
UN Women
In cooperation with
ESCAP, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF and WHO
Expert Group Meeting
Prevention of violence against women and girls

Bangkok, Thailand
17-20 September 2012

**Working with men and boys to promote gender equality:
A review of the field and emerging approaches.**

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Context

In spite of tremendous progress toward including gender equality as a global goal – included in numerous UN conventions and the Millennium Development Goals – much progress remains to be made. Indeed, gender inequality continues to undermine democracy, impede development and compromise people's lives in dramatic and devastating ways.

Across much of the world, rigid gender norms, and harmful perceptions of what it means to be a man or a woman, encourage men to engage in high risk behaviors, condone violence against women, grant men the power to initiate and dictate the terms of sex, and make it difficult for women to protect themselves from either HIV or violence and to seek health services. Indeed, a growing body of research shows that these gender roles contribute to gender-based violence, alcohol, and drug abuse and exacerbate the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS.

Globally, women and girls continue to carry out the majority of domestic activities, two to ten times more than men depending on the country - even though women now represent 40% of the paid work force worldwide. Men's limited participation in care work continues to be a major barrier to gender equality and women's empowerment by keeping women's income lower than men's.

* The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the United Nations

Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey, the largest ever comprehensive survey of men's attitudes and practices, finds men's reports of having used *physical intimate partner violence (IPV)* ranging from 25 percent to 40 percent with women in the same settings reporting slightly higher rates of having experienced violence from a male partner. Factors associated with men's use of violence were rigid gender attitudes, work stress, experiences of violence in childhood and alcohol use. Men's reports of perpetration of sexual violence against women and girls ranged from 6 percent to 29 percent: in India and Mexico, the majority of violence against a wife or girlfriend. In a multivariate analysis of the IMAGES data, the single strongest factor across countries of men's use of IPV was having witnessed violence during childhood against their mother.

IMAGES results confirmed a strong association in all countries between witnessing violence within the household of origin during childhood and IPV during adulthood, which also is consistent with previous research. This is the only variable that presents a statistically significant association in all countries, both during lifetime and in the last 12 months.

The data suggests that a combination of social norms supportive of men's domination over women; economic stress; use of alcohol as a trigger; and, strongest of all of them, having internalized or been traumatized by witnessing such violence, are factors that contribute to individual men's use of violence. IMAGES data from the post-conflict settings of Rwanda and Bosnia found that men who reported being affected by conflict (displacement, wounded, witnessed violence) were more likely to report lifetime use of IPV suggesting again a cumulative effect of trauma and the creation of a sense that violence – and IPV – is normal.

The WHO multi-country study (García-Moreno, et al., 2005) found that women's lifetime reports of physical intimate partner violence (IPV) were between 10 percent and 70 percent among the 10 countries studied. In IMAGES, IPV was measured using a slightly modified version of the WHO methodology. Men were asked about particular types of physically violent acts perpetrated against their female partners, and women were asked about their experiences of the same forms of violence.

In terms of factors associated with men's reports of sexual violence, IMAGES data indicates that holding gender-inequitable attitudes and witnessing violence within the household during childhood are the two variables that present a clear pattern in all countries. As in the case of IPV, men who showed more gender-equitable attitudes were less likely to perpetrate sexual violence. Men who witnessed violence during childhood were more prone to use sexual violence. Alcohol abuse was significantly associated with men's reports of sexual violence in Chile, Croatia and Mexico.

Research has found that incidents of rape are often more common in settings where social norms condone or ignore men's sexually coercive or aggressive behaviors (Katz 2006; Schwartz and DeKeseredy 2008 in Langrinsin 2011) including, for example, "by maintaining power structures and practices that have the effect of blaming victims, rather than holding perpetrators accountable, such cultures tacitly support perpetrators and their crimes" (Ahrens 2006 in Langrinsin 2011). At the individual level, research has found that the extent to which men internalize/adhere to rigid or negative norms about gender and sexuality may influence their own behaviors (Murnen et al. 2002, Sugarman and Frankel 1996, Schumacher et al. 2001, Stith et al. 2004 in Flood ND). In a survey carried out in Rio

de Janeiro, Brazil, men who were more equitable in their gender attitudes also reported lower rates of violence against women than men who were inequitable (ICRW & Promundo 2011; Barker 2005). Another key cause seems to be experiences of violence in childhood. Multiple studies have suggested that boys who experience sexual violence in childhood are themselves more likely to perpetrate sexual violence later in life, as are boys who experience other forms of violence as children (ICRW & Promundo 2011, Jewkes et al. 2006, Contreras 2011).

In countries where rape perpetration has been most studied, the majority of men who will rape will do so for the first time in their teenage years. Available data (mainly from North America) indicate that a significant proportion of male sex offenses are committed by persons under age 18 and that approximately 75 percent of adult male sex offenders report that their first sexual offense occurred during adolescence (White; Jewkes). Additionally, many men who rape will do so more than once in their lives. A study with university male students in the USA found that the “strongest predictor of sexual coercion was past sexual coercion, and men who had been sexually coerced at the first assessment were nearly eight times as likely as those who had not been sexually coerced to show recidivist behavior during the 1-year interval until the second assessment” (Hall 2006). The key challenge in primary rape prevention, therefore, is to intervene before the first perpetration of rape or sexual violence, and to reach boys and young men when their attitudes and beliefs about gender stereotypes and sexuality are developing.

While never minimizing individual responsibility for men’s use of violence against women and girls, the evidence base suggests that the strongest factors in men’s use of VAW is early exposure to violence (including experiencing violence), all of which suggests that engaging men and boys to end VAW requires attention to the ways that boys and men experience and witness violence as children and in other settings, and to identify ways that primary prevention can break cycles of violence by interrupting violence as experienced and witnessed by boys.

Engaging men as part of the solution

The scale of men’s violence against women is enormous and its impact devastating. Across the world, women’s rights activists have succeeded in getting their governments to enact laws and policies to criminalise it. Due to their efforts, the UN and its member states now have an extensive set of commitments and corresponding policy architecture to encourage member states to action to address and prevent gender based violence. Over the last two decades or so these efforts have been augmented by an additional focus on engaging men and boys as potential allies and proponents for gender transformation.

These efforts to engage men and boys as part of the solution recognise that men also have many strong motivations for ending men’s violence against women and promoting gender equality. Firstly, as Jackson Katz writes, “Many men have suffered directly as a result of violence done to them or to their female loved ones. Consider boys whose mothers have been murdered, or fathers whose daughters have been raped, or male partners of women who have been sexually harassed in the workplace” (Katz, 2003). Secondly, rigid norms related to gender and power differentials between groups of men, mean that many men also feel pressure to prove their manhood by using violence against other men such that the leading cause of death for young men worldwide is violence perpetrated by other men. Thirdly, pervasive domestic and sexual violence casts all men as potential perpetrators and infuses

fear and distrust into men's daily interactions with women. Of course, it is also in men's interest to change because relationships based on equality and mutual respect are far more satisfying than those based on fear and domination.

Principles informing gender equality work with men and boys: We argue here, drawing extensively on arguments we made with colleagues in a WHO policy brief published in 2010ⁱ, that efforts to engage men and boys in achieving gender equality should be informed by a clear set of principles and offer the following:

a) Frame policy and programming with men within an agenda that promotes human rights and social justice, including women's rights

Policy on men and gender must:

- 1) promote human rights, including the rights of women and girls;
- 2) Remain accountable to and in dialogue with women's rights movements and organisations;
- 3) enhance boys' and men's lives;
- 4) be inclusive of and responsive to diversities among men;
- 5) address the social and structural determinants of gender inequalities and health inequities

These four interrelated commitments should guide the positive engagement of men in gender equality and health equity work.ⁱⁱ

First, policy and programme approaches to involving men in achieving gender equality must be framed within a human and women's rights agenda and be intended to further women's and men's full access to and enjoyment of their human rights. They must be guided by the primary goal of furthering gender equality. Gender equality work with men should seek to challenge those aspects of men's behaviour, constructions of masculinity, and gender relations that harm women. They should encourage men to develop respectful, trusting and egalitarian relations with women and with other men, and to promote positive constructions of masculinity or selfhood. Care must be taken to ensure that engaging men for gender equality does not detract from efforts to empower women and is supportive of and furthers progress towards strengthening the commitment of national justice systems to end gender based violence.

Second, organisations working with men to prevent gender based violence and promote gender transformation should be developed and implemented in ongoing consultation with groups working to promote and protect women's rights. This might include board positions for women's rights organisations or requesting women's rights organisations to inform strategic planning processes, for instance.

Third, policies and programmes must also be committed to enhancing boys' and men's lives. They should embody support for men's efforts to change positively and affirmation of positive and health-promoting formations of manhood, and in reducing the impact and harm of violence in men's lives.

Fourth, approaches to engaging men in gender equality work must be sensitive to diversities among men. Men have differing needs that must be taken into account in policy design.

Factors such as class and caste, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, literacy and age shape expressions of manhood, and produce differing experiences of power and marginalization for different groups of men.

Fifth, gender equality work with men should address the social and structural determinants of gender inequalities and health inequities. Changing the attitudes of individual men is not enough; policy and programming targeting men must also include understanding the social, economic and political forces constraining the health and well-being of many women and girls and men and boys – from migration and changing labour markets to climate-related social crises, as well as the social institutions where gender norms and power imbalances are constructed and reinforced. On this basis, work with men must draw attention to the need for a more just economic and social order.

A growing evidence base that work with men can bring about change in programme time

A growing body of research increasingly shows that well designed programmes can bring about significant changes in men's gender related attitudes and practices.

- In Brazil, for example, Instituto Promundo's intervention with young men promoting healthy relationships and HIV/STI prevention showed significant positive shifts in gender norms at both six months and 12 months.ⁱⁱⁱ
- Similarly, a study of nearly 150 Nicaraguan men who participated in workshops on masculinity and gender equity revealed significant positive attitudinal and behavioural changes according to both partner reports and self evaluations in a wide range of indicators including: use of psychological and physical violence, sexual relations, shared decision-making, paternal responsibility and domestic activities.^{iv}
- In the Stepping Stones initiative in South Africa, male participants reported having fewer partners, higher condom use, less transactional sex, less substance abuse and less perpetration of intimate partner violence.^v
- Also in South Africa, Sonke Gender Justice Network (Sonke) has demonstrated significant positive impact. In the weeks following participation in Sonke's One Man Can Campaign, 50% reported taking action to address acts of gender-based violence in their community, 25% of participants accessed HIV voluntary counselling and testing (VCT), and 61% reported increasing their use of condoms. More than 4 out of 5 participants also reported having subsequently talked with friends or family members about HIV and AIDS, gender and human rights^{vi}.

A 2007 WHO review of interventions with men in the areas of sexual and reproductive health, maternal and child health, gender-based violence, fatherhood and HIV/AIDS documents that such programmes, while generally of short duration and limited research, have brought about important changes in men's attitudes and behaviours.^{vii} Of the 57 studies included in the analysis: 24.5% were assessed as *effective* in leading to attitude or behaviour change; 38.5% were assessed as *promising*; and 36.8% were assessed as *unclear*. Programmes that were 'gender-transformative' – those that sought to transform gender roles and promote more gender-equitable relationships between men and women – were more

likely to be effective than programmes that were merely ‘gender-sensitive’ or ‘gender-neutral’.

This report identified the key features of successful interventions as follows:^{viii}

- use positive and affirmative messages;
- encourage men to reflect on the costs of hegemonic masculinity to men and women;
- evidence-based – use formative research, ongoing monitoring and evaluation;
- recognize that men are not homogenous and develop interventions that reflect men’s different life experiences;
- use an ecological approach that recognizes the range of factors shaping gender roles and relations;
- use a range of social change strategies – community education, community mobilization, media, policy development and advocacy for implementation.

These and other studies are increasingly affirming that engaging men and boys in well-designed programs, that include men, women, girls and boys as partners as well as beneficiaries, can be effective in leading to improved outcomes and better gender equality.

Global Commitments to engaging men and boys for gender equality

The gradual growth and strengthened sophistication of gender equality work with men is reflected in a growing number of UN commitments to engage men and boys to achieve gender equality. Relevant international commitments were made at or are embodied in the International Conference on Population and Development (1994),^{ix} the Programme of Action of the World Summit on Social Development (1995) and its review held in 2000,^x the Beijing Platform for Action (1995),^{xi} the twenty-sixth special session of the General Assembly on HIV/AIDS (2001),^{xii} the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women’s in 2004 and 2009, the Global Symposium on Engaging Men and Boys on Achieving Gender Equality in 2009^{xiii}, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) Action Framework on Women, Girls, Gender Equality and HIV (2009), and the UNAIDS Operational Plan for Action Framework (2009).

The language of more recent international commitments is noteworthy for its recognition of the role men and boys can play in bringing about gender equality and health equity. The 2009 CSW recognized “the capacity of men and boys in bringing about change in attitudes, relationships, and access to resources and decision making which are critical for the promotion of gender equality and the full enjoyment of all human rights by women”, and called for action to “ensure that men and boys, whose role is critical in achieving gender equality, are actively involved in policies and programmes that aim to involve the equal sharing of responsibilities...”.

Importantly, these international commitments both require policy makers in signatory countries to develop policies and programmes and provide civil society activists with leverage to demand rapid implementation.

An urgent need to increase the scale, sustainability and impact of work with men and boys

Despite this growing body of evidence showing that gender interventions can change men’s attitudes and practices, and despite many international commitments, the majority of

interventions with men and boys have until recently remained NGO led, small scale and short-term and have usually failed to reach significant numbers of men and boys. Government initiatives have often been ad-hoc, events driven and all too often poorly conceptualised. As a result, a range of efforts have been made to increase the scale, impact and sustainability of gender equality work with men and need to consistently apply the “good practices” listed above.

These efforts to strengthen the scale, impact and sustainability of gender equality work with men and boys have taken a number of forms, including: policy development and integration, political advocacy and community mobilisation, the use of mass media and organisational capacity building. Much of this work is still embryonic but it does provide useful ideas about how to significantly increase the impact of gender equality work with men and boys.

Legal and policy approaches to taking gender equality work with men to scale

In a number of countries, efforts have been made to take gender work with men to scale by integrating it within laws, policies and national plans. In South Africa, NGOs have worked together to ensure that the 2012-2016 National Strategic Plan on HIV and AIDS has strong commitments to engaging men and boys to address the gender inequalities and gender roles driving the spread of HIV. Building on this, the MenEngage Alliance has worked closely with the Athena Network and with UN partners to provide training and support to nearly 70 country teams on how to integrate GBV and masculinities work into their AIDS plans—and preliminary research shows that this has translated into new commitments to address GBV and involve men in a number of new national AIDS plans. Similarly, In Brazil, for example, NGOs have been involved in direct dialogue with the Ministry of Health to develop protocols for men’s health, and with Brazil’s National Congress about the possibility of increasing policies relating to paternity leave, as well as making GBV prevention with men and boys part of the national Women’s Policy Ministry.

Challenging backlash and increasing men’s support for gender equality laws and policies

Not surprisingly, given the enormous heterogeneity amongst men, men react in complex and uneven ways to national and international legal and policy efforts to advance gender equality. Research conducted by Sonke Gender Justice Network indicates that many men in South Africa perceive national efforts to advance women’s rights with great suspicion and sometimes as an attack on “men’s rights”^{xiv}. Similarly, emerging data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey shows that men’s reaction to gender equality legislation is often a mix of supportive, superficial, ambivalent, defensive and resistant. 87-90 percent of men surveyed for IMAGES said that, “men do not lose out when women’s rights are promoted.” However, when asked if they support quotas and other concrete affirmative action policies for women to increase their participation in politics, education and the workplace, men’s support dropped to the range of 40-74%.^{xv} In addition, men (regardless of whether they reported having used violence against a partner) were overwhelmingly against or opposed to current laws that make it illegal for men to use violence against a female partner, at rejection rates from 70% to above 90%.

At one level, men’s resistance to GBV laws is positive: it means that these laws have left men with the impression that they no longer have the impunity they once had for how they treat female partners. Actions and practices that men could at one point carry out with relative

confidence that no one would stop them can now be questioned. Men in the countries studied so far showed this opposition to gender-based violence (GBV) laws even though the number of men actually charged and held legally accountable for using violence against women in the six countries is minimal. However, at another level, this resistance sometimes represents real threats to women's rights and can increase men's use of violence against women. The threats this backlash represents to women's rights has led some NGOs working with men and boys to implement campaigns that aim to increase men's support for gender equality legislation and other efforts to advance gender transformation. In addition to evidence-based group education, these organisations now also focus on educating men about the ways in which gender equality laws and policies are not anti-male and should be supported by men:

- In collaboration with women's rights organizations, Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW) based in Lucknow, India, coordinated the 2007 *Ab To Jaago!* (Wake Up Now!) Campaign in 41 districts across the State, and provided rights-based education about the provisions of the 2005 Domestic Violence Act to ensure that men and women alike understood the act and that men saw it as advancing human rights rather than as an attack on men. In addition, MASVAW's many chapters staffed by rural and urban men convened tribunals to maintain pressure on the government for full implementation of the Domestic Violence Act^{xvi}.
- Similarly, the Sierra Leone's Men's Association for Gender Equality united with a coalition of civil society organisations, known as the Task Force, to lobby for three new laws known as 'The Gender Acts'.¹ They have used various creative communication and media tactics to popularize the Gender Acts across the country and worked with traditional and religious leaders who have often opposed gender transformation^{xvii}.
- In South Africa, Sonke Gender Justice has worked closely with women's rights organisations through the Shukumisa Campaign to educate men about how they can support survivors to access the provisions of South Africa's revised 2007 Sexual Offences Act and has conducted research to monitor whether police stations comply with the regulations laid out in the law.

Political advocacy

In addition to this work to support implementation of gender equality laws, some organisations working with men and boys have engaged in political advocacy and activism to challenge the political backlash that all too often occurs when men feel their privileges are being challenged. In South Africa, Sonke has used high profile political advocacy to directly confront men in public office when they have made statements that contradicted the values articulated in national laws or in the South African Constitution. Sonke has issued many press statements and organized demonstrations to condemn public officials, including the speaker of parliament and the President, for sexist statements or for statements that contribute to violence against women. Sonke played an active role in challenging, albeit unsuccessfully, the nomination to the position of Chief Justice of a man whose prior rulings on gender based violence were deeply problematic^{xviii}. Similarly, the organisation successfully litigated against a prominent youth leader in the Equality Court for comments which were ruled

¹ These were the Domestic Violence Act, the Devolution of Estates Act and the Registration of Marriage and Divorce Act. The Acts were expected to provide protection for woman and address men's behavior toward women.

discriminatory against women, leading to a public retraction and apology. In addition to forcing a public apology and putting male public officials on alert that they would be challenged by other men if they undermined gender equality, this political and legal advocacy led to widespread media coverage with hundreds of radio and television interviews generating a national conversation about the roles and responsibilities of male political leaders^{xix}. In so doing, men of all walks of life were encouraged to think about their own gender related attitudes and practices and how they might speak out against gender discrimination^{xx}.

New directions in the evolution of work with men for gender equality

IMAGES results affirmed a generational shift: younger men and men with higher levels of education (completed secondary education and above) showed more support for gender equality, less use of violence and higher rates of participation in care work. And finally, the IMAGES data suggest that advocacy efforts so far have largely failed to reach out to the men who already see that gender equality makes sense and are living it and who could, if encouraged in appropriate ways, become more visible spokespersons to other men of the benefits of gender equality. IMAGES data also found that men who support gender equality or have more equitable attitudes are more likely to report life satisfaction. In other words, men who believe in and live equality are for the most part happier men. And, not surprisingly, women are happier with them. Results from several countries found that when men did a greater share of care work, women reported that they were happier overall with their relationships. Rather than seeing “change” as something that must be forced on men, these data suggest that many men are living relationships with some degree of equality and without violence and that their lives and life histories need to be made visible and serve as a source of prevention.

All of these findings confirm: (1) the importance of engaging men as full partners in gender equality and including messaging directed specifically at men; (2) reaching out to men on themes such as fatherhood and caregiving in addition to and as part of work in HIV and GBV prevention and realization of sexual and reproductive rights and health (SRRH); and (3) building on and speeding up the generational shift that is already happening in some settings by targeting more work toward young men and boys.

Some new and less developed potential interventions to engage men and boys in VAW prevention warrant the investment of resources and support, including operations research:

Addressing exposure to violence, especially domestic violence

Research indicates that boys who grow up exposed to domestic violence are at far greater risk of perpetrating domestic violence later in life than those who did not. Despite this, very few children exposed to violence have access to ameliorative psychosocial support; such services are seldom available in schools or in communities. The effectiveness of such programs has seldom been evaluated and seldom implemented in large ways, but a large scale effort, called Expect Respect, implemented with the Austin public school in the US is currently being carried out by the CDC. There is good reason to believe that such efforts could decrease men’s use of domestic violence.

Decreasing alcohol consumption is an important policy option for potentially reducing men’s use of violence against women and decreasing other high-risk behaviours, including

those related to the spread of HIV. Across the world, men are likely to drink more heavily than women and more likely to be habitually heavy drinkers^{xxi}, in part because of the strong association, fostered by the alcohol and advertising industries, between alcohol consumption and manhood^{xxii}. While alcohol abuse does not cause men's violence against women, it can be a contributing factor. Indeed, alcohol consumption and over-consumption are associated with harmful behaviours including domestic violence, unsafe sex and road traffic accidents.^{xxiii} A range of policies have demonstrated success in reducing harmful drinking, including alcohol taxes;^{xxiv} raising the minimum legal drinking age;^{xxv} reducing legal blood alcohol concentration limits for drivers; installing breath-testing checkpoints; banning alcohol advertising;^{xxvi} reducing the availability of alcohol;^{xxvii} training those who serve alcoholic drinks to detect and manage excessive alcohol use;^{xxviii} and community mobilization to educate the broader community about the health consequences of alcohol, and to demand that local authorities and government implement liquor laws and policies^{xxix}, as well as efforts to shift gender norms that encourage men in particular to take risks with their health.^{xxx}

Restricting access to guns

Another important example of efforts to change men's violent behaviour concerns guns. Internationally, small arms and light weapons play significant roles in maintaining and reinforcing gender-specific imbalances of violence and power between women and men.^{xxxi} Gun use is dominated by men, and men's gun violence in a wide variety of contexts is sustained by widespread cultural constructions of masculinity as aggressive, cultures in which guns are symbols of male status and the means to manhood, and male-dominated nation states and militarism.^{xxxii} Across the world, guns dramatically increase the lethality of men's violence against both women and other men.^{xxxiii} Decreasing access to small arms and light weapons is an important strategy for decreasing men's use of violence, including against women. As part of this, strategies for gun control and disarmament must 'demobilize' the militarized and violent conceptions of masculinity that sustain arms violence and undermine weapons collection processes.^{xxxiv}

Engaging men via women's economic empowerment, with an impact evaluation currently underway in Tanzania building on the IMAGE study in South Africa, and a recent operations research carried out by CARE-Rwanda and Promundo in Rwanda affirming men's interest in being partners and showing changes in couple conflict as a result of efforts to engage them to support women's economic empowerment. Given that such programs reach between 100-125 million individuals worldwide, more than 90% women, they could be a tremendous point of entry for engaging men. The recent operations research project carried out in Rwanda with CARE-Rwanda and Promundo using a control group (of a community savings club focusing on women with no deliberate inclusion of husbands/partners) and an experimental group in which husbands/partners participated in a combination of men-only groups and couple groups, found that engaging men led to: (1) more equitable household decision making; (2) increased couple communication and decreased couple conflict; and (3) higher income gains for families. While the sample was too small to measure differences in IPV, qualitative findings suggest that greater participation by men in care work and greater couple communication was also witnessed by children and was much more prevalent in the intervention group when men were included than the control group that focused only on women.

Engaging men as fathers

The IMAGES data cited extensively above also found that between half and 80% of men have seen some campaign on gender-based violence at least vaguely targeting them as men. But only 12% to 23% of men in the six countries where IMAGES was carried out have ever seen a campaign about fatherhood and men's roles as fathers, in spite of the fact that some 80% of the world's adult men will be or are fathers. This data suggests that men might be more inclined to support gender equality policies if those policies were more integrated – that is including violence, but including other themes as well – and if they perceive gender equality policies as good for them as well. To capitalize on the concern many men express for the wellbeing of their children, Promundo and Sonke recently launched the global MenCare campaign in collaboration with the MenEngage Alliance to encourage men to become more active in the lives of their children, including by establishing respectful, egalitarian relationships with the mothers of their children (see www.men-care.org for additional information on the campaign).

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^{iv} Welsh, P. *Men aren't from Mars: unlearning machismo in Nicaragua*. London, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 2001:38–48.

^v Jewkes R, Wood K, Duvvury N. 'I woke up after I joined Stepping Stones': meanings of a HIV behavioural intervention in rural South African young people's lives. *Social Science & Medicine* (submitted); Jewkes R et al. Impact of Stepping Stones on HIV, HSV-2 and sexual behaviour in rural South Africa: cluster randomized controlled trial. *BMJ* (submitted).

^{vi} 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.

^{vii} *Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: evidence from programme interventions*. Geneva, World Health Organization, 2007.

^{viii} Ibid.

^{ix} See paragraphs 4.11, 4.24, 4.25, 4.26, 4.27, 4.28, 4.29, 5.4, 7.8, 7.37, 7.41, 8.22, 11.16, 12.10, 12.13 and 12.14 of the Cairo Programme of Action, and paragraphs 47, 50, 52, and 62 of the outcome of the twenty-first special session of the General Assembly on Population and Development.

^x See paragraphs 7, 47 and 56 of the Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development, and paragraphs 15, 49, 56 and 80 of the outcome of the twenty-fourth special session of the General Assembly on Further Initiatives for Social Development.

^{xi} See paragraphs 1, 3, 40, 72, 83b, 107c, 108e, 120 and 179 of the Beijing Platform for Action.

^{xii} See paragraph 47 of the Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS: "Global Crisis – Global Action".

^{xiii} The Rio Declaration: Global Symposium on Engaging Men and Boys on Achieving Gender Equality. Rio de Janeiro, March 29 – April 3, 2009.

^{xiv} Dworkin, S. Colvin, C and Peacock, D Men's Perceptions of Women's Rights and Changing Gender Relations in South Africa: Lessons for Working with Men and Boys in HIV and Anti-Violence Programs. (forthcoming in *Journal of Gender and Society*, 2012).

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- ^{xix} See, for instance: <http://www.citizen.co.za/citizen/content/en/citizen/local-news?oid=204755&sn=Detail&pid=40&Juju%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98long-overdue%E2%80%99-apology-is-welcomed>.
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