit of peace' [63]

This chapter has provided a brief snapshot of the evidence exploring how patriarchal notions of masculinity can impact on conflict dynamics. While there is a need to further develop the evidence base to understand in more detail how masculinities and femininities interact with other drivers of conflict in a wider range of contexts, the available evidence points toward a range of ways in which masculinities can drive conflict and insecurity. The militarisation of masculinities during conflict, including the deliberate promotion of violent notions of masculinity by political and military actors, as well as the role of 'thwarted' masculinities in mobilising support for or participation in violence, all warrant further exploration. Insights into how the widespread acceptance of patriarchal gender norms might operate as an enabling factor for militarisation could have significant implications for understandings of gender in peacebuilding.

In response to analysis linking notions of masculinity with armed conflict, there have been calls in recent decades for peacebuilding practitioners to incorporate a focus on addressing masculinities into their work.[64] Despite this, only a small number of conflict prevention and peacebuilding projects have begun to put this into practice, some of which are outlined in chapter 3, and understanding of how to do so remains limited. Chapter 2 summarises the results of a literature review conducted by Saferworld on lessons learnt from existing projects aiming to transform attitudes and behaviours in men which are produced and reinforced by hegemonic masculinity in different contexts.

63 Connell R (2002), 'Masculinities, the reduction of violence and the pursuit of peace' in Cockburn C, Zarkov D (Eds), *The post-war moment: militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping*, p 38.
64 See, for example, Large J (1997) 'Disintegration conflicts and restructuring of masculinity' *Gender and Development* 5:2, (Oxford: Oxfam and Routledge).

2

Existing approaches to transforming masculinities

IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY PROMISING APPROACHES which could be adapted for peacebuilding purposes, Saferworld conducted desk research looking at documentation relating to projects and programmes by 19 organisations and a number of networks across five continents (a list of those surveyed is included in Annex 1).[65] Precedence has been given to those programmes and projects which deal primarily with the issue of masculinities and violence. It does not attempt to present a comprehensive view of all projects that engage with men and boys to change attitudes toward masculinity, of which there are many. Some programmes which focus on other related issues, such as sexual and reproductive health and rights and responsible fatherhood, were also reviewed. This is because the patriarchal attitudes and behaviours which are instilled in men through their gender socialisation, and which lead to violence, also play a crucial role in the development of men's sexual behaviour (often used as a tool to dominate and control) as well as in other family and social relationships, such as fatherhood, which can involve the use of power and violence toward others. The literature reviewed included evaluation reports and other project documents, training and campaign materials, and academic papers. This chapter synthesises lessons identified in the literature.

Understanding the context

The starting point for any programming on masculinities needs to be a solid understanding of the relationship between masculinities and the results which the programme aims to achieve. In the case of a programme to reduce gender-based violence it would be necessary to first understand what role patriarchal masculinities play in driving gender-based violence in the context at hand. Documentation for most of the projects reviewed here did not set out what process was used to establish that challenging attitudes toward masculinity should be a key concern. In some cases, organisations which had been working with women on issues around gender-based violence for some time reported that those women had asked them to start working with men and boys as well, and in some cases men themselves were keen to get involved. Often there does not appear to have been a formal process by programme implementers to identify

---

65 This research was conducted by Patrick Welsh for Saferworld in 2013.

masculine identity as a root cause of problems, perhaps because this had already been demonstrated by research in those contexts, or due to the strength of demand and the implicit contextual knowledge of staff. Once the decision to work on masculinities had been made, preliminary research was often carried out to better understand men's perceptions of what it meant to be a man and how this related to gender-based violence, sexual and reproductive health, fatherhood or other relevant issues.[66]

In the case of programming to address patriarchal masculinities as a driver of conflict, a conflict analysis would need to be carried out to analyse how masculinities and femininities interact with conflict dynamics. Such an analysis would not only help to establish whether or not masculinities played a role in driving a particular conflict but also form a basis for ensuring that any subsequent programme was sensitive to conflict dynamics. The need for and process of carrying out gender-sensitive conflict analysis is explored further in chapter 3.

Selecting a programming model

Once it has been established that masculinities do play a role in driving conflict in a particular setting and how they do so, peacebuilding actors may opt to select or design a programming approach to engage with and challenge those notions of masculinity and bring about positive change. The literature review identified three main categories of intervention which have been used, mostly by civil society organisations, to influence attitudes toward masculinity successfully. They are:

- **Group education strategies:** These are efforts undertaken to bring men together in formal or semi-formal settings in order to implement training activities of different types, such as courses, workshops and seminars.

- **Community outreach strategies:** These are activities aimed at influencing culturally ingrained attitudes, values and behaviours on a wider scale, including through mass media campaigns, distribution of educational and informational materials, rallies, marches and cultural events, including theatre, and training of activists to reach other men or organise community activities.

- **Integrated strategies:** These programmes use a combination of group education and community outreach strategies in a mutually complementary way.

These three programming models do not represent a comprehensive list of those which could be used to reduce violence by promoting positive masculinities. For example, it has been suggested that – in addition to focusing on (re-)educating groups of young men – school curricula should include modules on gender equality and non-violence in order to reach children from a younger age, while parents should be supported to reflect similar positive messages in their parenting approaches.[67] Furthermore, as suggested in chapter 1, gender norms are reproduced not only through the spread of ideas but also through political, social, economic and legal structures. It may be that efforts to change people's attitudes toward masculinity will be more effective if complemented by changes in the material circumstances which reinforce the status quo. However, these three strategies represent the main focus of existing projects and programmes to transform masculinities. Efforts to develop a policy advocacy agenda which would aim to address structures which reinforce patriarchal gender norms, including education systems, are a relatively new addition to masculinities programming, and are discussed further below.

66 For example, Care International and International Center for Research on Women (2007), 'Exploring dimensions of masculinities and violence'.

67 For example, Najcevska M (2000), 'Education, masculinity and violence' and Quisumbing L (2000), 'Values education towards a culture of peace' in Breines I, Connell R, Eide I, *Male roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective* (Paris: UNESCO).

Group education strategies

Prominent examples of group education projects examined in this review include the 'Working with young men' training programme developed by Program H,[68] the masculinities programme run by the Centre for Popular Education and Communications (Cantera) in Nicaragua, and Rozan's 'Humaqdam' men's programme in Pakistan. While these programmes do incorporate elements of community outreach, group education has been their main focus.

A systematisation workshop as part of a violence prevention programme, Trocaire-APADEIM, El Viejo, Nicaragua, 2013. Similar work is taking place with Cantera in Nicaragua and Rozan in Pakistan.

© PATRICK WELSH

Typically, group education strategies use a series of workshops and other semi-formal educational set-ups which employ elements of individual reflection, group work, videos and role plays. In long-term initiatives like Program H and Cantera's training courses on masculinity, these are incorporated into a cycle of reflection, analysis and action for change. Based on their experiences of programming with men and boys in Nicaragua, the Nicaraguan Masculinities Network for Gender Equality (REDMAS) and Cantera suggest that there is a set of fundamental issues (and sub issues) which should be prioritised in any process of transformative group education with boys and men and a further set of issues which can be dealt with subsequently, as needs, time, and resources allow. Fundamental issues consist of: the social construction of masculinity; the sexual division of work; masculinities, power and violence; masculinities and sexuality and responsible fatherhood. However, there is no one-size-fits-all model: implementing organisations emphasise that group education activities should be tailored to the context, taking into account the characteristics of the prospective participants (for example, age, academic achievements, economic situation and geographical location) as well as the primary purpose of the project and strategic interests of the implementing organisation.

The following is a summary of lessons learnt which have been documented by implementing organisations.

Taking men's realities as a starting point: The use of participatory methodologies in group activities with boys and men aims to stimulate in-depth reflection and analysis and to engage them emotionally as well as rationally. It involves encouraging and enabling men to talk openly and honestly about their own life experiences and to listen to those of other men. Participants are encouraged to identify and examine their own attitudes, values and behaviours, understand how they may uphold patriarchal norms, and propose strategies for change which begin with making changes in their own lives.

68 'H' stands for *homens* in Portuguese or *hombre* in Spanish. Program H consists of four Latin American organisations: Instituto Promundo, Estudos e Comunicaçao em Sexualidade e Reproduçao Humana (ECOS) and Instituto Papai in Brazil, and Salud y Género in Mexico.

Clearly distinguishing 'gender' from 'sex': While the ordering and selection of thematic content varies across programmes according to their specific objectives, one clear commonality was the need to discuss the differences between biological sex and socially constructed gender norms. A review carried out by REDMAS of training programmes with boys and adolescents run by seven organisations in Nicaragua between 2004 and 2007 found that ensuring that boys and men, as a first step in the group education process, come to understand clearly the meaning of 'sex' and 'gender' creates a solid foundation for dealing with all subsequent issues.[69]

Examining men's own socialisation: Programme experience suggests that one effective means of both explaining the meaning of 'gender' and helping boys and men to examine their own attitudes and behaviours is to give them the opportunity to analyse the processes of gender socialisation which they themselves experienced as boys growing up. This enables them to unpack the idea that gender is a social-cultural construct and that their masculinity is socially learnt and not innate. It has been found that this, in turn, paves the way for dealing with the central issue of power and subsequently, to broach the harder issue of violence. REDMAS reports that, "On realising that they have learnt how to be men in society and that machismo does not come 'in the blood', they open up easily to starting personal and collective processes of unlearning their machismo to prevent aggressive and violent behaviour".[70]

Addressing issues of power: In a sense, because gender is a system of power, the central issue of concern in the programmes considered here is power, how it is socially constructed, how it operates in relationships, and how it can be deconstructed. As such, implementing organisations suggest that the issue of power should be included as early on in the training process as possible, linking it to the processes of gender socialisation.[71] REDMAS, for example, aim to deconstruct how the way boys are raised encourages them to think of power in terms of power to dominate and control others, and goes on to explore other alternative notions of interpersonal relationships which are built on cooperation, collaboration and mutual respect.

Engaging men emotionally as well as rationally: Implementing organisations note that for men in many cultures, everyday communication is generally centred on particular topics (such as sport, politics or women); they are not encouraged – and are often actively discouraged – from reflecting openly on their thoughts, feelings and experiences. These workshops encourage men to give themselves and each other permission to let their guards down and explore their fears, doubts and hopes, sometimes for the first time in their lives. Addressing forms of entrenched privilege and power in ways which challenge and confront men and boys about their patriarchal attitudes and behaviours can often create a sense of fear. At the same time, Cantera reports that this experience can quickly move from being a threatening one to being a liberating one.[72]

Researcher and practitioner Michael Kaufman argues that men and boys may resist change because their whole identities and life experiences have led them into a struggle to hold onto some form of power and control, in which loss of power is understood to mean loss of manhood.[73] He suggests that programmes might appeal to the very notions they aim to challenge, for example proposing to men that, "You have the power to end violence against women in your community".[74] However, unless it is clear that 'power' in this context has been deconstructed and refined, such strategies run the risk of reinforcing patriarchy, albeit in a more benevolent form, while encouraging men to take leadership in arenas where women have worked hard for their voices to be heard in the face of male domination.

---

69 REDMAS (2008), 'Promoviendo procesos de sensibilización y capacitación en género y masculinidad con niñez, adolescencia y juventud' (Systematisation of training on masculinities with children, adolescents and youth).
70 *Op cit* REDMAS (2008), p 41. Translation: Patrick Welsh.
71 *Op cit* REDMAS (2008).
72 Welsh P (2001), 'Men are not from Mars: Unlearning machismo in Nicaragua' (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations), p 51.
73 Kaufman M (2003), 'The AIM framework' (UNICEF), p 11.
74 *Ibid* p 11.

Avoidance of messages which promote generalised guilt and shame, emphasising personal and shared responsibility: Implementers have found programmes to be most effective when they are focused in such a way that participants enter into journeys of self-discovery which are stimulating and inspiring, avoiding feelings of guilt and shame which can provoke defensiveness or hopelessness. Programme experience suggests a focus on what men and boys can do instead of what they cannot do works best, rather than simply telling them not to use violence.[75] In a synthesis of lessons from programming to engage men and boys in promoting gender equality, Michael Kaufman notes that while it is important to hold individual men and institutions responsible for their actions, using a language of generalised blame is counter-productive: "Language which leaves males feeling blamed for things they haven't done, or for things they were taught to do, or guilty for the sins of other men, simply will alienate most boys and men. It will promote backlash."[76]

Appealing to men's own interests: All of the projects examined in this review list the promotion of gender equality and women's rights among their core aims. However, programmers emphasise the importance of conveying to men and boys that changing their attitudes, values and behaviours cannot only contribute to the security and welfare of women, but that they are also beneficial for their own personal development and growth. In an account of Cantera's work on masculinities in Nicaragua, Patrick Welsh proposes that "solidarity with women and men's own 'gender agenda' are not contradictory and should be seen as mutually interdependent and complementary", arguing that more gender equitable attitudes and behaviours can bring benefits for men's physical and mental health, as well as their relationships with women, children and other men.[77]

Tackling homophobia: A common factor in many patriarchal cultural settings is the predominance of homophobic and transphobic attitudes and behaviours which lead to discrimination and violence against people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex (LGBTI). Programme implementers have found this to be a challenge in changing masculine behaviours, in that project participants fear they will be accused of being homosexual if they do not display traditional or socially accepted forms of masculinity.[78] The fear of being perceived as 'unmasculine' and implicit devaluation of behaviours which are seen as feminine is often also linked to other oppressive ideologies like misogyny and transphobia. Homophobia is in some contexts used as a means of enforcing masculine norms. As such, implementing organisations have found that addressing it can be a necessary step in encouraging men and boys to be open to change and equipping them with the tools they need to deal with homophobic jibes, which can challenge their intentions to be different, as well as being valuable in itself.

Addressing sexual orientation and homophobia in group education processes can present serious challenges, as in many settings the issue is still taboo and cloaked in prejudices and stereotypes. In Brazil, for example, an impact evaluation of Program H found that while the project was relatively successful in changing young men's attitudes toward young women, homophobic attitudes remained steadfast.[79] In response, Program H partners developed a cartoon video entitled 'Afraid of what?' for inclusion in the training materials to tackle the issue of homophobia.

In many countries, homosexual acts (particularly between men) are illegal, and in some countries, it is also illegal to disseminate information on homosexuality.[80] As such, programming initiatives in these countries (and other openly homophobic settings) should take the necessary precautions in addressing the issues of gender identities, sexual orientations and homophobia.

....

75 *Op cit* Welsh (2001), p 51.

76 *Op cit* Kaufman (2003) p 11.

77 *Op cit* Welsh (2001), p 52.

78 *Op cit* Welsh (2001), p 31.

79 Ricardo C, Nascimento M, Fonseca V, Segundo M (2010), 'Program H and Program M: Engaging young men and empowering young women to promote gender equality and health' (Pan American Health Organisation and Instituto Promundo), p 6.

80 According to the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), there are 78 countries in which homosexual acts are illegal. See ILGA (2014), 'State-sponsored homophobia: A world survey of laws: Criminalisation, protection and recognition of same-sex love'.

Initiating an ongoing process over a period of time: Individual workshops can last from as little as one and a half hours to several days. However, the programmes examined found that group education initiatives were more effective when planned as a series of activities carried out over a period of time, although in some interventions, one-off sessions have shown evidence of sustained change in self-reported attitudes and behaviour up to seven months after the workshop.[81] Program H typically runs between ten and fifteen sessions with some time between each session for participants to reflect on the content, while Cantera holds four-day workshops every two to three months over the course of a year to enable participants to put into practice the changes they prescribe for themselves at the end of each workshop.[82] Program H emphasises that "there is no set number of group educational sessions that is guaranteed to promote changes among a particular group".[83]

Selecting experienced facilitators: Implementing organisations suggest that the implementation of group education processes should be done by a team of experienced facilitators with personal commitment to gender equity and a wide knowledge of relevant issues. For example, Cantera recommends that training sessions with men be run by teams of two to three men with a mixture of skills and expertise, including in popular education techniques, gender theory and masculinities,[84] while Program H highlights the need for teams of facilitators who themselves have undergone processes of reflection and change around gender and violence.[85] Instituto Promundo suggests that the skills of the facilitator are more important than their gender, but that mixed-sex teams can provide an important example of how men and women can interact as equals.[86]

Implementers stress the need for facilitators to be sensitive, non-judgemental and prepared to deal with confrontation if discussions become heated. Former Cantera team member Patrick Welsh argues that, "Men are riddled with doubts and fears and the courses often require them to deconstruct paradigms and principles that they and their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers have lived by. Creativity and flexibility are needed to push men as close to the edge as they are willing to go and thus enable them to challenge their attitudes and values".[87]

Conducting group education with women: Some implementing organisations have found working with both women and men, either in parallel or together, to be more effective than working with men alone. In an evaluation of their programming to transform men's attitudes toward gender-based violence, International Rescue Committee found that it was also important to work with women to challenge gender norms they have internalised, which justify discrimination and violence against them.[88] Cantera organises concurrent courses for men and women in the same venue, a team of two to three male facilitators for the masculinity course and a team of two to three women for the course for women. The teams consult with each other on the design of these workshops and build in mixed-sex sessions for reflection as well as a final mixed-sex workshop called 'Forging Just Relationships' which brings the men and women together for four days of joint analysis, reflection and the drawing up of an agenda for gender equality. Instituto Promundo has developed a training programme for women and girls called Program M,[89] which examines the ideas about masculinity which women hold and encourages women and girls to analyse the role they may play in reinforcing stereotypes of men.[90] Women and girls are asked to "construct and rein-force positive ideals of masculinity among men in their lives and communities and to engage them as allies in the promotion of women's empowerment and gender equality".

81 Barker G, Ricardo C, Nascimento M (2007), 'Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions', p 22.
82 *Op cit* PAHO/Promundo (2010), p 17; *Op cit* Welsh P (2001), p 54.
83 *Op cit* PAHO/Promundo (2010), p 17.
84 *Op cit* Welsh (2001), p 53.
85 *Op cit* PAHO/Promundo (2010).
86 Instituto Promundo (2002), 'Working with Young men series', p 17.
87 *Op cit* Welsh (2001), p 53.
88 International Rescue Committee (2014), 'Transforming gender biases to reduce violence against women', p 5.
89 'M' stands for mulheres in Portuguese or mujeres in Spanish.
90 *Op cit* Ricardo, Nascimento, Fonseca, Segundo (2010), p 9.

Box 4: Impact evaluations of three group education programmes

An evaluation of **Rozan's 'Humaqdam' project** in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, used a quantitative survey to assess the attitudes of 96 men and boys who participated in the project and a control group of 100 men and boys who had not. This was followed up with qualitative interviews with the participants, the results of which were compared with interviews conducted before the project activities. The study assessed attitudes along thirteen different lines, of which seven saw significant positive shifts, five saw no significant change and one saw negative changes.[91] Positive changes included attitudes relating to violence against women and domestic decision making, tolerance of different religious and cultural beliefs, and a willingness to recognise gender power dynamics which shape violence. Beliefs that being a real man means being a provider, being brave, fearless and protective of women proved more resistant to change. The evaluation noted that just as important as changing attitudes were improvements in the ability to think critically about norms and values which may previously have been simply accepted.[92]

The **Program H** training scheme has been tested, implemented and adapted to local cultures in more than 30 countries in South and Southeast Asia, the Balkans, Latin America and the Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa and the USA. Program H designed and used the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale, using 35 questions relating to attitudes to gender roles in the home to assess changes in participants' attitudes. Evaluations also seek to corroborate self-reported changes by interviewing others in close contact with participants, such as their partners, the workshop facilitators and other professionals working with them. An impact evaluation conducted in 2002–2004 of a group education project carried out in the favela of Bangu in Rio de Janeiro with young men aged 14–25 found significant positive changes on 10 out of 17 measures on the GEM scale which were maintained one year after the project began, compared to a control site where changes were seen on only one measure.[93]

An impact evaluation carried out by **Cantera** interviewed men who had taken part in their training programmes during the 1990s as well as a selection of their wives, partners, mothers, daughters and female co-workers. Men who had admitted to using violence against their partners before taking part in the training were asked about their use of violence against their partners since the training took place. The self-reported data suggested an aggregate reduction in occurrences of physical violence against partners of 56 per cent, and an aggregate reduction in occurrences of specific types of emotional or psychological violence of 36 per cent.[94] The study found that the changes men reported in their own attitudes and behaviour were broadly reflected in the responses from the women in their lives.

Most evaluations of group education projects ask participants to report on changes in their attitudes and behaviours as a result of the project. The examples outlined in Box 4 indicate that men and boys report significant changes in many specific attitudes and behaviours being measured. Recognising that self-reported data may be biased to portray participants in a favourable light, some evaluations also seek the perspectives of others in the participants' lives to corroborate findings. In order to produce more robust evidence, it would be beneficial to triangulate these results with a more 'objective' measure of behavioural change, such as official crime statistics.[95] However, this is a challenging task, particularly when studying sensitive issues such as intimate partner violence, which are notoriously difficult to measure.

While the reporting of positive results from a wide range of group education projects in a diverse array of contexts suggests that this approach has had positive impacts, the relatively short timescales for impact evaluations make it difficult to assess whether changes effected by the projects were sustained in the long term.[96]

Of particular interest would be a clearer understanding of how working with different target groups of men and women can successfully produce changes, and at what scale. Some of the projects examined here, such as Program H, tend to focus on working

91   Rozan (2012), 'Evaluation study: Working with men and boys on prevention of GBV', p 6, www.rozan.org/
     uploads/64Evaluation_Report_on_working_with_young_boys_and_men_-_RozanNew.pdf

92   *Ibid* p 7.

93   Pulerwitz J, Barker G, Segundo M, Nascimento M (2006), 'Promoting more gender-equitable norms and behaviors among
     young men as an HIV/AIDS prevention strategy' (Washington DC: Population Council), pp 18–19.

94   Welsh P (2011), 'Swimming against the tide is easier as a shoal: changing masculinities in Nicaragua: a community based
     approach', *Men and development: politicising masculinities* (Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex and ZED
     Books), p 209.

95   Saferworld recognises that official statistics do not present a perfect means of measuring levels of violence, particularly given
     that many types of violence are under-reported. However, it is necessary to find some means of assessing whether levels of
     violence have reduced beyond the perceptions of project participants and those close to them.

96   It can be particularly challenging to measure long-term impacts given the difficulties in attributing changes to the project in
     question. However, some attempt to understand whether projects have positive impacts in the long-term is needed to ensure
     sustainability.

with young people at the grassroots level, who are thought to be more open to change than older members of their communities. Others, such as Cantera, aim programmes at staff from civil society organisations and social movements who are expected to go on to deliver the training to others. Cantera's programmes are also open to personnel from government entities at the local and national level. Each of these target audiences suggests a different theory of change, and more evidence is needed to understand what works best in different contexts.

Community outreach strategies

The term 'community outreach strategies' is used here to denote those which aim to influence beliefs, attitudes, values and behavioural norms related to masculinity on a wider scale, such as through the use of mass media campaigns, distribution of educational and informational materials, public events, and the training of activists to organise these activities.

Examples of community outreach projects examined include the One Man Can campaign[97] run by Sonke Gender Justice Network in South Africa; Puntos de Encuentro's 'Violence against women – a disaster that men can prevent' project in Nicaragua and their *Somos diferentes somos iguales* ('We're different, we're equal') campaign; and the Abatangamuco movement in Burundi. The following summary of lessons on effective practice also draws on larger studies by Instituto Promundo, the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the Institute of Development Studies.[98]

Encouraging critical thinking: WHO and Promundo's study of best practice for community outreach suggests that the most effective campaigns are those which do not just transmit information but actively encourage critical thinking in relation to attitudes and behaviour.[99] For example, participatory popular theatre events have been used to engage audiences and encourage them to offer their own perspectives on gender issues raised by the performances. Campaigns can also enjoin men to take specific actions, for example talking to their sons about violence against women.

Identifying and consulting target groups: While some campaigns are targeted broadly to challenge and change attitudes of men in general, others target specific groups of men who may be particularly influential upon others, such as sports coaches, fathers, religious leaders, and men in positions of power. Similarly, some use particularly influential men, such as celebrities, sporting personalities or political leaders, in their media output to garner more attention and position them as role models. Having identified target groups, implementing agencies suggest carrying out formative research in consultation with members of those groups to determine the most effective and relevant media for reaching them.

Using positive, affirmative messages: As with group education strategies, language which leaves men and boys feeling blamed for things they have not done or feeling guilty for the violence of others may alienate them and promote a backlash. Implementing agencies have found that showing men the benefits for them of changing, such as by depicting men or couples as happy through positive images, is more effective.[100] In the same vein, WHO and Promundo note that identifying existing behaviours which are positive and building upon those sends a more positive message. This may also mean appealing to men's sense of justice or pre-existing desires, such as providing care and support for their families.

---

97 As it has evolved in recent years, One Man Can has begun to resemble an integrated strategy (see page 35), but began as a community outreach project.

98 *Op cit* Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento (2007); Esplen E (2006), 'Engaging men in gender equality: positive strategies and approaches' (Brighton: Bridge/Institute of Development Studies).

99 *Op cit* Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento (2007) p 19.

100 *Ibid* p 24.

Developing high-quality media: Perhaps unsurprisingly, evaluations suggest that those projects which include high-quality media, such as commercials, soap operas or television and radio dramas (with an 'edutainment' focus) produced by commercial studios with professional actors and technicians, are most effective. This is because, while they are generally very expensive, they tend to reach a higher number of men and boys (and women and girls).

Continuous dissemination: Implementing organisations recommend ensuring that the campaign messages and materials are disseminated systematically and focus on the selected target group(s) for as long as possible. WHO and Promundo found that the most effective campaigns last for four to six months, while some last up to a year, seeking to present messages on a daily or weekly basis.[101]

In addition to conducting mass media campaigns, many community outreach projects train and support men and boys to become activists within their own communities. For example, Sonke's One Man Can campaign uses an action toolkit containing stickers, music, t-shirts, videos, posters and fact sheets to enjoin men and boys to take action to end domestic and sexual violence and promote gender equality. Sonke also trains Community Action Teams (CATs) in issues related to gender, masculinities, violence and HIV prevention and how to plan and implement campaign activities in their own communities, and activists have used sporting events, theatre and murals to get their message across. Lessons suggested by projects which enlist men and boys as activists within their communities include:

Reaching men and boys where they are: Rather than creating new venues within which to engage men, implementing organisations suggest targeting men in places they already frequent, such as at sporting or religious events, or at bars or cafes.

Begin with self-awareness: Implementing organisations recommend that in order for men and boys to influence others, it is necessary to facilitate ongoing reflection, awareness and capacity building processes to strengthen and consolidate their personal processes of change. This can be done through group education strategies such as those outlined above.

Provide ongoing support and accompaniment: Many boys and men face extreme pressures in their families, schools and workplaces *not* to change – from both women and other men. Programming experience suggests that ongoing support and accompaniment for activists and their voluntary contributions is important to ensure that they feel appreciated and stimulated. It is also crucial to develop, preferably collectively, clear ethical codes for activists, including measures which should be taken when these are breached.

Creating networks for support: Programming experience suggests that setting up networks for men who have participated in group education and/or community outreach projects to consolidate personal and collective morale and commitment to change. This can also help to assure mutual support and in the face of possible backlash from others in the community who are resistant to change. In Nicaragua, the Association of Men Against Violence (AMAV) maintained a loose network of men's groups which combined regular reflection sessions with local activism run by local facilitators who had been trained previously by the AMAV. While the aim of the AMAV was to cultivate autonomous local groups of men against violence, linking together to create a national network, in practise the existence of the local groups remained dependent on the support given by the AMAV technical team (small in size) and its ability to secure funding from international donor organisations. In South Africa, Sonke's One Man Can campaign promotes the setting up of CATs to perform a similar function, as well as develop action plans to affect change at the local level. To date, there is no structure which links the various CATs located in different parts of the country,

---

101 *Ibid* p 23.

though Sonke is in the process of developing an integrated strategy which sees the establishment of CATs and their ongoing political advocacy as the ultimate goal of the training, awareness raising and outreach initiatives promoted.

Community members participate in One Man Can community mobilisation training in Buskbuckridge, Mpumalanga, South Africa.
© ann gottert/
sonke gender justice

Box 5: Impact evaluations of three community outreach programmes

WHO and Promundo's study proposes that mass media campaigns are capable of producing only limited behavioural change but that they "show significant change in behavioural intentions and self-efficacy, such as self-perceived ability to talk about or act on an issue or behavioural intentions to talk to other men and boys about violence against women".[102] Nonetheless, evaluations of community outreach programmes do show some changes in self-reported behaviours, illustrated by the following three examples.

Sonke's One Man Can campaign has been implemented in South Africa's nine provinces, with more than 25,000 men participating in campaign activities each year. It has also been rolled out in Sudan (see page 35 for more on One Man Can and the DDR process in Sudan). A study carried out in 2009 indicated that in the weeks following participation in the campaign, 50 per cent of participants reported taking actions to address gender-based violence in their communities, and more than 80 per cent talked to their family members about relevant issues such as gender, HIV/AIDS and human rights.[103]

Puntos de Encuentro's 'We're different, we're equal' campaign produced a soap opera *Sexto Sentido* (Sixth Sense) focusing on HIV prevention, including issues of masculinities and violence. It has been broadcast on TV networks in Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and the USA. A longitudinal impact evaluation found significant shifts in attitudes among men who had watched the TV show compared to those who had not, as well as self-reported changes in behaviour. For example, men who had watched the show were 44 per cent more likely to report having used a condom in their last sexual encounter with a casual partner, and 42 per cent more likely to report having used condoms consistently over the past six months with casual partners.[104] Furthermore, the study found greater increases in attitudes among those who had had more exposure to the programme than those who had had less exposure.

Abatangamuco is an initiative among men in rural parts of Burundi, supported by CARE International, whose purpose is to change the behaviour of men toward women in order to reduce violence and achieve equal gender relations in the household. Abatangamuco uses public activities which involve Abatangamuco members giving personal testimonies in already scheduled public meetings and/or using traditional dance or theatre to transmit their messages, as well as private activities which entail informal visits to and dialogue with men who are known to be using violence against their partners/wives.[105] Abatangamuco encourages men to make public state-ments about their personal journeys of change and to become activists themselves, and measures its success in terms of how many men have been recruited as activists in each community. Impact evaluations include valuable qualitative data from interviews with participants which give a picture of significant personal behavioural change in particular cases.[106] However, the lack of systematic data gathering makes it difficult to assess what proportion of men who come into contact with the movement do change their behaviour toward women and in what ways.

---

102 *Ibid* p 22.
103 Colvin C, Human O, Peacock D (2009), 'Report on formative research conducted for Sonke Gender Justice Network's "One Man Can" campaign', Sonke Gender Justice Network.
104 Impact data for 'We're different, we're equal' accessed at www.comminit.com/la/node/269387.
105 For more information see Wallacher H (2012) 'The Abatangamuco: Engaging men for women's empowerment in Burundi', (Oslo: PRIO).
106 *Ibid*; De Boodt K (2009), 'Final evaluation Abatangamuco December 2009', accessed at http://gender.care2share. wikispaces.net/file/view/Final_Report_Evaluation_Abatangamuco_12.02.10.rtf/177932437/Final_Report_Evaluation_ Abatangamuco_12.02.10.rtf.

Integrated strategies

The 2007 Promundo and WHO report, *Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions*, examined 58 studies evaluating projects and programmes which engage men and boys in the areas of sexual and reproductive health, fatherhood, preventing gender-based violence, maternal and child health and gender socialisation. The study concluded that the evidence suggests that programmes which integrate group education with community outreach and mass media campaigns are "the most effective in changing behaviour".[107]

Members of the 'Be a man' group in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, take part in rock climbing to raise awareness of violence against women on UN Orange Day.
© ALEKSANDAR SLIJEPCEVIC/
PERPETUUM MOBILE BANJA LUKA

Box 6: Impact evaluations of an integrated programme: Young Men Initiative in the Western Balkans

The Young Men Initiative (YMI) supported by CARE International combines group education workshops with young men in secondary schools based on the Program H curriculum (see page 24) with social marketing, advocacy and media campaigns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. The project began with a formative research study in these countries, which identified that home and school were the two places where boys learnt most about what it means to be a man.[108] The social marketing campaign *Budi muško* (or 'Be a man') targeted boys at school, and supported the group education work by portraying the workshops as something 'cool' for young men to be part of as well as spreading key messages from the workshops.[109] National level advocacy efforts were then used to start a discussion about how work on masculinities could be integrated into violence prevention efforts, engaging officials from ministries of education and justice.

A 2012 evaluation found that reported violence against male peers decreased across all intervention sites, while boys who had participated in the project showed more gender equitable attitudes than those in control sites. Significant change was found in four out of nine intervention sites.[110] The evaluation also noted that bringing together boys and men from countries which had previously been at war with each other brought potential benefits: "The opportunity to reflect together on and collaborate around a common cause helped to dispel the prejudices many of the young men held toward young men from other countries, thus contributing to peace-building among the younger generation".[111] YMI partners aim to scale up their impacts by collaborating with ministries of education to integrate the project's approach into official school curricula and with ministries of youth and sport to create non-formal educational opportunities.

107 *Op cit* Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento (2007), p 27.
108 CARE International and International Center for Research on Women (2007), 'Exploring dimensions of masculinity and violence'.
109 Young Men Initiative, CARE International and Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2012), 'The Young Men Initiative – a case study 2012: Engaging young men in the Western Balkans in gender equality and violence prevention'
110 *Ibid* p 26.
111 *Ibid* p 27.

What existing approaches tell us

The evaluative studies considered in this review suggest some positive impacts from projects based on group education approaches, those focused on community outreach, and those which integrate both strategies. This suggests that the projects examined in this chapter provide a useful starting point for changing understandings of masculinity which legitimise violence into ones more compatible with non-violence and gender equality. However, there are limits to what current data can tell us.

Most evaluations examined here have been conducted either during or shortly after programme interventions. Therefore, while they are able to demonstrate short-term changes in attitudes and behaviours, there are not sufficient data available to show whether these changes are sustained in the longer term. Furthermore, most evaluations rely largely on self-reported data, which can be skewed by participants' desire to put forward a positive image of themselves or to meet the expectations of implementing organisations. Nonetheless, in those cases where the perceptions of other people in the participants' lives have been used to triangulate the findings they appear to support the accuracy of the self-reported data.

Many of the project reports and evaluations considered here themselves acknowledge that – particularly in the case of group education strategies – the target groups are relatively small, and it is difficult to get a picture of the potential of these approaches to generate change on a wider scale. Implementing organisations acknowledge the need to engage at the policy level in order to scale up their impacts, and many are now beginning to do this, in particular by advocating for modules on masculinities to be incorporated into school curricula, but also working with other ministries such as those for health, youth and sport to further disseminate their messages. In Brazil, Promundo has been trialling different approaches to scaling up its work to achieve national level impacts: for example, connecting its efforts with larger movements across the country, such as movements for youth and child rights. There have been some early successes: for example, in Brazil Program H materials have been adopted by the public health sector as part of programmes to improve adolescent health. 'Once Upon a Boy', a no-words cartoon video which charts the story of a boy through adolescence into early adulthood examining the role of socialisation on shaping his life and identity, has been included in the official curriculum for schools in the state of Sao Paulo. However, this area of work is relatively new, and it is too early to assess what the impacts might be.

3

Adapting existing approaches to address armed conflict

THERE EXIST A VERY SMALL NUMBER OF PROGRAMMES which have begun to take some of the approaches outlined in chapter 2 and adapt them to begin addressing masculinities as drivers of conflict. One example implemented by the Women Peace-makers Program is outlined in Box 7. Because this is a new development in the field of peacebuilding, there is not yet enough experience to provide evidence-based guidance for programme design.

In this chapter, based on what is known about masculinities in conflict and on Saferworld's experience implementing peacebuilding programming in conflict-affected and fragile states, we set out a range of issues which need to be considered as part of efforts to develop a programming and policy agenda on masculinities in peacebuilding.

Gender analysis of conflict

Although there are major cultural links between masculinity and violence in most, if not all, societies around the world, it does not necessarily follow that patriarchal masculinities play the same role in driving or enabling violence in all countries or regions affected by conflict. In order to ascertain when and how they act as a key driver, it is necessary to conduct a conflict analysis which poses questions about how gender norms interact with conflict dynamics.

Despite increased recognition in recent years of the need to take a gender perspective on matters of peace and security, the tools and methodologies used for conflict analysis are often gender-blind.[112] To the extent that conflict analyses do include gender considerations, these are often limited to discussion of the impacts of conflict on women. Not only does this exclude any consideration of men and masculinities, but it also leaves out an analysis of gender dimensions of the *drivers* of conflict. While there exists some guidance on gender-sensitising conflict analysis,[113] together with

112 This analysis draws on a separate literature review on gender and conflict analysis conducted by Minna Lyytikainen for Saferworld in 2013.

113 For example, Anderlini S (2006) 'Mainstreaming Gender in Conflict Analysis: Issues and Recommendations', Social Development Paper No. 33 (Washington DC: World Bank); Swisspeace Center for Peacebuilding (KOFF) (2012), 'Gender analysis of conflict handout'; UNDP (2007), 'Working guidelines: gender and conflict-related development analysis (CDA)', unpublished document; UN Women (2012), 'Gender and Conflict Analysis'.

Box 7: Women Peacemakers Program 'Overcoming violence: exploring masculinities, violence, and peace' project

The Women Peacemakers Program's (WPP) training of trainers project 'Overcoming Violence: Exploring Masculinities, Violence, and Peace' was the only project identified in Saferworld's review which explicitly aimed to address the role of masculinities in driving militarism and conflict. For its 2009–2010 pilot project, WPP selected 19 men from 17 different countries affected by conflict or widespread violence.[114] All of the men selected were trainers with some knowledge of either gender or peacebuilding, and were well placed to pass on the knowledge they gained through the project to others in their communities and networks.

Initially, the men were given training in the theory and practice of gender-sensitive non-violence, masculinities, and gender-sensitive and participatory facilitation, as well as being encouraged to share experiences from their own country contexts. In the second stage of the project they were paired with female activists, who supported them to develop and conduct community projects and trainings based on what they had learnt. WPP felt that accountability to the women's movement was vital for any project investing some of the limited resources available for gender work in training men, and ensured that women were involved in every stage of the project.

Participants in the training went on to implement a range of initiatives in their own countries.[115] For example, Ilot Muthaka from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) set up the Congo Men's Network, which (among other things) promotes 'positive masculinities', conducts research on masculinities and violence in DRC and trains others in gender and non-violence. In another example, Ruben Reyes Jiron, founding member of REDMAS, who delivers training on gender and masculinities with Puntos de Encuentro in Nicaragua, has incorporated exercises on conflict transformation and non-violent communication into the organisation's own training modules as a result of the WPP project.

Following positive evaluations of the project, WPP has changed its vision and mission statements to include a commitment to integrate work on masculinities into all of its projects on women, peace and security.

examples of conflict analyses which integrate a gender perspective,[116] a literature review conducted by Saferworld on gender and conflict analysis found no existing conflict analysis tools which allow for thorough analysis of the relationship between masculinities, femininities and conflict drivers. Indeed, conflict analysis on the whole tends to give little attention to the role of social constructs in shaping the interests and decisions of parties to conflict. This absence may result from a relative lack of clear, well-evidenced theories of change explaining how social constructs (including those relating to gender) influence conflict dynamics in specific contexts; however, this gap cannot be filled unless gender-sensitive conflict analyses are undertaken.

114 For more information on the pilot project, see Women Peacemakers Program (2010), 'Together for transformation: Men, masculinities and peacebuilding'.

115 For more details, see Women Peacemakers Program (2013), 'Men and women working as partners for gender-sensitive active non-violence'.

116 For example, Moser A (2007) 'The peace and conflict gender analysis: UNIFEM's research in the Solomon Islands', *Gender and Development* 15(2), pp 231–239; UNDP (2006), 'Can conflict analysis processes support gendered visions of peace building? Reflections from the peace and stability development analysis in Fiji'; UNIFEM (2005) 'The Ferghana Valley: Current challenges'; *op cit* Saferworld (2010).

Conflict analyses which do include these considerations tend to be those which use participatory methods to seek out the perspectives of a wide range of actors in conflict-affected communities, rather than relying on existing literature or eliciting only the view of elite actors. Further research is needed to develop and test methods and tools for conducting gendered analysis of conflict which is capable of identifying whether and how gender norms play a role in driving conflict.

Selecting a target audience and developing theories of change

As outlined in chapter 1, research in conflict-affected contexts shows that narratives around patriarchal masculinity which reinforce myths and stereotypes can play a role in motivating individual men to take up arms, but also that patriarchal gender norms can play a role in building wider popular support for war. Similarly, particular institutions and individuals, such as political leaders, the armed forces or other security sector institutions, and non-state armed groups can play an important role in promoting militarised hyper-masculinities, but these often draw on more widely held patriarchal beliefs and norms which stem from hegemonic masculinity ingrained in local and national cultures. This raises important questions about who should be the target audience for efforts to challenge violent masculinities and strengthen non-violent ones, and what are the underlying theories of change.

Working with combatants

For example, men who are or have been combatants may be a key target for programmes on masculinities, power and violence, as well as those whose background or situation may make them particularly vulnerable to recruitment into armed groups, such as unemployed or disenfranchised young men. In some contexts, such as the case of cattle raiding in South Sudan, those who take part in armed violence do not necessarily belong to organised armed groups. In designing any programme, decisions about how to select the target audience and whether to work directly with current or former combatants would need to be taken based on careful analysis of what would be effective, feasible and conflict-sensitive in the context at hand. In cases where militarised masculinities are deliberately promoted by powerful political or military actors, attempts to challenge these narratives may prove to be highly sensitive and even dangerous.

Changing societal norms

If the prevalence of patriarchal gender norms is an enabling factor for militarisation, then it would seem to follow that the prevalence of gender norms which valorise non-violence, equality, respect and tolerance may provide some level of resilience to militarisation. While further research is needed to establish whether this is the case, it would help to explain why such a strong correlation has been found between levels of gender equality and levels of peace.[117] This may suggest that rather than (or perhaps in addition to) focusing on security sector institutions or armed groups, peacebuilders should turn their attention to promoting non-violent masculinities and femininities within societies more broadly. Indeed, given that masculinities are by definition that which is socially constructed as valuable for men and boys, the weight of popular opinion plays a crucial, perhaps defining, role in instructing men and boys in what is 'masculine', particularly through parents, teachers and others closely involved in the socialisation of children.

117 Institute for Economics and Peace (2011), 'Structures of peace', pp 17–18; Caprioli M (2000), 'Gendered conflict', *Journal of Peace Research*, 37 (1), pp 51–68; Caprioli M (2005), 'Primed for violence: the role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict' *International Studies Quarterly*, 49 (2), pp 161–178; Melander E (2005), 'Gender equality and intrastate armed conflict', *International Studies Quarterly*, 49 (4), pp 695–714.

Male peacebuilders as agents of change

As noted in chapter 1, the majority of men and boys in most countries affected by conflict and fragility are not combatants, and many actively resist the notion that committing or being subjected to violence is a prerequisite to manhood. Programmes may engage men who are already involved in peace activism as agents of change, as WPP's masculinities programme has done. Gaining a better understanding of how some men are able to develop and sustain non-violent masculinities in highly militarised societies would also help to inform strategies for enabling others to do the same.

Working with women

Given the important role which women play in constructing and reinforcing norms of masculinity, they are also a potentially important target for programming in this area. This could include engaging women to examine critically how they relate to their husbands or partners, or what messages they pass on to their sons and daughters about gender roles and norms. Much important work is already being done with women and girls in many contexts to raise awareness on issues relating to gender equality and women's rights, including links with peace and security. It may therefore be a matter of establishing links between this and work to engage men and boys where they do not exist already.

Addressing gendered structures and working to scale

Gender as a system of power exists not only on the level of ideas and beliefs, but it is also embedded in structures and institutions which uphold it. As noted above, ideas about what it means to be a man are reinforced by, for example, education systems; laws around marriage and child custody; employment law and paternity leave arrangements; gendered marketing and media messages; military, religious and cultural institutions, to name a few. Therefore, in order to bring about genuine transformation of gender norms, it is necessary not only to work with individuals and communities to change the way people think about their own identities but also to challenge structures which reinforce particular ways of thinking and behaving. Indeed, it has been suggested that to work only at the individual level and encourage men to change without also addressing the structures which may penalise them for non-conformity risks doing harm.[118]

In the Karamoja region of northern Uganda, for example, groups of 'reformed warriors' have been formed who have renounced raiding and aim to mobilise other youth to join peace campaigns. However, in the absence of alternative livelihoods many are now poorer than when they were raiding, and are perceived as enemies of those who are still raiding, leaving them in a vulnerable position.[119] Efforts to change attitudes toward raiding, including men's and women's beliefs about its association with masculinity, must be coupled with efforts to change the material circumstances which make raiding appear desirable or necessary. For example, alternative economic and educational opportunities must be provided for communities, including young men, through economic diversification and improved livestock management to make pastoralist lifestyles more sustainable and peaceful.[120] While it may seem that changing economic systems is the important next step in this scenario, the importance of combining this with efforts to change attitudes toward gender roles must not be underestimated: research by the Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity revealed perceptions that men who were made to give up cattle raiding and take up agriculture had now "become women" and were not highly regarded by their communities.[121]

118 *Op cit* Dolan (2011) in *op cit* Cornwall, Edstrom, Greig (eds) p 126.
119 *Op cit* Saferworld (2010) p 33.
120 *Ibid* pp 85–6.
121 Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (2013), 'Northern Uganda conflict analysis', pp 3–7.

Working to scale

Closely linked to the need to address gendered structures is the question of working to scale. At present, the limited evidence of what works in masculinities programming as a peacebuilding intervention means that small scale pilot projects are needed to test different approaches. Should these be successful, it will be necessary to consider what scale of programming is needed in order to have a meaningful influence on conflict dynamics. Given the experiences of organisations already implementing programmes on masculinities outlined in chapter 2, which suggests that local level interventions may be insufficient to bring about wholesale changes in gender norms, it is likely that other models will also have to be developed for scaling up, potentially based on those already being trialled. Patrick Welsh notes that while group education programmes which encourage individual men in processes of personal transformation do not necessarily lead them to engage in efforts to change the political structures which perpetuate patriarchy, they do represent a starting point from which this type of work can begin.[122]

Working with the security sector

Chapter 1 noted the role of militaries, and the security sector more broadly, in promoting militarised hyper-masculinities. Depending on analysis of the conflict context and theories of change which emerge from it, it may be desirable to integrate work on masculinities into processes of security sector reform (SSR) or DDR.

A toolkit on gender and SSR developed by UN INSTRAW and DCAF recommends that gender training for security sector personnel should address masculinities and men's understanding of themselves, in order to challenge "'cultures of violent masculinity' which are often prevalent within the armed forces and the police".[123] This may need to be complemented by advocacy at the political level to ensure that institutional cultures are changed, rather than simply changing the attitudes of a few individuals within those cultures.[124] As noted in Box 3, it has also been suggested that work to develop non-violent, gender equitable masculine identities among former combatants should be a key part of DDR programming. SSR and DDR programming often does not contain a gender component and where it does, this is often focused only on issues pertaining to women and girls, with no examination of men's own identities.

> ### Box 8: Rozan's Rabta Police Programme in Pakistan
>
> A small number of organisations have included issues around masculinities in training for security sector personnel, including Islamabad-based NGO Rozan, whose Rabta police reform programme in Pakistan addresses masculinities as part of efforts to improve police responses to violence against women and girls.[125] Rozan was approached by the police leadership to help improve inter-personal skills among police personnel, and saw this as an opportunity to address the "abusive or insensitive treatment of female survivors by some police personnel".[126] The 'Attitudinal Change Module' was developed in collaboration with the National Police Academy, and "aims to explore how men themselves experience understandings of masculinity" through non-confrontational workshops while also encouraging discussion of the roles of women.[127] The training seeks to improve self-awareness around gender identity, personal attitudes and prejudices; confer key skills such as interpersonal communication skills and anger and stress management; and increase awareness around concepts of gender justice and human rights. The module has received approval to be taught to police personnel as part of the regular training curriculum across all police training institutes in Pakistan. So far Rabta has trained more than 4,000 police officers and instructors directly and more than 70,000 personnel indirectly through Rozan-trained instructors.
>
> Rozan acknowledges that training alone cannot transform the police force, and in 2011 formed the Pakistan Forum on Democratic Policing, an alliance of civil society organisations and individuals to advocate wider police reform.

122　*Op cit* Welsh (2011) p 205.
123　Tõnisson Kleppe T (2008), 'Gender training for security sector personnel – good practices and lessons learned' in Bastick M, Valasek K (eds), *Gender and security sector reform toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR), pp 7–8.
124　For more analysis on how individuals can work to change institutional cultures of masculinity, see Greig A, Edström J (2012), 'Mobilising Men in Practice: Challenging sexual and gender-based violence in institutional settings' (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies).
125　Rozan (2011), 'Promising practice case study: Rabta Police Training Programme (Pakistan)'.
126　*Ibid*.
127　*Ibid*.

However, some NGOs have already begun integrating components on masculinities into SSR and DDR processes as part of efforts to prevent gender-based violence, such as in the examples by Rozan and Sonke Gender Justice outlined in Boxes 8 and 9.

Members of the One Man Can campaign in Sudan. The campaign aims to encourage positive forms of masculinity among DDR programme participants.
© UNDP PHOTO

Box 9: One Man Can and DDR in Sudan

In Sudan, Sonke Gender Justice Network and Zenab for Women in Development collaborated with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Sudan DDR Commission to adapt and implement the One Man Can programme (see page 27) in 2012 as part of the DDR process. Sonke had noted that many men felt disempowered due to unemployment and social changes resulting from the conflict, and tried to "reinstate their power" by committing acts of violence against women.[128] The programme design was based on the observation that patriarchal and violent masculinities were prevalent among both civilians and ex-combatants, and so the pro-gramme was aimed at both. It was first trialled in Blue Nile, South Kordofan and Khartoum states, targeting male and female ex-combatants, women associated with the armed forces, civilian men and women, community elders and religious leaders.[129] Sonke notes that implementing this type of programme can be particularly sensitive in conflict and post-conflict settings, particularly where gender issues are highly politicised. However, Sonke and Zenab for Women in Development received government backing for the programme, and in 2013 trained a network of civil society organisations to implement it on a wider scale.

128 Sonke Gender Justice Network, 'Sonke's One Man Can campaign supports peacebuilding and gender equality in Sudan' accessed at www.genderjustice.org.za/case-studies/one-man-can-supports-peacebuilding-and-gender-equality-in-sudan. html.

129 'Women associated with the armed forces' include the wives, partners and family members of male combatants; women working for or with the armed forces, for example as cooks or nurses; and those forcibly recruited, for example into sexual slavery.

The role of international structures

In some contexts, many of the structures which play a role in influencing or reinforcing gender norms are transnational ones. Multinational corporations, UN peacekeeping operations and development, peacebuilding and humanitarian programmes run by international NGOs can all play a role in constructing masculinities and femininities in positive or negative ways. It is therefore important not to assume that structures which reinforce harmful gender norms are restricted to the local or national level, but to examine the role of international actors and structures. For example, when international donors provide support to SSR processes in conflict-affected countries, there is a tendency for them to export the same organisational cultures and working practices found in their own security sectors to recipient states. Not only may highly militarised notions of masculinity prevalent within many donor countries' security sectors be reproduced in other contexts, but they may also appear to bring with them the stamp of international legitimacy.[130]

A Canadian soldier stands next to two school boys during a foot patrol in Kabul, Afghanistan.
© LANA SLEZIC/PANOS

Sensitivity to conflict narratives

As noted in chapter 1, ideas about the masculinity and/or femininity of particular social groups (often ethnic groups) are sometimes deployed as a tactic in conflict situations to encourage and justify violence against them. It is vital that any programmes aiming to understand and influence attitudes toward gender norms are based on a sound understanding of whether and how ideas about gender have been used in this way. Programmes must take great care to avoid reinforcing (or being perceived to reinforce) and to actively challenge narratives which fuel conflict and division – or, indeed, any narratives which reinforce stereotyped views. It must be emphasised that no version of masculinity or femininity is innate to any social group: masculinities are multiple, socially constructed (not only by the group themselves but also by others), and contested. Indeed, it has been suggested that overly simplistic statements that young men are the cause of conflict could create resentment and despondency among young men, becoming self-fulfilling prophecies.[131]

---

130 Ní Aoláin F (2009), 'Women, security, and the patriarchy of internationalised transitional justice', Human Rights Quarterly, 31:4, p 1072.
131 *Op cit* Barker, Ricardo (2006) in *op cit* Bannon, Correira (eds) p 190.

It has been observed that some programmes seeking to transform masculinities are perceived as attempts by foreigners (often white Westerners) to perpetuate stereotypes of (usually non-white) men, in an echo of colonial narratives.[132] Indeed, the fact that such a large proportion of the literature on masculinities and conflict focuses on Africa is suggestive of an imbalance which needs to be redressed, and is indicative of where funding is focused. The portrayal of gender equality as a Western agenda is often used strategically to discredit calls for the realisation women's rights, despite the presence of a home-grown women's movement in most if not all societies. Nonetheless, it is necessary both to acknowledge that patriarchal values fuel various forms of violence around the world, including in Western countries usually thought of as peaceful, and to examine the role which the West has played in constructing masculinities in Africa and elsewhere, historically and today.

Acknowledging legitimate grievances

As noted throughout this report, patriarchal masculinities cannot be described as the sole cause of any particular conflict, but interact with other factors to produce conflict and violence. Therefore, where it has been identified that patriarchal masculinities play a role in driving violent conflict these should be addressed at the same time as other conflict drivers. In particular, it is important that programming to change men's (and women's) attitudes toward masculinity does not become a kind of therapeutic tool for promoting acquiescence to injustices which may drive conflict while those injustices themselves are left unaddressed. Conflict is often fuelled by a legitimate sense of anger at oppression, exclusion and failures of governance, and it is vital to recognise and address these factors. For example, it is important to acknowledge that young men who are unemployed due to a lack of economic opportunities and a failure by government to create jobs may have a sense of grievance not only because they feel emasculated by their situations but also because they have a genuine economic need which is not being met. The need for men to rethink their ideas about manhood should not diminish the need for changes in other areas.

Programming should acknowledge the legitimacy of both men's and women's feelings of anger in response to injustices. A comprehensive response should seek to address the causes of legitimate grievances through peaceful means while also working to change factors – including gender identities, roles and power relations – which might cause that sense of grievance to turn violent. While no one programme or organisation can hope to address every driver of conflict, a shared conflict analysis should form the basis for a coordinated response among donors, national and local authorities and civil society organisations which tackles each of the underlying causes of conflict, including their gender dimensions.

Keeping sight of gender equality

While it may not be obvious why programmes aimed at addressing masculinities as drivers of conflict should retain the same focus on women's rights as programmes designed with the explicit goal of engaging men and boys for gender equality, these two goals are inextricably linked. Failure to emphasise the links between non-violent masculinities and gender equality and women's rights would not only be a missed opportunity to make progress toward gender equality; it risks doing harm. Changes in men's attitudes toward their own gender identities will inevitably change the way they relate to women, and so it is vital to ensure that these changes are positive ones. For example, as outlined in chapter 1, where some opportunities to express patriarchal masculinity are taken away (such as through unemployment or demobilisation of

132 *Ibid* p 190.

combatants), men may compensate by finding other avenues for exercising dominance and control, including through how they treat the women in their lives. A possible response to this problem, trialled by International Rescue Committee in its *Engaging Men through Accountable Practice* intervention, is to develop mechanisms for making project staff and male participants accountable to women in the target communities at each stage of the project.[133]

133 International Rescue Committee (2013), 'Introductory guide: Preventing violence against women and girls: Engaging men through accountable practice'.

Recommendations

AS THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER SUGGESTS, there is still much work to be done in developing a well-evidenced policy and programming agenda on masculinities in peacebuilding and conflict prevention. Saferworld makes the following recommendations to international donors, policymakers, national governments and peacebuilding organisations:

■ **Look at men and boys from a gender perspective:** While the mainstreaming of gender perspectives in conflict prevention and peacebuilding is still very much a work in progress, there is growing consensus that this is needed. It is important that 'taking a gender perspective' is not interpreted simply as 'including women and girls' where they may otherwise have been ignored, though this is itself a necessary component of gender mainstreaming. As the findings of this report make clear, analysing the roles, attitudes and behaviours of men and boys from a gender perspective can also deepen understandings of conflict and insecurity, and should also be included in any gender analysis. While acknowledging the many ways in which gender norms often give men power over women, it should also be recognised that power inequalities also exist between men, and that men are often under pressure to conform to notions of masculinity which they may not otherwise choose, and which are sometimes unattainable.

■ **Deepen gender perspectives in conflict analysis:** Work is needed to develop effective conflict analysis tools and methodologies which incorporate a gender perspective.[134] This must go beyond identifying the different impacts of conflict on women, men, boys and girls, by also seeking to understand the gendered drivers of conflict, including the role of masculinities and femininities in conflict dynamics. Gender analysis should be situated within a broader analysis of injustice, marginalisation and other causes of grievances. Donors, policymakers, civil society organisations and other practitioners involved in designing and implementing peacebuilding should incorporate this understanding into their analysis of conflicts and into the design of responses and upstream approaches to conflict prevention.

■ **Build the evidence base:** Using these new tools and methodologies, further research is needed to better detail how masculinities and femininities interact with conflict dynamics in specific contexts in different regions of the world. Existing studies provide rich analysis from a relatively small number of conflicts: these should be expanded, updated and repeated in a broader range of contexts. Research should document and analyse the perspectives of ordinary women, men, boys and girls in conflict-affected communities, as well as individuals who have key roles in conflict and in peacebuilding. For example, further research with current and former combatants which analyses their motivations for taking up arms as well as demobilising and relinquishing their

---

134 Saferworld plans to produce a toolkit for conducting gender-sensitive conflict analysis in 2015.

weapons would help to build a better picture of how patriarchal masculinities combine with other factors to produce conflict and violence in particular settings. A better understanding of how men develop and maintain positive, non-violent masculinities and use these to promote peace would also help design strategies for action.

■ **Develop theories of change and pilot programming approaches:** Where gender-sensitive conflict analysis indicates that masculinities (and femininities) do play a role in driving conflict, donors, multilateral organisations, national governments and civil society organisations should develop pilot projects which begin challenging those gender norms and lay the foundations for ongoing programmes. The group education and community outreach methodologies outlined in chapter 2 provide a solid starting point for project design, having demonstrated impacts on attitudes and behaviour at least in the short term. Current evidence suggests that a combination of these two approaches is most effective, while further research is needed to understand how this might be complemented by work at the policy level to influence political, economic and social structures which produce and perpetuate patriarchal and militarised gender norms. Careful research and analysis will be needed to develop and test theories of change which are tailored to each context, locally owned, conflict-sensitive and do not put participants at unnecessary risk. Careful attention must be paid to potential risks for those who choose to defy accepted gender norms, and mitigation put in place. This links directly to the need to challenge structures which uphold harmful notions of masculinity within societies.

■ **Address gendered structures:** It is evident that gender norms are not simply a matter of attitudes and beliefs held by individuals, but are produced and perpetuated by political, economic, cultural and social structures including education systems, the media, religious institutions, welfare systems, security and justice systems to name a few. Organisations working to promote gender equitable masculinities acknowledge that the next frontier for programming in this area is to step up efforts to challenge and reform these structures. In most cases this is likely to be a long-term endeavour, and it will take time to develop evidence as to how changing gendered structures can influence attitudes toward masculinities and to understand whether and how this can impact on conflict dynamics.

■ **Mainstream a masculinities perspective in international interventions:** In line with international commitments to mainstream a gender perspective in all efforts to promote peace, security and development, international actors should examine how their activities – including, *inter alia*, development programming, military interventions, peacekeeping missions, and humanitarian assistance – influence societal expectations of masculinity as well as men's experiences in relation to those expectations. For example, livelihoods programmes should take into account their potential impacts on 'thwarted' masculine identities. At a minimum, international actors should avoid promoting or entrenching notions of masculinity which perpetuate violence and inequality; wherever possible they should seek to promote non-violent and equitable gender norms.

■ **Evaluate impacts of working with the security sector:** From a conflict prevention perspective, documenting the impacts of those projects which are already integrating masculinities components into SSR and DDR processes would be particularly valuable. In the case of SSR programmes, while such projects are thus far largely focused on improving security providers' responses to gender-based violence, a useful avenue for exploration would be to look at whether they can also help prevent security providers from committing abuses themselves, and transform patriarchal institutional cultures. Preventing and reducing the perpetration of gender-based violence by former combatants should be a core goal of DDR programmes, and integrating activities to promote non-violent and gender equitable notions of masculinity could play an important role in achieving this. A question for further research would be whether it could also help to reduce the likelihood of former combatants rearming and returning to war.

■ **Document long-term impacts:** While persuasive evidence has been produced that the programming approaches outlined in chapter 2 produce some degree of positive change in attitudes and behaviours in the short term, there is little evidence of what the long-term impacts are. Assessing long-term impacts is notoriously difficult due to the challenges of maintaining contact with participants and attributing changes to the programme intervention, but is nonetheless vital for setting the direction of future programming in this area.

■ **Advance the women, peace and security agenda:** New avenues for research, policy and programming on masculinities should be pursued in addition to, and not at the expense of, increasing resources and political will to implement commitments under the women, peace and security agenda, including the seven UNSCRs, Beijing Platform for Action commitments on women and armed conflict, and Article 30 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). These two areas of work cannot be understood or pursued in isolation from one another. Efforts to promote and realise women's rights and efforts to break the links between gender norms and violence can and should be mutually reinforcing. All programmes to promote non-violent masculinities in order to advance conflict prevention objectives should consider the impact on women's rights of challenging norms of masculinity, and aim to promote gender equality. In practice, this may be a matter of integrating components on conflict and security into existing programmes which engage with men and boys to promote gender equality.

Annex 1: List of projects reviewed

Abatangamuco

Association of Men Against Violence – Community Intervention Strategy

CARE International – Young Men Initiative

Centre for Popular Education and Communications (Cantera) – Masculinities programme

EngenderHealth – Men as Partners programme

Instituto Promundo, ECOS, Instituto PAPAI, and Salud y Género – Program H
(Working With Young Men Series)

MenEngage Alliance

Nicaraguan Masculinities Network for Gender Equality (REDMAS)

Instituto Promundo, Sonke Gender Justice Network and the MenEngage Alliance –
MenCare campaign

Puntos de Encuentro – Violence Against Women – A Disaster That Men Can Prevent

Puntos de Encuentro – We're Different, We're Equal

Rozan – Humaqadam

Rozan – Rabta Police Programme

Sonke Gender Justice Network – One Man Can

South Asian Network to Address Masculinities (SANAM)

UNDP, UNFPA, UN Women and UNV – Partners for Prevention

White Ribbon Campaign

Women Peacemakers Program – Overcoming Violence: Exploring Masculinities, Violence
and Peacebuilding

Bibliography

Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (2013), 'Northern Uganda conflict analysis'

Amuyunzu-Nyamongo M, Francis P (2006), 'Collapsing livelihoods and the crisis of masculinity in rural Kenya' in Bannon I, Correia M (eds), *The Other Half of Gender* (Washington DC: World Bank)

Anderlini S (2006), 'Mainstreaming gender in conflict analysis: Issues and recommendations', Social Development Paper No. 33 (Washington DC: World Bank)

Barker G, Ricardo C (2006), 'Young men and the construction of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict and violence' in Bannon I, Correira M (eds), *The Other Half of Gender* (Washington DC: World Bank)

Barker G, Ricardo C, Nascimento M (2007), 'Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions' (Geneva: Instituto Promundo and World Health Organization)

Barrett F (1996), 'The organizational construction of hegemonic masculinity: The case of the US Navy' in *Gender, Work and Organization* **3** (3) (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers)

Bhattacharyya G (2008), *Dangerous Brown Men: Exploiting Sex, Violence and Feminism in the War on Terror* (London: Zed Books)

Bouta T, Frerks G, Bannon I (2005), *Gender, Conflict and Development* (Washington: World Bank)

Bracewell W (2000), 'Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian nationalism' in *Nations and Nationalism* **6** (4), (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell)

Caprioli M (2000), 'Gendered conflict' in Journal of Peace Research **37** (1), (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo)

Caprioli M (2005), 'Primed for violence: the role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict' in *International Studies Quarterly* **49** (2), (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell)

Care International and International Center for Research on Women (2007), 'Exploring dimensions of masculinities and violence'

Carpenter, R (2006), 'Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations' in *Security Dialogue* **37** (California: Sage Publications)

Cockburn C (2010), 'Militarism, masculinity and men', talk delivered to the Annual General Meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 20 March 2010, accessed at www.womeninblack.org/files/WILPFAGM2010.pdf

Cockburn C (2013), 'War and security, women and gender: an overview of the issues' in *Gender and Development* **21** (3) (Oxford: Oxfam and Routledge)

Colvin C, Human O, Peacock D (2009), 'Report on formative research conducted for Sonke Gender Justice Network's "One Man Can" campaign', Sonke Gender Justice Network.

Connell R (1995), *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

Connell R (2002), 'Masculinities, the reduction of violence and the pursuit of peace' in Cockburn C, Zarkov D (eds), The Postwar Moment: *Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping* (London: Lawrence and Wishart)

Connell R (2011), 'Organized powers: Masculinities, managers and violence' in Cornwall A, Edstrom J, Greig A (eds), *Men and development: Politicising Masculinities* (London: Zed Books)

De Boodt K (2009), 'Final evaluation Abatangamuco December 2009', accessed at http://gender. care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/Final_Report_Evaluation_Abatangamuco_12.02.10. rtf/177932437/Final_Report_Evaluation_Abatangamuco_12.02.10.rtf

Dolan C (2003), 'Collapsing masculinities and weak states – a case study of Northern Uganda' in Cleaver F (ed), *Making Men Matter: Men, Masculinities and Gender Relations in Development*, (London: Zed Books)

Dolan C (2011), 'Militarised, religious and neo-colonial: The triple bind confronting men in contemporary Uganda' in Cornwall A, Edstrom J, Greig A (eds), *Men and development: Politicising Masculinities* (London: Zed Books)

Enloe C (1983), *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives* (London: Pluto Press)

Enloe C (1989), *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press)

Enloe C (2007), *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link* (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield)

Esplen E (2006), 'Engaging men in gender equality: positive strategies and approaches' (Brighton: Bridge/Institute of Development Studies)

Goldstein J (2001), *War and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Greig A, Edström J (2012), 'Mobilising Men in Practice: Challenging sexual and gender-based violence in institutional settings' (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies)

Institute for Economics and Peace (2011), 'Structures of peace'

Instituto Promundo (2002), 'Working with Young Men series'

International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (2014), 'State-sponsored homophobia: A world survey of laws: Criminalisation, protection and recognition of same-sex love'

International Rescue Committee (2013), 'Introductory guide: Preventing violence against women and girls: Engaging men through accountable practice'

International Rescue Committee (2014), 'Transforming gender biases to reduce violence against women'

Kaufman M (2003), 'The AIM framework', UNICEF

Large J (1997), 'Disintegration conflicts and restructuring of masculinity' in *Gender and Development* **5** (2) (Oxford: Oxfam and Routledge)

Lwambo D (2013), "Before the war, I was a man": Men and masculinities in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo' in *Gender and Development* **21** (1) (Oxford: Oxfam and Routledge)

McAslan Fraser E (2012), 'Helpdesk research report: Economic empowerment and violence against women and girls', (Governance and Social Development Resource Centre)

Melander E (2005), 'Gender equality and intrastate armed conflict' in *International Studies Quarterly* **49** (4) (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell)

Mkutu K (2008), 'Uganda: Pastoral conflict and gender relations' in *Review of African Political Economy* **116** (London: Taylor and Francis)

Morgan D (1994), 'Theater of war: Combat, the military, and masculinities' in Brod H, Kaufman M, *Theorizing Masculinities*, (California: Sage Publications)

Moser A (2007) 'The peace and conflict gender analysis: UNIFEM's research in the Solomon Islands', *Gender and Development* **15** (2) (Oxford: Oxfam and Routledge)

Munn J (2008), 'National myths and the creation of heroes' in Parpart J, Zalewski M, *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations* (London: Zed Books)

Najcevska M (2000), 'Education, masculinity and violence' in Breines I, Connell R, Eide I, *Male roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective* (Paris: UNESCO)

Ní Aoláin F (2009), 'Women, security, and the patriarchy of internationalized transitional justice' in *Human Rights Quarterly* **31** (4) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press)

Oxfam (2013), 'Challenges to security, livelihoods and gender justice in South Sudan'

Oxfam (2013), 'Masculinities: Understanding the impact of war on men and gender relations in South Sudan, Somalia and DRC' (unpublished)

Oxford Research Group (2013), 'Stolen futures: the hidden toll of child casualties in Syria'

Patinkin J (2014), 'Young men and guns: Why South Sudan's war flamed so fast and brightly' in *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 March, accessed at www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2014/ 0319/Young-men-and-guns-Why-South-Sudan-s-war-flamed-so-fast-and-brightly-video

Peace Research Institute Oslo (2009), 'Armed conflict deaths disaggregated by gender'

Pulerwitz J, Barker G, Segundo M, Nascimento M (2006), 'Promoting more gender-equitable norms and behaviors among young men as an HIV/AIDS prevention strategy' (Washington DC: Population Council)

Quisumbing L (2000), 'Valued education towards a culture of peace' in Breines I, Connell R, Eide I, *Male roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective* (Paris: UNESCO)

REDMAS (Nicaraguan Masculinities Network for Gender Equality) (2008), 'Promoviendo procesos de sensibilización y capacitación en género y masculinidad con niñez, adolescencia y juventud'

Ricardo C, Nascimento M, Fonseca V, Segundo M (2010), 'Program H and Program M: Engaging young men and empowering young women to promote gender equality and health' (Washington DC: Pan American Health Organization and Instituto Promundo)

Richmond M, Krause-Jackson F (2011), 'Cows-for-Bride inflation spurs cattle theft in South Sudan', Bloomberg News, 26 July, accessed at www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-07-26/cows-forbride-inflation-spurs-cattle-theft-among-mundari-in-south-sudan.html

Rift Valley Institute (2013), 'A war on men? The enduring consequences of war and conflict on Somalia men'

Rozan (2011), 'Promising practice case study: Rabta Police Training Programme (Pakistan)'

Rozan (2012), 'Evaluation study: Working with men and boys on prevention of GBV'

Saferworld (2010), 'Karamoja conflict and security assessment'

Saferworld (2010), 'Common ground? Gendered assessment of the needs and concerns of Maoist army combatants for rehabilitation and integration'

Saferworld (2014), '"How can you be a marda if you beat your wife?" Notions of masculinities and violence in Eastern Nepal'

Saferworld and Conciliation Resources (2012), 'People's peacemaking perspectives: South Sudan'

Sedra M (2002), 'Challenging the warlord culture: Security sector reform in post-Taliban Afghanistan', (Bonn: Bonn International Center for Conversion)

Sharoni S (1995), *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women's Resistance* (New York: Syracuse University Press)

Slapsak S (2000), 'Hunting, ruling, sacrificing: traditional male practices in contemporary Balkan cultures' in Breines I, Connell R, Eide I, *Male roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective* (Paris: UNESCO)

Small Arms Survey (2010), 'Symptoms and causes: insecurity and underdevelopment in Eastern Equatoria'

Sonke Gender Justice Network, 'Sonke's One Man Can campaign support peacebuilding and gender equality in Sudan' accessed at www.genderjustice.org.za/case-studies/one-man-can-supports-peacebuilding-and-gender-equality-in-sudan.html

Swisspeace Center for Peacebuilding (KOFF) (2012), 'Gender analysis of conflict' handout

Theidon K (2009), 'Reconstructing masculinities: The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants in Colombia' in *Human Rights Quarterly* **31** (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press)

Tõnisson Kleppe T (2008), 'Gender training for security sector personnel – good practices and lessons learned' in Bastick M, Valasek K (eds), *Gender and security sector reform toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR)

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2014), 'Chair's summary – Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict'

UK Government (2014), UK National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2014–2017

United Nations (2006), *Integrated disarmament, demobilization and reintegration standards*

United Nations Development Programme (2006), 'Can conflict analysis processes support gendered visions of peace building? Reflections from the peace and stability development analysis in Fiji'

United Nations Development Programme (2007), 'Working guidelines: gender and conflict-related development analysis (CDA)', unpublished document

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013), *Global study on homicide*

United Nations Secretary-General (2012), 'Prevention of violence against women and girls: Report of the Secretary-General', UN Economic and Social Council E/CN.6/2013/4

United Nations Security Council (2000), 'Resolution 1325', S/RES/1325

United Nations Security Council (2008), 'Resolution 1820', S/RES/1820

United Nations Security Council (2009), 'Resolution 1889', S/RES/1889

UN Women (2012), 'Gender and Conflict Analysis'

UNIFEM (2005), 'The Ferghana Valley: Current challenges'

United States Institute of Peace (2011), 'Dowry and division: youth and state building in South Sudan'

Valasek K (2008), 'Security sector reform and gender' in Bastick M, Valasek K (eds), *Gender and security sector reform toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR)

Wallacher H (2012), 'The Abatangamuco: Engaging men for women's empowerment in Burundi' (Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo)

Welsh P (2001), *Men Aren't from Mars: Unlearning Machismo in Nicaragua* (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations)

Welsh P (2011), 'Swimming against the tide is easier as a shoal: changing masculinities in Nicaragua: a community based approach' in *Men and development: politicising masculinities* (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex and ZED Books)

Whitworth S (2008), 'Militarized masculinity and post-traumatic stress disorder' in Parpart J, Zalewski M (eds), *Rethinking the man question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations* (London: Zed Books)

Women Peacemakers Program (2010), 'Together for transformation: Men, masculinities and peacebuilding'

Women Peacemakers Program (2013), 'Men and women working as partners for gender-sensitive active non-violence'

Young Men Initiative, CARE International and Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2012), 'The Young Men Initiative – a case study 2012: Engaging young men in the Western Balkans in gender equality and violence prevention'

Saferworld is an independent international organisation working to prevent violent conflict and build safer lives. We work with local people affected by conflict to improve their safety and sense of security, and conduct wider research and analysis. We use this evidence and learning to improve local, national and international policies and practices that can help build lasting peace. Our priority is people – we believe that everyone should be able to lead peaceful, fulfilling lives, free from insecurity and violent conflict.

COVER PHOTO: As the curfew is lifted for a few hours, an Israeli soldier hands back a toy soldier and gun to a Palestinian boy at a checkpoint in the West Bank city of Hebron, 17 January 2003. © NAYEF HASLAMOUN/REUTERS

SAFERWORLD