MASCULINE NORMS AND VIOLENCE

MAKING THE CONNECTIONS

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About Promundo:

Founded in Brazil in 1997, Promundo works to promote gender equality and create a world free from violence by engaging men and boys in partnership with women and girls. Promundo is a global consortium with members in the United States, Brazil, Portugal, and Democratic Republic of the Congo that collaborate to achieve this mission by conducting cutting-edge research that builds the knowledge base on masculinities and gender equality; developing, evaluating, and scaling up high-impact gender-transformative interventions and programs; and carrying out national and international campaigns and advocacy initiatives to prevent violence and promote gender justice.

For more information, see: www.promundoglobal.org

About Oak Foundation:

Oak Foundation is family-led and reflects the vision and values of its founders. In all its work, Oak pursues rights-based approaches, gender equality, and partnership with the organizations it funds. The foundation supports civil society as a pillar of democracy and justice and nurtures innovation and visionary leadership within it. Oak values diversity both within the foundation and among its partners; it seeks to be inclusive, flexible, and engage with different points of view. Oak believes that the best grant-making reflects both careful due diligence and the willingness to take risks.

For more information, see: www.oakfnd.org

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WHY ARE WE TALKING ABOUT MANHOOD AND VIOLENCE?

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In recent years, the world has acquired a better understanding of violence than ever before in human history. Whether it is violence by men against women, or by parents and other adults against children, we now have globally valid, representative, comparative research across most of the world's countries. We know that about one in three women will experience or has experienced physical or sexual violence from a male partner or another man. And we know that about three-quarters of the world's children experience some form of violence *each year.*

Add data on homicide, war, suicide, and other forms of violence, and we have a clearer picture of what drives and sustains this violence now than in the past. One factor that becomes particularly clear is how gender enters the equation. Men are the predominant users of violence against women. Men are also the predominant authors of homicide and victims of it. Globally, men are two times more likely than women to commit suicide. Men are more likely to die as a direct result of conflict and to be soldiers or combatants in conflict. In terms of violence against children, while both boys and girls experience violence at relatively similar rates, forms of violence against children differ by gender. We know that patriarchal family structures, which give greater power and control to men, are at least part of what drive violence against women and children. To this picture, we could add school and mass shootings in the United States (and in the other countries and contexts where they happen, though at far lower rates), nearly 100% of which are carried out by men.

Despite these clear connections, there has been a relatively limited effort to bring a discussion about masculinity into these various fields of violence prevention, outside of academic research. Women's rights movements have been a major force for bringing gender into the discussions of violence against women and violence against children, and for making gender equality and women's empowerment a key part of the solution to preventing violence against women. However, masculinity and its connection to violence has often been less well understood and less thoroughly applied to our program and policy efforts.

Oak Foundation and Promundo embarked on this effort to ask the question: *How do norms of manhood link with the use and experience of violence, and what do these linkages imply for programmatic efforts to prevent violence?* This report aims to synthesize the major findings and connections that exist in the body of research on violence and offer initial ideas on how some harmful, patriarchal ideas, norms, and socialization about manhood drive violence, in interaction with many other contextual

and individual factors. Manhood or masculinity alone is not the cause of violence, but the way we socialize boys to become men is clearly a factor.

We emphasize in this report that there is nothing inherent about being male that drives violence. Being biologically male is not the key cause of men's violence, and in fact, contributes little to understanding and preventing violence. Boys (and girls) are raised, taught, socialized, encouraged, traumatized into, and made to witness violence. They are not born to be violent. The research also clearly presents the extent to which men and women, and boys and girls, can and do resist violent ideas about manhood and resist violence every day.

Looking at global rates of violence by men against women, violent crime, war and conflict, and violence against children, it would be easy to conclude that humans, and men in particular, are naturally violent and that violence is inevitable. But our review of this research and the voices of the many partners who contributed to this report affirm this: Violence is preventable, gender equality is achievable, and nonviolent norms and ideas about manhood are prevalent and powerful; they simply need more attention in our programs and our research. Far from a pessimistic view of men and masculinity, our review of the research and programmatic approaches provides reason to hope that resistance and change can win.

Gary Barker, President and CEO, Promundo-US

Brigette De Lay, Director, Child Abuse Programme, Oak Foundation

MASCULINE NORMS AND VIOLENCE:
THE CONNECTIONS AT A GLANCE

Male identity and masculine norms are undeniably linked with violence, with men and boys disproportionately likely both to perpetrate violent crimes and to die by homicide and suicide. While biology may play a role in shaping a tendency toward certain forms of violence, the "nature" of men and boys is not the sole predictor of their violent behaviors or experiences. Rather, boys and men are often raised, socialized, and/or encouraged to be violent, depending on their social surroundings and life conditions.

Why is it that men and boys are disproportionately likely to perpetrate so many forms of violence, as well as to suffer certain forms of violence? To add a new dimension to the complex answer, this report explores "masculine norms" – messages, stereotypes, and social instructions related to manhood that supersede and interact with being born male or identifying as a man – as crucial factors driving men's violence. It combines a review of academic and grey literature with program evidence and input from expert reviewers across several fields of violence prevention, making the connections between harmful masculine norms and eight forms of violent behavior:

- Intimate partner violence

- Physical violence against children (by parents or caregivers)

- Child sexual abuse and exploitation

- Bullying

- Homicide and other violent crime

- Non-partner sexual violence

- Suicide

- Conflict and war

This report is not intended to be an exhaustive review of the evidence. Rather, it is an introductory-level analysis of key research findings on the links between harmful masculine norms and violent behaviors, as well as a contribution to an ongoing conversation on how to disassociate masculine norms from violence. While this report focuses on how violence is often generated as part of male socialization, it also seeks to present examples and research on men and boys' resistance to harmful masculine norms and violence.

Harmful Masculine Norms: What Are They and How Do They Work?

The report rests on five processes, central to gender theory, by which masculine norms shape the likelihood of men and boys experiencing or perpetrating violence. These processes play a role in all eight forms of violence discussed in this report:

1. **Achieving socially recognized manhood:** Often at the core of masculine gendering is the demand that male-identifying persons must achieve and continually re-achieve their manhood.

2. **Policing masculine performance:** The process of withholding the social status of "being a man" is held in place by the continual policing of men and boys' performance of gender.

3. **"Gendering" the heart:** Around the world, men are typically encouraged to refrain from showing emotional vulnerability and monitored to show only a limited range of emotions.

4. **Dividing spaces and cultures by gender:** Ideas about manhood and womanhood are also created and reinforced by dividing up spaces into those that may be considered "male" or "female." Social spaces (and even "microcultures") associated with men often become places where violence is rehearsed and reinforced.

5. **Reinforcing patriarchal power:** Violence is ultimately about processes that serve to reinforce power structures that advantage all men over all women, as well as particular men over other men.

Making the Connections: Masculinities and Eight Forms of Violence

The eight forms of violence discussed below all have enormous global prevalence, are marked by disproportionate patterns related to gender, and are rooted in some part in masculine norms. While the full report presents global prevalence data in additional detail, this executive summary focuses specifically on the links between masculine norms and each form of violence.

1. INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Multiple studies confirm that rigid norms regarding gender, gender roles, family, and marriage – together with men's childhood experiences of violence – contribute to men's use of violence against female partners (Heise 2011; Moore and Stuart 2005; Levtov et al. 2014). When men believe that they are not – or are not perceived to be – "masculine enough," they may also use intimate partner violence as a way to overcompensate or conform with gendered expectations (Moore and Stuart 2005; Reidy et al. 2014).

Violence within the childhood home can contribute to children accepting violence as a "normal" part of intimate relationships, playing a role in the often-observed intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence (Heise 2011; Barker et al. 2011). As new research has explored, it is not only the acts of violence that are transmitted from one generation to the next, but also the patriarchal systemic hierarchy, reinforced through violence, in which women and children are subordinate to men (Namy et al. 2017). Transforming patriarchal, violent gender norms is essential to mitigate the influence of childhood experiences of violence and as an overall prevention strategy.

Additionally, the stress, challenges, and loss of masculine identity caused by various forms of social

oppression can multiply risk factors for both men's perpetration of intimate partner violence and women's victimization, as well as change the likelihood of women pursuing formal justice-system responses to this violence (Nash 2005).

2. PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN (BY PARENTS OR CAREGIVERS)

Violence against children includes a wide range of behaviors, from corporal punishment to more extreme manifestations of physical violence to acts of emotional abuse and neglect. It can be a mechanism by which parents police the gender performance of sons and daughters, among other uses.

Violence within the childhood home is a primary means by which children see, learn, and internalize the hierarchical power imbalances between and within genders. As decades of research into the intergenerational transmission of violence have demonstrated, children who witness or experience violence in the home are significantly more likely to perpetrate or experience domestic violence as adults, compared to those whose childhood homes were violence-free.

In interaction with the individual characteristics and life experiences of caregivers and children, three compelling factors underpin violence against children: (1) poverty and structural inequalities that shape care settings; (2) cultural and social norms related to child-rearing practices and the acceptability of corporal punishment and other forms of violence against children; and (3) gender norms and dynamics, specifically views that boys need be raised to be physically tough and emotionally stoic, while girls are seen as fragile, inferior, and/or subordinate to boys and men.

3. CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION

Given the preponderance of evidence that perpetration of child sexual abuse is a nearly exclusively male behavior, more research into gender norms and masculine norms as a root cause of this violence is needed. Much of the sexual-abuse literature, including multiple meta-analyses, points to "antisocial orientation" or "antisocial behavior" as a major predictor of sexual assault and of recidivism among prior offenders (Hanson and Morton-Bourgon 2005; Prentky, Knight, and Lee 1997). The markers of "antisocial orientation" sometimes – but not always – resemble the harmful masculine norms addressed in this report, suggesting that some of what scholars have labeled "antisocial" may in fact be at least partly socially created and reinforced. Patterns and perpetration of child sexual abuse present an important opportunity to apply a "gender lens," particularly a focus on harmful masculine norms, in future research.

In terms of child sexual exploitation, gender norms that associate manhood with heterosexual prowess and with access to, and control over, the bodies of women, girls, and boys contribute to male perpetration (ECPAT International 2013; Ricardo and Barker 2008). Trafficking of persons – and specifically the sexual exploitation of children – is also related to masculine norms. Additionally, any understanding of the root causes of child sexual exploitation must go beyond the individual trafficker or consumer of sex; wider social acceptability of trafficking and the objectification of bodies also plays a role.

4. BULLYING

Masculinities are often at the root of men's perpetration of bullying. In a 2017 study in the United States, United Kingdom, and Mexico, young men who held the most inequitable gender attitudes were significantly more likely to report both perpetrating and experiencing verbal, online, and physical bullying (Heilman, Barker, and Harrison 2017). Research suggests that bullying behaviors often share common root causes: the perpetrator's desire to demonstrate power and control over the victim and the use of bullying to enforce gender conformity. Additionally, bullying can provide a pathway to achieve or maintain social status within group settings such as schools and workplaces.

Children who are exposed to contexts and relationships with extensive conflict, hostility, and abuse are more

likely to perpetrate bullying, a finding similar to other forms of violence for which there is intergenerational transmission. Hostile family and educational environments have been consistently found to be risk factors for bullying. Additionally, physical location, social context, and age intersect with and normalize boys and men's perpetration of bullying. For instance, in school contexts, boys' physical aggression is often legitimized as "boys will be boys," whereas the same behavior by girls raises questions (Athanasiades and Deliyanni Kouimtzis 2010).

5. HOMICIDE AND OTHER VIOLENT CRIME

Men and boys often use crime in various ways to demonstrate or prove their achievement of a certain form of masculinity. Added to the fact that crime statistics consistently show that men disproportionately perpetrate violent crime and often target male victims, research points to an entrenched cycle of violence linked with masculine gender identity – that is, of men who perceive that they have few other ways than violent crime to "prove their manhood" (Crowther-Dowey and Silvestri 2017).

Men's disproportionate likelihood to perpetrate homicide and violent crime is not biologically driven. Rather, these patterns are overwhelmingly driven by masculine norms, social dynamics, and life conditions. Research strongly suggests that it takes systematic cruelty and inhumanity, often disseminated and exacerbated by the reification of harmful masculine norms, to create men who kill. Fighting with one another, or fighting with men or boys more marginalized than themselves, allows men to achieve multiple elements of a harmful definition of being a "real man" at once. Researchers have also studied how extreme trauma, humiliation, and shaming are nearly always part of the making of men who kill, as well as how the effects of particularly difficult childhoods and damaging relationships distort a human propensity not to kill other humans.

6. NON-PARTNER SEXUAL VIOLENCE

A 2012 synthesis of approximately 300 qualifying studies concluded that gender-inequitable masculinities, or inequitable gender norms, are among the top causal factors of rape perpetration (Jewkes 2012). Perpetration of sexual violence can serve as a tool for men and boys to prove their manhood, achieve the social status of a "real man," and establish power over others. Sexual violence can also be used as a tool to regulate the gender performance of women, girls, and other men and boys.

As with other forms of violence, being a victim of violence as a child is linked with a significantly higher likelihood of men's perpetration of sexual violence as adults (Heilman, Hebert, and Paul-Gera 2014). Global data also suggest complex, multidirectional relationships between educational achievement, income level, and sexual violence perpetration, making broad generalizations impossible. In some settings, male unemployment – a threat to men's social status and the hierarchy of power between men and women – may also lead to a rise in sexual harassment against women.

7. SUICIDE

Globally, men are almost twice as likely to die by suicide as women are (World Health Organization 2014b). Harmful gender norms likely lie at the root of suicidal ideation and suicide. Societies that "gender" the heart such that men are told to cut off their inner lives, to repress their emotions, and to be hard-shelled workers, protectors, and lone providers contribute to a crisis of connection among men. The act of suicide may also be constructed as a masculine or masculinized action, which may explain why men are more likely to use more immediately fatal means such as firearms when attempting suicide. Data show that men are more likely to complete a suicide than women are; suicide attempts that are not fatal may be construed as a call for help, a demonstration of emotional vulnerability that entails a loss of status, or loss of socially enforced "manhood," for men.

Research on the risk factors for suicide is limited and difficult to obtain, but data suggest these risk factors

include financial stress, mental health issues, alcohol abuse, and physical health issues associated with chronic pain. Other factors include stigma associated with help-seeking, trauma (sometimes related to war and conflict), and loss of livelihoods (World Health Organization, 2014b). Access to adequate healthcare, support services, and social support from family, friends, and neighbors is particularly essential in curbing men's suicidal ideation and behavior. Yet, "gendering" of the heart and men's cultivated emotional isolation often mean that men are unlikely to pursue formal healthcare or even to seek help and support from family and friends when they need it.

8. CONFLICT AND WAR

Men are disproportionately likely to die in armed conflict compared with women (Ormhaug, Meier, and Hernes 2009), and involvement in militaries or militias is also decidedly male. Young men's social exclusion, rather than their inherent nature or their number, may lead them to violent behavior, some scholars suggest. Research shows that some men partake in "destructive, and sometimes violent, illicit, or criminal behavior" out of an effort to achieve social recognition as a "real man" in cases of extreme social and economic exclusion (Bannon and Correia 2006). At the same time, states, militaries, and rebel groups exploit the gendered vulnerabilities of male youth to violent ends.

While there is a growing body of literature on conflict and gender, most analyses of conflict and war still do not consider (or may even take for granted) that war, conflict, and militaries are extremely male-gendered destructive forces (Jacobsen 2006). Military/militarized culture is rooted in a gendered hierarchy in which the masculine is valorized at the expense of the feminine. Additionally, objectification, dehumanization (including feminization of enemy combatants), and "othering" are central to creating male soldiers willing to kill.

Clearly, masculine norms are not the only factor driving war and conflict. Every conflict has its own specific

dynamics and historical context (Alison 2007). Specific factors across contexts, however, have been linked with the overwhelming male or masculine participation in conflict. These factors include economic frustration (drawing upon the social expectation that men be financial providers), early exposure to violence, traumatic indoctrination, and the myriad ways that militaries are overly glorified in a given setting, among others (Vess et al. 2013).

Recommendations

First and foremost, researchers, programmers, policymakers, donors, and others working to prevent and respond to violence around the world should more effectively incorporate an understanding of patriarchal power and harmful masculine norms into their work. Recommendations for improved future practice, drawing upon the insights in this report, include:

- Move beyond the notion that violence is natural and normal for men, and emphasize many men's – and women's – resistance to violence.

- Consider how masculine norms are reinforced and taught to children, along with how gender inequalities manifest in the lives of women and girls, and those of all gender identities.

- Include the voices, preferences, and experiences of survivors of violence in research, programs, and policy development.

- Fund, scale up, and build upon pioneering violence-prevention approaches that directly address gender (including masculine norms) and power.

- Challenge masculine norms directly in violence-prevention programming through gender-transformative approaches (those that deliberately seek to change social norms related to gender).

- Reduce barriers to help-seeking and health-seeking in response to experiences of trauma and violence for men and boys – and all other victims of violence – by working with social- and health-service providers, as well as by promoting self-care and help-seeking.

- Move beyond addressing only individual- or community-level changes in programming, and look to structural and political factors underlying – and even benefitting from – men's violence.

INTRODUCTION

Male identity and masculine norms are undeniably linked with violence. Men and boys are disproportionately likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence, sexual violence, homicide, and violent crime, and likewise disproportionately likely to die by homicide and suicide. These facts defy easy explanation. Why is it that so many forms of violence – whether self-directed, interpersonal, political, and/or carried out in public spaces – are predominantly perpetrated by men? Are men simply born more violent, carrying this tendency in their biology?

Biology is not the largest driver of men's violence. While evidence does suggest that biology may play a role in shaping a tendency toward certain forms of violence, the "nature" of men and boys is not the sole predictor of their violent behaviors or experiences. Rather, the links between male identity and violent actions are best explained by a complex web of intersecting elements, including biology alongside social conditions, life circumstances, childhood experiences, political economy, gender attitudes, and more. In sum, boys and men are often raised, socialized, and/or encouraged to be violent, depending on their social surroundings and life conditions.

This report explores "masculine norms" – messages, stereotypes, and social instructions related to manhood that supersede merely being born male or identifying as a man – as crucial factors driving men's violence. Specifically, this paper seeks to answer the following questions: What are the links between social messages about manhood and men's likelihood to perpetrate or experience violence? What implications do these links have for efforts to prevent, curtail, and mitigate the effects of men's violence?

This report combines a review of academic and grey literature with program evidence and input from expert reviewers across several fields of violence prevention to make the connections between harmful masculine norms and men's violence. It attempts to analyze patterns of violent behavior using a "gender lens," namely gendered socialization, gendered identities, and gender role performance, as well as the power dynamics and structural forces that lie beneath data on violence perpetration.

AN EXERCISE IN SIMULTANEOUS TRUTHS

The task of explaining the root causes of violent behavior is complex and contentious. It requires accepting multiple, simultaneous truths that may on the surface seem internally contradictory:

- There are strong links between norms about masculinity and violence, yet many men – the majority in some locations – do not use violence in any form.

- There are strong links between norms about masculinity and violence, yet all genders use violence.

This report does not posit that all men are violent, that masculinity or manhood is inherently violent, nor that women are incapable of perpetrating violence. Understanding the root causes of violence necessitates a rejection of simplistic, essentialist understandings of gender and violence. Instead, it requires recognizing a convergence of useful analytical approaches and an interplay of factors that predict and shape the use of violence, all within an understanding of how patriarchal power structures shape all interactions between men and women. At the same time, even as the report highlights the links between masculine norms and violence, it also affirms that men and boys can and do resist violence all the time, which we discuss in the box beginning on page 24, "Resistance, Resilience, and Aspiration."

THIS REPORT

IS

- **An introductory-level analysis of the links between harmful masculine norms and violent behaviors.** The report explores a concise set of important theoretical and empirical links between harmful masculine norms and each of eight forms of violent behavior. This is intended to be an introduction to these links rather than a comprehensive presentation. For several forms of violence, the report provides recommendations of useful book-length analyses that explore similar links in greater detail.

- **An attempt to build upon analyses of other root causes of men's violence.** As this report will explore, the ways in which peers, parents, media, school curricula, and other social forces create and reify restrictive social definitions of manhood have important links with men's perpetration of violence. That said, masculine norms are neither the primary nor paramount cause of men's use or experiences of violence. Violence emerges from complex, intersecting factors, from the individual to the social and structural levels. The report's authors believe that messages about gender and masculinity play an important, often underexplored, role in that web of intersecting factors and therefore seek to shed new light on that role in its proper context. Each section of the report explores how harmful masculine norms intersect with other prominent drivers of men's use of violence in an attempt to harmonize with and build upon – rather than supplant – collected knowledge about the many other roots of men's violence.

- **A contribution to an ongoing conversation and a reflection on how to disassociate masculine norms from violence as a key strategy in prevention.** This report explores an emerging field of research and practice. As such, new insights, program experiences, experiments, and reports – and even new updates or challenges to prior evidence – are emerging all the time. To this end, the report's authors encourage any interested reader to reach out to contact@promundoglobal.org with additional questions, evidence, program examples, and other thoughts related to the report's themes.

IS NOT

- **An exhaustive review of the evidence.** The methodology of this report was desk-based, including searching online academic databases and scanning research-agency and practitioner websites for useful articles, evaluations, resources, manuals, and other relevant materials. The literature review took place between June 2017 and March 2018, and it was not systematic in nature, although it did have the goal of gathering a foundational core of essential articles, books, evaluations, and other documents investigating theoretical links between masculinities and various forms of violence in private and public life.

- **An attempt to absolve individual male perpetrators of violence, nor to silence women's voices and perspectives.** Even while emphasizing the deep influence of masculine norms in driving men's violence, the report affirms that the perpetration of violence in all of its forms is a violation of human rights and that perpetrators of violence must be held accountable for their actions. Understanding violence is not excusing it. The report's authors also affirm that programs addressing violence must be accountable and responsive to the voices and preferences of victims and survivors of violence, most often women and girls.

What does it mean to apply a "gender lens" to analyze deeper patterns of patriarchal power and men's violence?

Applying a "gender lens" to trends and dynamics of violence requires going beyond sex-disaggregated data collection and analysis. Rather, it means focusing on the processes of gendered socialization, gendered identities, and gender role performance, as well as the power dynamics and structural forces that lie beneath these trends. It is therefore critical to:

- Not only document rates of men's perpetration of sexual violence, but also investigate the ways in which **men and boys are raised in and instructed by a culture that treats sexual violence as a normal, inevitable part of life**, one of many avenues for men to exert unjust yet socially sanctioned power and control over women's bodies and sexual agency.

- Not only collect sex-disaggregated homicide statistics, but also investigate **patriarchal social norms** that promote some men's use of physical force to wield power over others and that stigmatize men who seek emotional connection, vulnerability, and cooperation.

- Not only understand sex-disaggregated data on deaths resulting from violent conflicts around the world, but also explore the social inequalities and political economy that produce these conflicts, as well as understand the **patriarchal and hierarchical structures within militias, militaries, and governments that produce predominantly male leaders who seek conquest and domination as an ultimate goal.**

- Not only understand the drivers of some men's use of violence, **but also understand how other individuals consistently resist and question the violence they are often socialized into or experience.**

In sum, since gender and violence are linked, and since men and boys are particularly likely to perpetrate nearly all forms of violence, a better understanding of the links between masculine norms and violence is imperative to create a significantly less violent world. This report examines how masculine norms interact with the following forms of violence:

- Intimate partner violence

- Physical violence against children (by parents or caregivers)

- Child sexual abuse and exploitation

- Bullying

- Homicide and other violent crime

- Non-partner sexual violence

- Suicide

- Conflict and war

This report begins with a discussion of five central processes by which masculine norms affect the likelihood of men and boys experiencing or perpetrating violence. Then, the report discusses the eight forms of violence individually; each section ends with a synthesis table proposing directions for future programming to address harmful masculine norms and highlighting one or more programs within each violence-prevention field, some of which have begun to take this approach. Finally, the report concludes with a synthesis of its overall messages and a concise list of recommendations for violence-prevention programming and policymaking. For definitions and more information on the terminology used throughout this report, see Annex: Terminology.

MASCULINE NORMS:
WHAT ARE THEY AND HOW DO THEY WORK?

This report makes reference to at least five central processes by which masculine norms shape the likelihood of men and boys experiencing or perpetrating both interpersonal and public forms of violence, as informed by gender theory (among other foundational works, see for instance: Connell 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987; Butler 1988; Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Connell 2005; Pascoe 2005). These processes are:

1 Achieving socially recognized manhood

Often at the core of harmful masculine gendering is the demand that male-identifying persons must achieve and continually re-achieve their manhood. The social status of being a "real man" – or simply a "man" – is not automatically granted to all adult male-identifying

people. Instead, this social status must be achieved, often by successfully meeting many difficult, internally contradictory standards. In many locations, for instance, a "real man" must be simultaneously physically strong, a financial provider, a protector of his family, a husband and father, and an impervious emotional rock. Often, he must also be heterosexual, frequently gaining increased social standing when he is more sexually active. These ideas are stereotypes to the extent that no individual man lives up to all of them, nor could live up to all of them, but they are real in the sense that they shape men's ideas and actions in profound ways.

Even as the standards for being a "real man" vary around the world, they often share significant similarities. Any set of norms that supports men's disproportionate social power over women, and/or that reinforces the hoarding of power and status by a few men at the expense of many, is often referred to in

the literature as "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). All harmful masculine norms are not necessarily hegemonic in nature, as new scholarship explores (Messerschmidt and Messner 2018), but a preponderance of ideas about achieving socially recognized manhood worldwide does serve to subjugate other genders and men who fall short.

2 Policing masculine performance

The process of withholding the social status of "being a man" is held in place by the continual policing of men and boys' performance of gender. In other words, men and boys are told by others around them that they are not "real men" or are not "man enough" if they do not live up to certain stereotypical standards. This is among the foundational concepts of gender theory: Members of all genders "perform" their gender identity in line with the social instructions about what is and is not appropriate for members of their gender. When a person's performance violates social norms, or breaches the boundaries of other genders' expected behaviors or performances, in many settings this individual can expect social policing or punishment (e.g., criticism or stigma) from those invested in maintaining the status quo. This report will explore ways in which men's use and experience of violence is a manifestation of one or both sides of this dynamic. Men may use or experience violence to keep their gender performance within the socially sanctioned boundaries, and they may use violence as a method to police the gender performance of others in their lives.

3 "Gendering" the heart

Social norms about men's emotional lives – "the heart" – also contribute in important and harmful ways to men's use and experience of violence. Around the world, men typically are socially instructed to refrain from showing emotional vulnerability and monitored to show only a limited range of emotions. Rather than being recognized as authentic and

necessary elements of human life, men's displays of sadness, loneliness, affection, love, and friendship, among many other expressions of the heart, are socially interpreted as signs of weakness.

This "gendering" of the heart has wide-reaching effects for men and women alike. Men's emotional well-being is damaged by a learned inability to recognize, communicate, and understand their emotions. Likewise, men's friendships suffer when they are not allowed to be emotionally expressive. Additionally, in settings where men are instructed to eschew many elements of their emotionality, these emotional needs nonetheless remain essential elements of all human lives. Women and girls thus become emotional caretakers and laborers for all, contributing to global inequality in unpaid care work and other household inequalities. On the flip side, women's emotional expression is also limited by gender and social norms, leading women and girls to incur costs for showing "masculine" emotions such as assertiveness, aggression, and anger. Men's heavily curtailed and policed emotionality has a direct link with their likelihood to use and/or suffer violence.

4 Dividing spaces and cultures by gender

Ideas about manhood and womanhood are also created and reinforced by dividing up spaces into those that may be considered "male" or "female." This report will explore how social spaces (and "microcultures") associated with men demonstrate a through-line to violence. Gun ownership and gun culture, gang membership, and competitive violent sports are three such examples. At the simplest level, dividing the world into "public" spaces (where boys are more likely to be socialized) and "private" spaces of the home (where girls are more likely to spend their time) shapes risk and exposure to specific forms of violence. While men are allowed to feel a sense of social connection with other men, it is often only as long as these connections take place within particularly masculine "microcultures" and gender-segregated spaces.

THE SEVEN P'S OF MEN'S VIOLENCE

Another presentation of the components of harmful masculine norms underlying men's use of violence is Michael Kaufman's "Seven P's of Men's Violence" (1999), which explores how men's use of violence is linked with all seven of the following elements:

1. **Patriarchal Power:** *"Male-dominated societies are not only based on a hierarchy of men over women but some men over other men. Violence or the threat of violence among men is a mechanism used from childhood to establish that pecking order."*

2. **The Sense of Entitlement to Privilege:** *"The individual experience of a man who commits violence may not revolve around his desire to maintain power. His conscious experience is not the key here. Rather, as feminist analysis has repeatedly pointed out, such violence is often the logical outcome of his sense of entitlement to certain privileges."*

3. **Permission:** *"Whatever the complex social and psychological causes of men's violence, it wouldn't continue if there weren't explicit or tacit permission in social customs, legal codes, law enforcement, and certain religious teachings."*

4. **The Paradox of Men's Power:** *"The very ways that men have constructed our social and individual power is, paradoxically, the source of enormous fear, isolation, and pain for men ourselves. If power is constructed as a capacity to dominate and control, if the capacity to act in 'powerful' ways requires the construction of a personal suit of armor and a fearful distance from others, if the very world of power and privilege removes us from the world of childrearing and nurturance, then we are creating men whose own experience of power is fraught with crippling problems."*

5. **The Psychic Armor of Manhood:** *"The result of this complex and particular process of psychological development is a dampened ability for empathy (to experience what others are feeling) and an inability to experience other people's needs and feelings as necessarily relating to one's own. Acts of violence against another person are, therefore, possible."*

6. **Masculinity as a Psychic Pressure Cooker:** *"It is not simply that men's language of emotions is often muted or that our emotional antennae and capacity for empathy are somewhat stunted. It is also that a range of natural emotions have been ruled off limits and invalid."*

7. **Past Experiences:** *"Far too many men around the world grew up in households where their mother was beaten by their father. They grew up seeing violent behavior towards women as the norm, as just the way life is lived."*
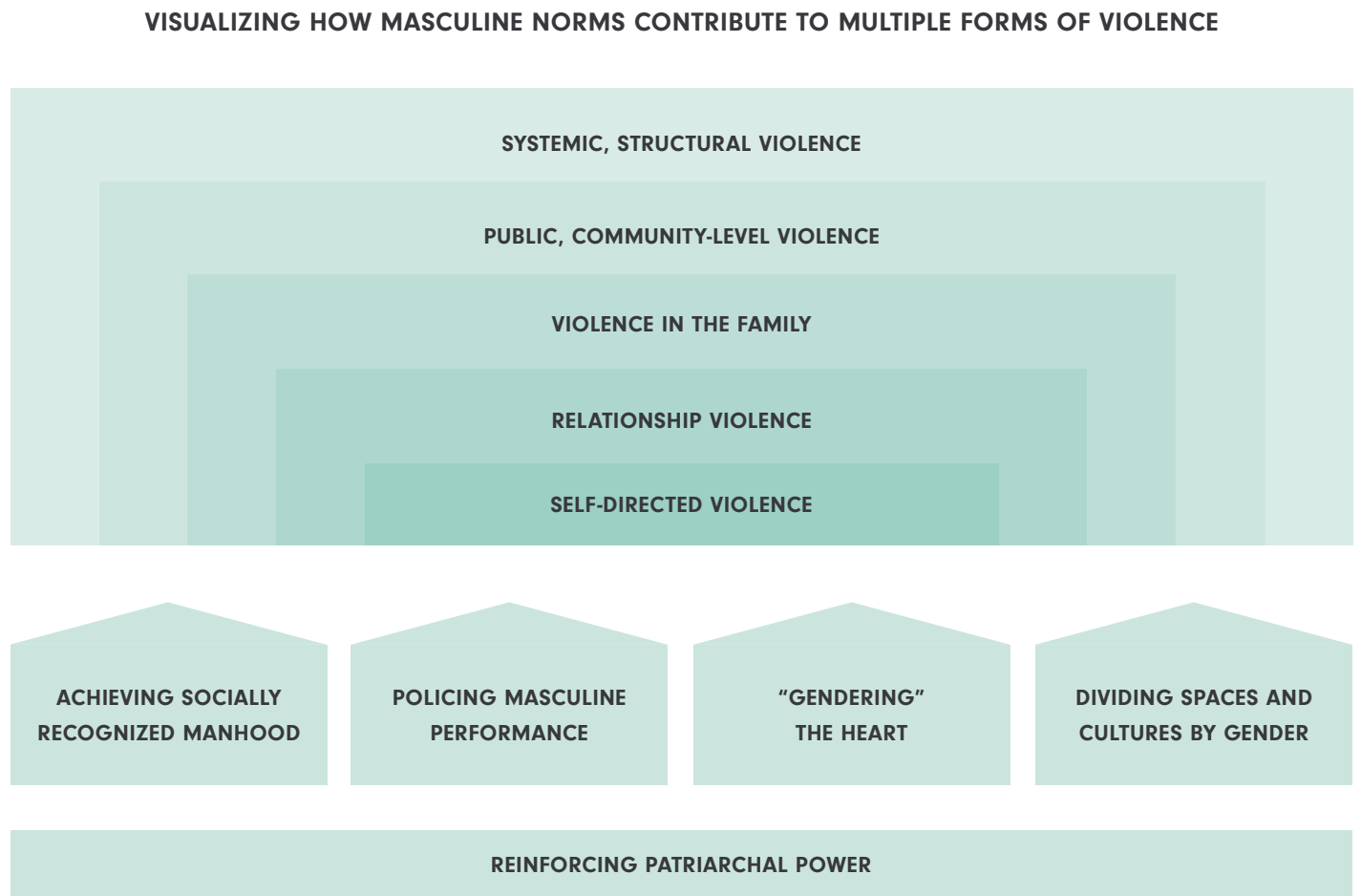
5 Reinforcing patriarchal power

All of these processes serve to reinforce power structures, including state and corporate power structures, that not only advantage men over women but also advantage particular men over other men. Patriarchy means, quite simply, the power of men, as well as the power of the man in charge or at the top. Patriarchal power is at the root of all processes of harmful masculine gendering and the inequitable ordering of a gendered society. Certain harmful masculine norms included in this report are often called "hegemonic masculinity" precisely for this reason: The norms uphold a hegemonic order in which all participants in the process contribute to an inequitable and oppressive distribution of status and power, often policed and patrolled by state-sanctioned violence (Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

This report will point to examples in which masculine norms interact with violent acts specifically to grant some individuals or groups power over others. This includes men's power over women, militia leaders' power over child soldiers, aggrieved men's power over

FIGURE 1. Conceptual overview: Linking harmful masculine norms and violence

VISUALIZING HOW MASCULINE NORMS CONTRIBUTE TO MULTIPLE FORMS OF VIOLENCE

SYSTEMIC, STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

PUBLIC, COMMUNITY-LEVEL VIOLENCE

VIOLENCE IN THE FAMILY

RELATIONSHIP VIOLENCE

SELF-DIRECTED VIOLENCE

ACHIEVING SOCIALLY RECOGNIZED MANHOOD

POLICING MASCULINE PERFORMANCE

"GENDERING" THE HEART

DIVIDING SPACES AND CULTURES BY GENDER

REINFORCING PATRIARCHAL POWER

other men, ethnic-majority men's power over ethnic-minority men, older men's power over younger men, wealthier men's power over less wealthy men, police officers' power over young black men, cisgender men's power over trans-identified individuals, and heterosexual men's power over sexual-minority men, among many other examples. At its core, gender is about power: an ordering of society enforced from the individual level to the highest structural level that grants disproportionate power to men over women and to particular men over other men and boys. Violence is a vital tool wielded at the state and individual levels that both keeps this gendered order in place and is a byproduct of this unequal gender and power order.

While this report focuses on the influence of masculine norms on various forms of violence around the world, it also affirms that these norms are neither the only nor necessarily the most important drivers of any of these forms of violence. These norms always intersect and interact with the global and local political economy; with the historical marginalization of certain racial, ethnic, and sexual-identity groups; with other forces of social oppression and disadvantage; and with one's degree of access to supportive government poverty-alleviation and welfare policies – among many other factors, with important variations depending on the form of violence.

When the intersections between masculine norms and these other drivers of violence are particularly salient, this report presents research and evidence. Likewise, the report's authors affirm that – to varying degrees – all men benefit from a patriarchal world order that generates these harmful masculine norms. Even as the report calls attention to these norms' negative outcomes on men's lives, it views men's experiences of power, violence, and powerlessness in relation to the historical, ongoing, disproportionate, and unjust disadvantages faced by women and girls, as well as gender minorities.

RESISTANCE, RESILIENCE, AND ASPIRATION

IN FOCUS

When looking at themes of violence and violence prevention, it is important to acknowledge that individuals of all gender identities are resisting the violent, unjust, patriarchal order and pushing for brighter futures and a world free from violence. This work emerges from, and builds upon, the legacy of generations of feminist and women's rights organizing and activism, as well as the legacy of community-based organizations working in peace-building and to counter institutional racism.

Around the world, activists, teachers, program managers, coaches, media professionals, researchers, and others – of all genders, classes, races, ethnicities, and religious backgrounds – are resisting violence and inequality and focusing on transforming harmful gender norms as one important strategy in this effort. Some men and boys acquiesce or internalize violent notions of manhood. Others directly and radically resist the ideas that equate violence with manhood.

In the following excerpt from *Dying to be Men*, Gary Barker presents an analysis of young men in settings of high violence who actively resist the violent versions of male identity around them (Barker 2005)*:

> **What makes resistance to rigid views about gender possible?** Where do voices of equality, respect, and nonviolence come from, particularly in settings where violence and rigid views about manhood prevail? In listening to young men and interacting with others who know them – parents, girlfriends, wives, teachers, and the like – a number of factors emerge.

> **One is having family members or other influential individuals who modeled or presented alternative, more equitable, and nonviolent views about gender roles to the young man.** This might be a father, an uncle, a teacher, a pastor or priest or imam, or a mother or grandmother who suggested that other ways of being women and men are possible. A working mother who took on roles often attributed to fathers or men, or a father or uncle who was involved early on in the care of his children, sends powerful messages to sons and daughters about the fluidity of gender roles.

> **Another factor is having experienced some personal pain or loss as a result of traditional or violent versions of masculinity and having been able to reflect about this loss.** This includes a young man who is able to perceive the struggles that his family faced when a father abandoned the family or used violence against the mother. This perception also includes coming to see traditional versions of manhood as having a high personal "cost."

With the right support or in the right circumstances, some young men are able to admit or come to see that the exaggerated version of manhood they are trying to live up to is a sham. One young man in Chicago said he had previously been a "Romeo" – a young man known for his sexual conquests. But, over time, he came to see that such behavior was shallow and self-defeating, and that it caused him to lose relationships with women he valued.

For most young men who resist rigid notions of manhood, it is generally also essential that they find a group of peers, young men like themselves, who also question traditional views about manhood, or, at the very least, do not criticize or ridicule a young man when he suggests that there is nothing wrong with being gay, that women do not deserve to be beaten, or that it is acceptable for a man to express and acknowledge fear. Indeed, few young men are able to achieve gender equity or nonviolence in settings where gender-inequitable views and violent versions of manhood hold sway without the help of someone else, or without others who support their opposition to such views.

For some young men, in settings where gang involvement is common and where gangs are the most visible standard-bearers of manhood, it is important to have another identity, or another "hat." Some young men are able to stay out of gangs and question the version of manhood that gangs promote because they excel in sports or music, or have some culturally relevant skill that allows them to feel secure in achieving a nonviolent and more gender-equitable version of manhood. Young men with strong religious convictions – and who find a sense of identity in their religion and a peer group with fellow members of the same religion – are also able to stay out of gangs with relative ease. They have clearly marked their masculinity as nonviolent and gangs generally leave them alone. For some young men, having a skill – for example, being good with computers, exceling in one or more academic subjects, being involved in a meaningful extracurricular activity, or having mechanical abilities – is a source of belonging, pride, and self-esteem, which again, gives them additional personal energy to stay out of gangs. For a few young men, being connected to and finding school to be a safe and welcoming space is an important reason to stay away from gangs.

Building on Barker's 2005 book, a follow-up study on young men's resistance to rigid gender norms in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, titled "'This Isn't the Life for You': Masculinities and Nonviolence in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil" was published by Promundo in 2016 (Taylor et al. 2016).

*This excerpt was reproduced and adapted with the author's permission.

MAKING THE CONNECTIONS:
MASCULINITIES AND EIGHT FORMS OF VIOLENCE

This portion of the report seeks to:

- Draw upon theory, evidence, and experience to explore **connections between masculine norms and perpetration and victimization of each of eight forms of violence;**

- Connect **multiple forms of violence and fields of violence prevention**, many of which tend neither to interact with one another nor to always acknowledge intersections between and across multiple forms of violence;

- Highlight violence-prevention programs that have begun to address harmful masculine norms and otherwise **connect theory to practice** by suggesting particular program components and themes that

may be effective in challenging harmful masculine norms in each field; and

- Connect **users and readers of this report with one another** and with the authors to continue to build and strengthen a unified movement to end violence in all of its forms around the world.

Each of the eight sections presents, in order: (1) **the facts** about gender-based disproportionality in perpetrating and experiencing the form of violence; (2) **the links** between dynamics of this violence and harmful gender norms; (3) **the intersections** between masculine norms and the other important drivers of the form of violence; and finally (4) **a synthesis table** highlighting promising programs applying these connections, as well as new program insights.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

1.

The Facts

Worldwide, an estimated 30 percent of ever-partnered women experience physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner at some point in their lives (World Health Organization 2013). Intimate partner violence can have physical, sexual, emotional, and psychological manifestations, and it is usually accompanied by a dynamic of power and control. There is growing global evidence on women's reported experiences of intimate partner violence and a small body of research on men's reported use of intimate partner violence. Those studies find that men report carrying out intimate partner violence at rates roughly similar to women's reported experiences. In the multi-country International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), 17 to 39 percent of men across six countries reported using physical violence against a female partner (Barker et al. 2011). While both women and men can be victims or perpetrators of intimate partner violence, women's use of violence against a partner tends to be episodic and less injurious, whereas men's use of violence tends to be persistent, cause serious injury, and be accompanied by a dynamic of power, control, intimidation, and manipulation (Kimmel 2002). Research also demonstrates that intimate partner violence is prevalent in same-sex relationships (Oriel 2011).

Intimate partner homicide is an extreme manifestation of these same trends. Globally, World Health Organization (WHO) statistics show that up to 38 percent of murders of women are perpetrated by a male intimate partner (World Health Organization 2013). A 2013 systematic review on the global prevalence of intimate partner homicide found that women are six times more likely to be killed by an intimate partner than men are; 39 percent of female homicide victims compared to 6 percent of male homicide victims are killed by an intimate partner (Stöckl et al. 2013).

The Links

Multiple studies confirm that rigid norms regarding gender, gender roles, family, and marriage – together with men's childhood experiences of violence – contribute to men's use of violence against female partners (Heise 2011; Moore and Stuart 2005; Levtov et al. 2014). When men adhere more strongly to rigid, inequitable definitions of masculinity, they are more likely to also report perpetrating many forms of intimate partner violence (Barker et al. 2011; Levtov et al. 2014; Fleming et al. 2015). In some settings, specific norms establish violence as an acceptable gender expression and problem-solving strategy for men, as well as social acceptance of intimate partner violence as a normal part of intimate relationships (Heise 2011). In many contexts, a man's use of violence against his wife as a way to control her behavior and reinforce power structures implicitly or explicitly confers greater social status.

When men believe that they are not – or are not perceived to be – "masculine" or "man enough," they may use intimate partner violence as a way to overcompensate or conform with gendered expectations (Moore and Stuart 2005; Reidy et al. 2014). This dynamic is sometimes called "masculine discrepancy stress" or "gender role stress," and it may be linked to multiple forms of violence. A study in India (Krishnan et al. 2010) found that women were more likely to experience intimate partner violence if their husbands' job stability decreased. A threat to a man's status as a breadwinner might represent a threat to his masculine identity and thus could prompt violence as a way to regain social status and maintain power structures in the home, particularly if his wife was more securely employed.

In addition to intimate partner physical violence, sexual violence, emotional violence, and economic violence, research demonstrates the high prevalence and significant effects of men's *controlling and coercive behaviors* toward their female partners, many of which draw upon harmful masculine norms. These behaviors often occur in tandem with, or serve as a precursor to, other forms of men's violence against intimate partners; they can also be used as a tool to regulate gender performance.

New research is demonstrating the prevalence and influence of these behaviors, particularly on infant morbidity and child health (in addition to immediate effects on female victims themselves). In terms of prevalence, 83 to 99 percent of female respondents in the IMAGES study in Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine reported experiencing controlling behaviors from their husbands, while an even greater proportion of male respondents – 95 to 100 percent across countries – reported perpetrating controlling behaviors (El Feki, Heilman, and Barker 2017).* High prevalence rates for emotional violence and controlling behaviors are also common in the international literature on intimate partner violence (World Health Organization 2005; Garcia-Moreno et al. 2006; Fulu et al. 2013).

Harassing and controlling behaviors that may be considered "nonviolent" can also have severe, negative effects. A recent study in India investigated husbands' and in-laws' "gender-based household mistreatment"** of married women during and after pregnancy; approximately half of the women in the sample reported experiencing one or more forms of this mistreatment (Silverman et al. 2016). Experience of this type of harassment emerged as a stronger predictor of infant morbidity in regression models than either intimate partner violence during the perinatal period or physical violence by in-laws. A similar study in Nicaragua found that women's exposure to controlling behavior by the father of the child*** was significantly related to lower mean height-for-age scores for children, while ever experiencing exposure to emotional, physical, or sexual intimate partner violence showed no such link (Salazar et al. 2012).

Inequitable power and control in relationships are a reflection of inequitable power and control at the societal level. Gender norms and gender roles at their core are a negotiation – almost always an inequitable one – of power and control in families and in societies. As these findings show, such societal power imbalances make their way into individual relationships with harmful effects for the victims, particularly women and children.

* In the IMAGES study (El Feki, Heilman, and Barker 2017), "controlling behaviors" refer to affirmative responses to one or more of the following items (for the men's survey): "I want to know where my wife is all of the time," "I won't let my wife wear certain things," "I am the one who decides when my wife can leave the house," "I like to let my wife know that she isn't the only wife I could have," and "When I want sex, I expect my wife to agree." The women's survey reverses these questions, asking women to share their husband's controlling behaviors.

** In the India study by Silverman et al. (2016), "gender-based household mistreatment" refers to one or more affirmative responses to the following 10 questions: Did your [husband/in-laws]: force you to bring money or other things from your parents' home; interfere in your ability to get healthcare for yourself; interfere in your ability to get healthcare for your children; stop you from getting enough food for

yourself; stop you from getting enough food for your children; stop you from getting the rest you needed; attempt to stop you from going to your natal home for the birth; treat you badly for not having a boy child; stop you from taking care of your children; and neglect/ignore your baby?

*** In the Nicaragua study by Salazar et al. (2012), "controlling behavior by the father of the child" refers to one or more affirmative responses to items describing the following actions: if the partner restricted the woman's contacts with friends, if he restricted the woman's contacts with family, if he insisted on knowing her whereabouts at all times, if he ignored and treated her indifferently, if he became angry if she spoke to another man, if he was constantly suspicious that she was unfaithful, and if he expected her to ask for his permission to seek healthcare for herself.

The Intersections

Violence within the childhood home can contribute to children accepting violence as a "normal" part of intimate relationships, playing a role in the often-observed intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence (Heise 2011; Barker et al. 2011). Numerous studies have shown that witnessing violence against one's mother or otherwise experiencing violence directly in the childhood home is strongly linked with an increased likelihood of using and/or experiencing such violence in one's adult relationships (Stith et al. 2000; Kitzman 2003; Gil-Gonzalez et al. 2008). As new research has explored, it is not only the acts of violence themselves that are transmitted from one generation to the next, but also the patriarchal systemic hierarchy, reinforced through violence, in which women and children are subordinate to men (Namy et al. 2017). This intergenerational transmission of inequitable gender norms, and the violence that emerges from and sustains them, also takes the form of perpetration of violence among men.

Transforming these patriarchal, violent gender norms is essential to mitigate the influence of childhood experiences of violence and as an overall prevention strategy. Amid overwhelming evidence that witnessing violence against one's mother as a child increases one's likelihood of perpetrating and experiencing that violence as an adult, many scholars have begun to explore the ways in which adherence to healthier and more equitable gender norms can break this cycle of violence (Gracia et al. 2017). The types of messages and activities that can help achieve this goal are presented in this section's synthesis table alongside examples of programs already applying this approach.

The stress, challenges, and loss of masculine identity caused by various forms of social oppression – for example, economic hardship, racism, religious persecution, and discrimination – can multiply risk factors for both men's perpetration of intimate partner violence and women's victimization, as well as change the likelihood of women pursuing formal justice-system responses to this violence (Nash 2005). Members of particularly marginalized social classes or ethnic identities may rightly fear for their own safety or know to expect little real assistance in seeking formal legal or support services in the event of intimate partner violence, which helps sustain a cycle of perpetration and victimization. In one study focused on black men in the United States, researchers posited that the intersectional influences of race (institutional racism), class (chronic unemployment), and gender (ideals of masculinity as aggressive and dominant and ideals of femininity as deferential and dependent) create a context in which young black men may be more likely to believe that violence, control, and sexual coercion of a female partner are justified (Nash 2005).

Religious texts and teachings are sometimes used to enforce women's inferior position within partner relationships with men. In one study, legal advocates from Uganda reported that the Bible verse Ephesians 5:22 was often explicitly cited in mediation sessions to address violence by a man against his wife. This verse reads, "Wives, submit to your husbands." Rather than invoking this or another religious or legal text to correct or punish abusive behavior against an intimate partner, the religious authorities in charge of the sessions would use it to chastise the woman suffering violence. These "mediators" would remind the women that the Bible tells them to be subservient to their husbands regardless of the severity or nature of violence they were experiencing (Heilman et al. 2016).

Local laws defining what intimate partner violence is or is not – for instance, whether or not legislation specifically outlaws marital rape – also intersect with gender norms and other factors, affecting rates of violence. Other risk factors for men's use of intimate partner violence include workplace stress, alcohol use, and low levels of education (Barker et al. 2011).

FOR FURTHER READING:

Fulu, Emma, Xian Warner, Stephanie Miedema, Rachel Jewkes, Tim Roselli, and James Lang. 2013. "Why Do Some Men Use Violence against Women and How Can We Prevent It? Quantitative Findings from the United Nations Multi-Country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific." Bangkok: United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Population Fund, UN Women and United Nations Volunteers.

World Health Organization. 2005. "WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women."

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

The field of intimate-partner-violence prevention and response has done well to embrace gender-transformative approaches, with multiple promising program models in place around the world. Despite increasing evidence of program effectiveness, however, gaps and limitations remain in the body of knowledge. The number of high-quality, rigorously designed studies evaluating the effectiveness and impact of programming with men and boys to prevent perpetration of intimate partner violence remains limited (Fulu and Kerr-Wilson 2015).

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES

Initiatives aiming to prevent intimate partner violence should focus on the following transformations of harmful masculine norms:

- Ask participants to name, recognize, and discuss power inequalities in their intimate relationships.
- Teach – and provide safe space for practicing – discussion-based and compassionate problem solving approaches.
- Foster an appreciation for multiple, limitless ways of defining what it means to be a man – for example, a man can love and respect his partner; a man can use his words to avoid violence; a man can share leadership and decision-making responsibility in his family.
- Demonstrate the broad, harmful effects of violence, including intergenerational effects, and insist that violence against one's partner is never justified.
- Identify violence suffered in men and boys' lives, recognize and explore its consequences, process this experience, and heal.
- Reflect with men and boys on what would happen if they were not entitled to using power to get what they wanted: Would they feel vulnerable? Who would they be?

PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT

Gender-transformative interventions that engage men and boys to address intimate partner violence apply a range of programming strategies. The most common include community mobilization and awareness raising, mass media campaigns, group education in schools and other institutions (e.g., workplaces, sports teams, and clubs), and bystander interventions (Fulu and Kerr-Wilson 2015; Jewkes et al. 2015).

- The **White Ribbon Campaign** is among the largest initiatives working to prevent men's violence against women by specifically identifying and engaging men and boys in a gender-transformative perspective. Started in Canada, the campaign (as well as its projects and research) have spread to over 60 countries around the world. (White Ribbon, n.d.)
- **Program H**, originally developed by Promundo in Brazil and other partners in Latin America, provides group education for boys along with youth-led campaigns to reduce intimate partner violence and promote nonviolent, healthy masculinities (Promundo, "Program H").
- **SASA!** is a community-mobilization intervention developed by Raising Voices in Uganda that engages all community members – men and women – in discussions about power dynamics, gender inequality, and intimate partner violence. A randomized controlled trial found significant reductions in past-year physical intimate partner violence in intervention communities, as compared to control communities (Abramsky et al. 2014).
- Oxfam's **We Can Campaign** in South Asia trains both men and women to be "change makers" who then raise awareness within their social networks and engage with local institutions and organizations to carry out campaigns against intimate partner violence (Hughes 2012).
- Several programs that engage men and boys – the **Safe Dates Program** in the United States and **Stepping Stones** and **Soul City** in South Africa – have demonstrated a reduction in self-reported perpetration of intimate partner violence through gender-transformative group-education approaches (Barker et al. 2010).

*The report's authors encourage readers involved in other programming related to intimate partner violence that has tried or is trying to address harmful masculine norms to contact **contact@ promundoglobal.org** to help promote learning, explore potential collaborations, and help amplify this work.*

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN

(BY PARENTS OR CAREGIVERS)

2.

The Facts

Physical violence by parents or caregivers is only one of many forms of violence that children face. Violence against children includes a wide range of behaviors, from corporal punishment (which many in a given society may consider a normal part of raising a child) to more extreme manifestations of physical violence to acts of emotional abuse and neglect. According to United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) data from 30 countries, nearly half of all children aged 12 to 23 months are subjected to corporal punishment and/or verbal abuse at home (United Nations Children's Fund 2017). A different 2017 global review of violence against children concludes, "At least three out of every four of the world's children – 1.7 billion – had experienced some form of inter-personal violence, cruelty or abuse in their daily lives in a previous year, regardless of whether they lived in rich countries or poor, in the Global North or the Global South" (Know Violence in Childhood 2017). The present report also addresses child sexual abuse and exploitation in a later section.

Evidence shows that in some countries, boys – particularly younger boys – are more likely to experience physical punishment by caregivers in the home than girls are (United Nations Children's Fund 2014b). For instance, across six countries analyzed, IMAGES data show that between 26 and 67 percent of men experienced physical violence as children. In Chile, India, and Rwanda, more than four in five men in the same study reported experiencing one or more forms of psychological abuse as children (Contreras et al. 2012). At the same time, recent global data analyses by UNICEF point to adolescent girls' disproportionate experiences of certain forms of violence (United Nations Children's Fund 2014a).

Dynamics of perpetration of parental violence against children also demonstrate complex patterns in terms of the gender of perpetrators and victims. Multi-country UNICEF data show that the perpetrators of physical violence against girls and boys tend to be different. In almost all countries, parents and other caregivers are the most commonly cited perpetrators of physical violence against adolescent girls, while the most commonly cited perpetrators against adolescent boys are friends and teachers (United Nations Children's Fund 2014b). The nuances and differences within these patterns, however, defy easy conclusions and are different for different forms of violence and corporal punishment. In some settings, fathers use different kinds of violence against children (and different forms against daughters versus sons), and the same is true of mothers and other caregivers.

Data from multiple settings find that female caregivers are more likely to use corporal punishment against children than male caregivers are, but this trend is largely due to the fact that women do the vast majority of the daily care of children (a global average of about three times as much), which places them in close, near-constant contact with children. Additionally, in many settings, mothers not only bear the greater burden of caregiving but also – particularly in single-parent households – face economic hardship. These two factors combined can negatively impact mothers' ability to cope with stress and, by extension, their parenting behaviors. Studies have found that mothers who have good relationships with and receive support from their children's biological fathers, other male caregivers, and/or other social networks experience less parental stress and are less likely to use corporal punishment (Choi and Pyun 2014; Cooper et al. 2009).

The Links

Violence is also a mechanism by which parents control the gender performance of sons and daughters, calling them out or punishing them for acting in unacceptable male or female ways. Because children's behavior can be a direct reflection of their parents, parents' and children's experiences of achieving social status related to gender – and, indeed, controlling gender performance – are linked. When a child visibly and publicly transgresses social gender norms, parents may risk a reciprocal loss of their social recognition and status. In some cases, then, the threat of corporal punishment may be an element of controlling children's gender performance.

Violence within the childhood home is also a primary means by which children see, learn, and internalize the hierarchical power imbalances between and within genders. Men's disproportionate use of emotional, physical, and sexual violence against female intimate partners emerges directly from gender-based inequality in power and control within households and intimate relationships. As decades of research into the intergenerational transmission of violence have demonstrated, children who witness or experience violence in the home are significantly more likely to perpetrate or experience domestic violence as adults, as compared to those whose childhood homes are violence-free. Violence against children, then, doubly entrenches the gender order, traumatizing children directly at the same time as it increases their likelihood of following similar behavioral patterns with their own children, of men's use of violence against female partners, and of women's acceptance of gender-based violence as "normal" (Stith et al. 2000; Kitzman 2003; Gil-Gonzalez et al. 2008).

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN: INTERSECTIONS OF CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES, AND SOLUTIONS

There is increasing attention among service providers and others addressing violence against women and violence against children that the two forms of violence share important overlaps, links, and intersections. A recent global analysis of these links points to six evidence-based intersections:

1. Violence against women and violence against children have shared risk factors;

2. Social norms often encourage both forms of violence and discourage help-seeking;

3. Child maltreatment and partner violence often co-occur within the same household;

4. Both forms of violence can produce intergenerational effects;

5. Many forms of violence against children and violence against women have common and compounding consequences across the lifespan; and

6. These forms of violence intersect during adolescence (Guedes et al. 2016).

A new study focusing primarily on families in Kampala, Uganda – but with broader implications – further demonstrates that violence against women by men and violence against children by parents are both, at least in part, products of socialized male entitlement and patriarchal power dynamics within the home, including notions of property and ownership (Namy et al. 2017). Patriarchal systems shape social expectations and interpersonal relationships, reinforcing men's domination and use of power and control. This creates a systemic hierarchy in which women and children are subordinate to men; this hierarchy is reinforced through violence that upholds rigid gender norms and social roles. In families for which these patterns are the most rigid, both perpetrator and victim may often normalize violence as an accepted expression of discipline or a "natural" expression of masculinity. Men sometimes justify their own violence against children by saying it worked in shaping their own behavior as a child (Fulu et al. 2017; Namy et al. 2017). Patriarchal family structures in many settings necessitate and often celebrate hegemonic masculinity; in this way, violence is frequently normalized and justified by men and women when women and children violate these constructs and violent discipline is required to "correct" the imbalance (Namy et al. 2017).

The fields of violence-against-children prevention and violence-against-women prevention have historically not worked together to the full extent possible. Authors of the recent global analysis call for greater coordination and collaboration among practitioners and researchers, including "preparing service providers to address multiple forms of violence, better coordination between services for women and for children, school-based strategies, parenting programs, and programming for adolescent health and development" (Guedes et al. 2016).

The Intersections

In interaction with the individual characteristics and life experiences of caregivers and children, there are three compelling factors underpinning violence against children:

1. **Poverty and structural inequalities** that shape care settings and frequently affect whether or not parents, families, and other caregivers have the means to adequately care for their children in nonviolent and non-stressed ways.

2. **Cultural and social norms** related to child-rearing practices and the acceptability of corporal punishment and other forms of violence against children (and against women, and between men and boys). The degree to which violence against women and children is normalized in society defies any narrative that perpetrators are outlying monsters – particularly "bad men" – or that the problem is not one of culture and society (Promundo 2011). Norms in society or in communities that support aggression or coercion are associated with the physical assault of children, intimate partner violence, sexual violence, youth violence, and elder maltreatment. Witnessing violence in their community puts people at higher risk of being bullied, among other violent experiences (Wilkins et al. 2014).

3. **Gender norms and dynamics**, specifically views that boys need be raised to be physically tough and emotionally stoic, while girls are seen as fragile, inferior, and/or raised to be subordinate to boys and men.

FOR FURTHER READING:

Levtov, Ruti, Nikki van der Gaag, Margaret Greene, Michael Kaufman, and Gary Barker. 2015. "State of the World's Fathers: A MenCare Advocacy Publication." Washington, DC: Promundo, Rutgers, Save the Children, Sonke Gender Justice, and the MenEngage Alliance.

Heilman, Brian, Ruti Levtov, Nikki van der Gaag, Alexa Hassink, and Gary Barker. 2017. "State of the World's Fathers: Time for Action." Washington, DC: Promundo, Sonke Gender Justice, Save the Children, and MenEngage Alliance.

Know Violence in Childhood. 2017. "Ending Violence in Childhood: Global Report 2017." New Delhi: Know Violence in Childhood.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN (BY PARENTS OR CAREGIVERS)

There is increasing interest in gender-transformative approaches to address harmful gender norms in the field of prevention of violence against children, but most such initiatives are very new and their geographic range is limited.

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES	PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT

Initiatives aiming to prevent violence against children should focus on the following trans-formations of harmful masculine norms:

- Ask participants to reflect on and rec-ognize gendered divisions in patterns of care work, financial provision, and discipline.
- Encourage fathers to embrace a full range of nurturing, caring behaviors in their relationships with their children.
- Allow safe spaces for parents to prac-tice positive-parenting approaches and non-physical discipline.
- Ask participants to name, recognize, and discuss power inequalities in their relationships with their children.
- Ask participants to reflect on ways in which they raise or discipline their male children differently from their fe-male children.
- Ask participants to reflect on the lim-iting effects of gendered socialization for the development of children's iden-tity, potential, skills, aspirations, rela-tionships, and opportunities in life.

More and more, parenting interventions are creating spaces for fathers to practice positive parenting and transform their gendered approach to their role as parents. A 2016 review of "father-centered parenting interventions" by Georgetown University's Institute for Reproductive Health and the Oak Foundation identifies more than 20 such programs in high-, middle-, and low-income settings (Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University 2016). Some particularly relevant programs include:

- **Program P**, adapted around the world, engages fathers and their partners at a critical moment, during pregnancy or when their children are young, when they are open to adopting new caregiving and disciplinary behaviors (MenCare, n.d.). Evidence of the program's effectiveness in Rwanda includes reduced physical and sexual violence, less physical punishment of children, greater use of modern contraceptive methods, more men attending antenatal care visits with their partners, greater partner support during pregnancy, and more participation of men in care work among participants in the program, as compared to non-participants (Doyle et al. 2018).

- The **REAL Fathers Initiative** "aims to reduce the incidence of intimate partner violence and physical punishment of children through a 12-session mentoring program and community-awareness campaign that targets young fathers (aged 16 to 25) parenting toddlers (aged one to three) in Northern Uganda. The initiative seeks to challenge the gender norms and sexual scripts that often trigger coercion and violence in relationships and to teach effective parenting, communication, and conflict-resolution skills" (Heilman et al. 2017).

- **Supporting Father Involvement** is a couples' group intervention evaluated in California, United States, in which four to six couples meet in groups led by trained facilitators over 16 weeks to focus on challenges in family life. The intervention has been shown to increase fathers' involvement in the care of their children, prevent the typical decline of couple relationship satisfaction during child-rearing years, increase

household income, and lower incidence of children's acting out and depressed problematic behaviors (Institute of Human Development, n.d.).

- The **Triple P – Positive Parenting Program** is an evidence-based intervention implemented in more than 25 countries that provides parents of children under 12 with straightforward, concrete strategies to help them build strong, healthy relationships with their children; confidently manage their children's behavior; and prevent the development of social and behavioral problems. Ongoing research shows that Triple P has been effective across different cultures, socio-economic groups, and family structures (Triple P, n.d.).

The report's authors encourage readers involved in other programming related to physical violence against children that has tried or is trying to address harmful masculine norms to contact **contact@promundoglobal.org** *to help promote learning, explore potential collaborations, and help amplify this work.*

CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION

3.

The Facts

Child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation are distinct phenomena with distinct patterns of prevalence worldwide, with disagreement among scholars about overlaps and distinctions in causes underlying perpetration. While recognizing the conceptual distinction, the report presents these two forms of violence in tandem for the sake of concision.

Rigorous multi-country estimates of the incidence and prevalence of child sexual abuse are rare, but all data point to the enormous scope of this violence and to the fact that perpetrators are overwhelmingly male. A 2014 study in the United States found that the lifetime experience of sexual abuse and sexual assault for 17-year-olds was 27 percent for girls and 5 percent for boys (Finkelhor et al. 2014), while prior scholarship had included prevalence estimates as high as 45 percent for adult women having experienced sexual abuse as children (Russell 1984). Broadly, data show the lifetime prevalence of child sexual abuse is higher among women and girls than among men and boys. Internationally, data from six countries in the IMAGES study show a range of rates for adult men's reported sexually violent experiences as children, with as many as 21 percent of men in India, 17 percent of men in Rwanda, and 8 percent of men in Chile reporting such experiences (Contreras et al. 2012). Men predominantly are the perpetrators of sexually violent acts against children, with certain rare exceptions.

Turning to child sexual exploitation, the International Labour Organization estimates that 1.8 million children worldwide are sexually exploited every year. Commercial sexual exploitation of children results in annual profits of about US$33.9 billion (International Labour Organization 2015). Child sex trafficking, commercial sexual exploitation, child pornography, and survival sex are all forms of child sexual exploitation (International Labour Organization 2015). Victims of child sexual exploitation are predominantly, though not exclusively, girls (ECPAT International 2013). Global data show that as many as 71 percent of all trafficked people worldwide are

women and girls, though an increasing proportion of trafficking victims are male (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2016). Among the increasing number of male victims of trafficking, however, the vast majority are trafficked for use as forced labor. For women and girls, the proportion trafficked for sexual exploitation is vastly higher, with data from 71 countries in 2014 showing that 96 percent of victims of sexual exploitation are women or girls (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2016). Conversely, perpetrators of child sexual exploitation – including traffickers as well as "consumers" of sex with trafficked persons – are predominantly, although not exclusively, men (ECPAT International 2013).

The Links

Given the preponderance of evidence that perpetration of child sexual abuse is a nearly exclusively male behavior, research into gender norms and masculine norms as a root cause of this violence is fairly limited. Researchers of child sexual abuse frequently discuss social conditions and "social ecosystems" that shape, promote, or restrict sexually abusive behaviors against children (Smallbone, Marshall, and Wortley 2008). However, many characteristics of perpetrators cited as factors that increase the risk of perpetration resemble the harmful masculine norms discussed in this report. A frequently cited paper by Ward and Siegert (2002) establishes these authors' Pathways Model of child sexual offending, including pathways such as "intimacy deficits," "deviant sexual scripts," and "emotional dysregulation." With a "gender lens," one can see seeming overlaps with harmful masculine norms – for instance, the social instructions to reserve and curtail the intimacy men show all but a select few family members and romantic partners ("intimacy deficits"); to pursue sex as a means of demonstrating power, prowess, and manhood ("deviant sexual scripts"); and to restrict their emotional lives ("emotional disregulation"). That said, the precise measures used by scholars of child sexual abuse and masculine norms to explore these domains are not identical nor are the conceptual overlaps exact.

Likewise, much of the sexual-abuse literature, including multiple meta-analyses, points to "antisocial orientation" or "antisocial behavior" as a major predictor of sexual assault and of recidivism among prior offenders (Hanson and Morton-Bourgon 2005; Prentky, Knight, and Lee 1997). As with the Pathways Model, the markers of "antisocial orientation" sometimes resemble the harmful masculine norms addressed in this report, suggesting that some of what scholars have labeled "antisocial" may in fact be at least partly *socially created and reinforced*. Antisocial orientation was cited as the primary predictor of violent recidivism in a 2005 meta-analysis of 82 studies, for instance, and while the concept does include certain undeniably pathological characteristics, it is also comprised of some frequent elements of masculine gendering worldwide, such as impulsivity, fighting, and excessive drinking (Hanson and Morton-Bourgon 2005; Barker et al. 2011; Heilman, Barker, and Harrison 2017; El Feki, Heilman, and Barker 2017). Perhaps by working more closely in tandem, scholars of child sexual abuse and scholars of masculinities can help shed light on why and how certain antisocial notions become mainstream, how devastating the consequences can be, and what pathways exist toward solutions.

Gender norms that associate manhood with heterosexual prowess and with access to, and control over, the bodies of women, girls, and boys also contribute to male perpetration of sexual exploitation (ECPAT International 2013; Ricardo and Barker 2008). Children are targeted for, and vulnerable to, sexual exploitation precisely because they have less power, with girls at the bottom of the gender-based hierarchy. These dynamics also stem from patriarchal notions of parents' ownership of their children (Cecchet and Thoburn 2014; ECPAT International 2013). Qualitative data on the demand side of child sexual exploitation point to the deep influence of masculine norms of power, control, and sexual conquest (International Labour Office International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour 2007; ECPAT International et al. 2005). At the same time, when boys are sexually exploited, they may experience self-blaming, victim-blaming, and stigma due to masculine gender norms and homophobia, and their accounts of victimization may be ignored altogether or not believed (ECPAT International 2013).

Trafficking of persons – and specifically the sexual exploitation of children (usually girls in most settings, but predominantly boys in some Central Asian settings) – is also related to masculine norms. Central to these processes is the strict regulation of women and girls' sexual lives and the simultaneous hyper-sexualization of their bodies from an early age. A recent study in Brazil (Taylor et al. 2015) demonstrated how limited movement outside the home and limited access to sexuality education increased girls' vulnerability to sexual exploitation. Media portrayals, popular music, and other mainstream social dynamics instruct children of all genders that girls' value is primarily in their sexuality and sexual attractiveness. Through the processes of restricted movement and hyper-sexualization, sexual access to a woman or girl is a sought-after resource among heterosexual, heteronormative men and a preciously guarded resource among women (and, to a great extent, their male family members charged with guarding their "honor"). The study found that this dichotomy pushes many young women and girls – both by their own decision-making and with the impetus of their parents – into early marriages as a "least worst" option for managing these oppressive and exploitative dynamics, with numerous harmful outcomes (Taylor et al. 2015). In short, parents and young women were able to see the limited sexual agency of girls and the sexual domination of men, and they often accepted early marriage with older partners as the best possible outcome.

The Intersections

Social factors such as masculine norms interact with evolutionary, biological, and situational factors in underpinning perpetration of child sexual abuse. The 2008 volume *Preventing Child Sexual Abuse: Evidence, Policy and Practice* includes a summary of these various

theories and their intersections (Smallbone, Marshall, and Wortley 2008); it sits alongside several attempts in the literature, including many co-authored by Tony Ward, to produce an integrated theory of perpetration of child sexual abuse (Marshall and Barbaree 1990; Ward and Keenan 1999; Ward and Siegert 2002; Ward and Beech 2006). Other analysis demonstrates that the patterns of perpetrating child sexual abuse, as well as the characteristics of perpetrators, are heterogeneous; that is, there can be no single explanation for this violence nor a single profile of an offender (Smallbone, Wortley, and Graycar 2001). "Perhaps in lieu of a clearer conceptual consensus," Smallbone and colleagues write, "most researchers agree that sexual offending against children is a multi-dimensional and multi-determined phenomenon" (Smallbone, Wortley, and Graycar 2001).

Patterns and perpetration of child sexual abuse present an important opportunity to apply a "gender lens," particularly a focus on masculine norms, in future research. In the 2008 volume edited by Smallbone and colleagues, evolutionary and biological factors are said to create potential for both prosocial and antisocial behavior, and as such they are incomplete sources of sexually abusive behavior toward children. Likewise, the proximal situational factors that can affect the likelihood of child sexual abuse occurring provide a significant but incomplete explanation. The equation must include factors related to the social environment, which necessarily includes the processes and practices of gendering. The social determinants of child sexual abuse explored at length in the literature show clear links with processes of harmful masculine gendering of concern to this report, but they are rarely explored or presented as such in the literature on child sexual abuse. One promising direction, however, has been a set of new research investigating how men's childhood experiences of being sexually abused interact with their concept of masculinity into adulthood and fatherhood (Chan 2014; Price-Robertson 2012). This work provides additional, promising links for new research on masculinity's relationships to perpetration, in addition to victimization.

Any understanding of the root causes of child sexual exploitation must go beyond the individual trafficker or consumer of sex; wider social acceptability of trafficking and sexual exploitation also plays a role. Greater social likelihood of placing blame on child victims for being in a situation of sexual exploitation may contribute to an environment that justifies the exploitation of children (ECPAT International 2013). These norms also link to the interplay between harmful masculine norms and the social mores and norms related to sex and sexuality in any given location.

It is also important to emphasize that child sexual abuse overwhelmingly involves perpetrators who are related or known to the victim. Even while discussing broader social structures and norms as important components of a multi-dimensional view of perpetration of child sexual abuse, it is essential to confirm that most offending occurs more privately. That is, the perpetrators are very often family members, acquaintances, or authority figures well known to the victims and their families.

Legal protections are also important mediators of child sexual abuse and exploitation. Weak laws, limited prosecution, and limited incarceration for child sexual abuse or exploitation offenses facilitate ease of access for perpetrators and make it an appealing "business" for sex traffickers, pimps, and gangs (Dank et al. 2014; ECPAT International 2013; World Congress III Against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents 2008). Homelessness, poverty, drug and alcohol use, mental health issues, a history of abuse or neglect, gang involvement, social oppression, gender inequality, HIV and AIDS, displacement, and armed conflict can all put children at a higher risk of sexual exploitation (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children 2017; World Congress III Against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents 2008).

Finally, generational effects of childhood experiences of sexual abuse are also clear; the incidence of sexual assault in the childhood of perpetrators is often significantly higher than in

the general population. A recent study found that sex offenders had more than three times the odds of child-sexual-abuse victimization as compared with men in the general population, as well as significantly higher odds of physical abuse, verbal abuse, and emotional neglect (Levenson, Willis, and Prescott 2016). Historical and foundational research shows similar links (Seghorn, Prentky, and Boucher 1987).

FOR FURTHER READING:

Smallbone, Stephen, William L. Marshall, and Richard K. Wortley. 2008. *Preventing Child Sexual Abuse: Evidence, Policy and Practice. Routledge.*

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION

It is rare for work to prevent child sexual abuse and exploitation to incorporate gender-transformative approaches addressing harmful masculinities.

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES	PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT
Initiatives aiming to prevent child sexual abuse and exploitation should focus on the following transformations of harmful masculine norms: • Investigate and deconstruct the ways in which social norms related to masculinity may lead to the very antisocial tendencies and practices that are linked to the perpetration of child sexual abuse. • Provide education on what child sexual exploitation is and on how unequal power dynamics operate in intimate and sexual relations between an adult and a minor. • Demonstrate the broad, lasting, harmful effects of child sexual exploitation for children of all genders, and insist that it is never justified.	• **Stop It Now** was founded in the United States and has expanded to the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Netherlands, and other parts of the world (Stop It Now! n.d.). It operates free helplines serving adults concerned about their own sexual feelings or behaviors toward children alongside parents, caregivers, and professionals dealing with the topic (Stop It Now! UK & Ireland n.d.). The helplines do not work to directly address harmful masculine norms, but an initial evaluation showed a modest positive effect in helping helpline users transform their thinking about their tendencies and actions (Horn et al 2015). Helplines such as these could consider a more overt discussion of the various interactions between social messages about manhood and perpetration of sexual violence. • **ECPAT International** is the only global network focused solely on the issue of child sexual exploitation. The network is based in Bangkok, Thailand and had 97 member organizations from 88 countries as of 2016. ECPAT conducts research and coordinates advocacy efforts at the local, national, and international levels. ECPAT and member organizations are increasingly focusing on gender-transformative programming with men and boys (ECPAT International 2013; STOP Group n.d.).

- Foster discussion and exploration of alternative masculinities and sexuality that provide healthy, nonviolent ideas of manhood delinked from sexual prowess, dominance, and control.

- Ask participants to name, recognize, and discuss the exploitative nature of transactional sex and how harmful gender norms inform this dynamic.

- The **Coalition Against Trafficking in Women** aims to decrease demand for sex trafficking and prostitution worldwide. To achieve this, the coalition conducts programming with men and boys to provide education on the harmful consequences of commercial sexual exploitation of women and children. In some locations, the coalition's programs include discussions about gender issues and the construction of traditional masculinity, as well as promote an alternative conception of male sexuality based on gender equality (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women n.d.).

The report's authors encourage readers involved in other programming related to child sexual abuse and exploitation that has tried or is trying to address harmful masculine norms to contact ***contact@promundoglobal.org*** *to help promote learning, explore potential collaborations, and help amplify this work.*

BULLYING

4.

The Facts

Bullying is a common act and experience among young people of all genders, but evidence suggests that the forms predominantly perpetrated by boys and men differ from the forms predominantly perpetrated by women and girls. Research suggests that men and boys are more likely to perpetrate many – if not all – forms of bullying (Basile et al. 2009; Ditch the Label 2017). A study with youth aged 12 to 20 in the United Kingdom found that 16 percent of male respondents, 8 percent of female respondents, and 33 percent of transgender respondents replied "yes" to the question, "Based on your own definition, have you ever bullied someone?" (Ditch the Label 2017). Most studies find that direct, overt, physical forms of aggression and bullying are more commonly perpetrated by boys and men. Some studies suggest that indirect, relational, and social aggression are more commonly perpetrated by girls and women (Basile et al. 2009), while other studies suggest more equal perpetration by boys and by girls (Ditch the Label 2017).

Bullying by men and boys takes many forms. In a 2017 study, more than one-third of young men in the United States, United Kingdom, and Mexico reported having perpetrated verbal, physical, and/or online bullying in the month prior to data collection. As discussed below, these men's attitudes about gender were significantly linked with their likelihood of perpetration (Heilman, Barker, and Harrison 2017). A study of youth in the United Kingdom found that 33 percent of male respondents reported having ever physically attacked someone, as compared to 13 percent of female respondents (Ditch the Label 2017).

Being a victim of bullying is a common experience for young people, and some youth are aware that gender non-conformity (being gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or otherwise non-conforming) was a reason behind being bullied. In the United Kingdom, 54 percent of youth reported having been bullied at some point in their lives. Among those who had ever been bullied, 27 percent reported being bullied at least once a month or more frequently. When asked why they thought they were bullied, some youth identified the direct causes to include others' attitudes towards their perceived masculinity or femininity (11 percent), attitudes towards their sexuality (4 percent), and attitudes towards their gender identity or expression (3 percent) (Ditch the Label 2017).

Boys and girls often experience bullying differently. Boys are more likely to be recognized by others as victims of bullying. However, boys are more likely than girls to experience harmful – rather than helpful or supportive – public acknowledgement of this victimization (Berger and Rodkin 2009). This could be because being a victim is dissonant with the power and control valued by traditional norms of manhood. A study by Young and Sweeting (2004) found that "maleness," or displays of normative masculinity, was a protective factor against bullying for boys, while "femaleness" (appearing effeminate) was a risk factor. The opposite was true for female youth – "maleness" was a risk factor and "femaleness" a protective factor. In other words, youth who do not conform to social norms related to gender and sexuality are at the highest risk of being bullied.

The Links

Masculinities are often at the root of men's perpetration of bullying. In the aforementioned study in the United States, United Kingdom, and Mexico, young men who held the most inequitable gender attitudes (about a variety of themes, not only violence) were significantly more likely to report both perpetrating and experiencing all three forms of

bullying included: verbal, online, and physical (Heilman, Barker, and Harrison 2017). Italian grade-school students also demonstrated a statistically significant link between alignment with traditionally masculine identity traits and the likelihood of perpetrating bullying (Gini and Pozzoli 2006). The literature demonstrates strong links between gender norms within peer groups and individual men's likelihood of perpetrating bullying and sexual violence. A study with fifth- through eighth-grade students in two middle schools in the United States concluded that attitudes about masculinity among one's peer group were predictive of an individual's likelihood of perpetrating homophobic verbal abuse (Birkett and Espelage 2015).

Research suggests that bullying behaviors often share common root causes: the perpetrator's desire to demonstrate power and control over the victim and the use of bullying to enforce gender conformity. Many researchers conclude that gender identity and violent gender norms contribute to bullying, but only alongside many other interwoven factors. Rigby (2004) proposes five distinct theoretical explanations for bullying, categorizing gender identity as a component of a sociocultural theory of this behavior, alongside four other theories. More recently, Swearer and Hymel (2015) made a similar attempt to synthesize research on the complex predictors and correlates of bullying behavior, ultimately arguing for a more complex understanding of its roots and lifetime consequences. A considerable body of research has found that individuals who are gender non-conforming or violate gender stereotypes are more likely to be bullied (Berger and Rodkin 2009; Moss-Racusin, Phelan, and Rudman 2010; Poteat, Kimmel, and Wilchins 2011). Thus, bullying can be understood as a tool used among peers to enforce the performance of masculinity and femininity.

Bullying can provide a pathway to achieve or maintain social status within group settings such as schools and workplaces. Social structures within a peer group are one determinant of aggressive and

bullying behavior. Bullying those who are different from the group based on a certain characteristic, such as gender or sexuality, may be perceived as a way to elevate the social status of the bully (Rodkin, Espelage, and Hanish 2015).

The Intersections

Any thorough explanation of bullying behavior must include influences beyond hegemonic masculinity. Swearer and Hymel's (2015) analysis of these causes identifies five levels of influences: the individual level (including personality traits, anxiety, social status, and prior victimization), family influences (domestic violence and parenting styles), peer influences (peer-group acceptability of bullying behavior), school influences (teaching style and teacher-student relationships), and community/cultural influences (including poverty and media influences).

Children who are exposed to contexts and relationships with extensive conflict, hostility, and abuse are more likely to perpetrate bullying, a finding similar to other forms of violence for which there is intergenerational transmission. Hostile family and educational environments have been consistently found to be risk factors for bullying. A recent literature review by Rodkin, Espelage, and Hanish (2015) on aggressive behavior found an association between bullying behavior in children and family hardships such as child abuse, poverty, instability, and family dysfunction. Studies have found that a negative or hostile school climate is a significant factor in facilitating bullying (Espelage and Swearer 2003; Gendron, Williams, and Guerra 2011). Furthermore, research suggests that children and adolescents who bully are more likely to perpetrate other forms of violence as adults, such as criminal activity, intimate partner violence, and violence against children (Barker et al. 2008; Haltigan and Vaillancourt 2014).

Physical location, social context, and age intersect with and normalize boys and men's perpetration of bullying. For instance, in school contexts, boys' physical aggression is often legitimized as "boys will be boys," whereas the same behavior by girls raises questions (Athanasiades and Deliyanni Kouimtzis 2010). Similarly, physical aggression and bullying by an adolescent boy in a school setting might be ignored by parents, teachers, or other authority figures as a normal teenage behavior or developmental phase, whereas the same behavior by a middle-aged man in a work setting might be considered inappropriate.

FOR FURTHER READING:

Stoltz, Jo-Anne. 2005. "Masculinity and School Violence: Addressing the Role of Male Gender Socialization." *Canadian Journal of Counselling* 39 (1): 52–63.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: BULLYING

Very few bullying-prevention programs, particularly in the Global South, take a gender-transformative lens or work to deconstruct harmful masculinities.

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES

Initiatives aiming to prevent bullying should focus on the following transformations of harmful masculine norms:

- Engage men and boys – and women and girls – in discussions about how traditional gender norms and gender non-conformity are connected with perpetration and experiences of bullying.
- Explain, illustrate, and discuss the direct connection between the perpetration of bullying and power, control, and social acceptance, being careful to do so in a way that invites self-awareness rather than placing blame.
- Provide participants with a safe space to practice nonviolent, healthier ways to navigate peer groups and social dynamics.
- Discuss ways that participants can foster group settings and peer networks that value healthy expressions of masculinity and embrace rather than punish individual differences.

Several additional recommendations related to school-based interventions to curtail young men's use of bullying can be found in the article "Masculinity and School Violence: Addressing the Role of Male Gender Socialization" (Stoltz 2005).

PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT

Interest in bullying prevention has increased dramatically in recent years, although not universally. Most such efforts are taking place in higher-income, Global North countries and are focused exclusively on schools and universities.

- **The Mentors in Violence Prevention** (MVP) approach to working with men is "shaped by the idea that men who have status with other men are in a particularly powerful position to influence the way men and boys view and treat women and girls" (Aronson and Kimmel 2004). Its approach challenges men who have credibility with other men to use their status and power to repudiate any definition of masculinity that equates being a man with being sexist, disrespectful, or violent toward women or with bullying other men.

*The report's authors encourage readers involved in other programming related to bullying that has tried or is trying to address harmful masculine norms to contact **contact@promundoglobal.org** to help promote learning, explore potential collaborations, and help amplify this work.*

HOMICIDE AND OTHER VIOLENT CRIME

5.

The Facts

Globally, homicide is predominantly a male phenomenon. Men are more likely both to commit and to die by homicide than women are, by significant proportions and across all age ranges and geographic regions. Of an estimated 475,000 homicide deaths worldwide in 2012, 60 percent were men aged 15 to 44, and men accounted for more than 80 percent of all victims of homicide. Homicide is the third leading cause of death for boys and men in this age range (World Health Organization 2014a). UNICEF data reveal that rates of death by homicide among boys aged 0 to 19 are higher than rates of death by homicide among girls in the same age range, in all regions around the world (United Nations Children's Fund 2014b). These discrepancies are greatest – and the homicide rate highest – in Latin America and the Caribbean. Global trends show that homicide is declining, but it is doing so most quickly in wealthier countries (World Health Organization 2014a). Where income and patriarchal inequalities are strongest – as in Mexico, Central America, and elsewhere in Latin America – homicide is not declining. In fact, in parts of Latin America, homicide rates are decreasing among the middle class but are increasing per capita among low-income men, and among specific groups of low-income men (World Health Organization 2014a).

TABLE 1. Sex-disaggregated rates of death by homicide across age groups

Age group (years)	Homicide rate per 100,000 population		
	Male	Female	Total
0-4	2.8	2.7	2.7
5-14	1.7	1.2	1.5
15-29	18.2	3.2	10.9
30-44	15.7	2.7	9.3
45-59	10.2	2.0	6.1
≥60	6.7	2.7	4.5
Total	10.8	2.5	6.7

Source: World Health Organization 2014a

Mass killings – almost always perpetrated by men – are on the rise in the United States. There is some debate about how to define and classify "mass killings," but most data within the United States applies a definition of "the killing of four or more people by the same killer" (Schaul 2015). Previously an occurrence that took place a few times every decade in the United States, such mass killings have been increasing since the 1970s (Way 2011). Applying the definition above, Washington Post data show that there were 40 mass killings in the United States in 2015 alone. Applying an alternate definition of a "mass shooting" as a shooting resulting in at least four deaths or injuries combined, there were at least 354 mass shootings in the country in the same year (Schaul 2015). Perpetrators of mass killings and mass shootings in the United States are nearly universally men (Filipovic 2017).

With regard to other violent crime (apart from forms of violence addressed elsewhere in this report), decades of research demonstrate that men and boys are more likely to be perpetrators and victims than women and girls. As Richard Collier wrote, "Most crimes would remain unimaginable without the presence of men" (Carrabine, Iganski, and Lee 2004). Public violence is a common occurrence for men: IMAGES data from six countries show that 3 to 36 percent of men reported participating in a robbery and 5 to 22 percent of men reported participating in fights (Barker et al. 2011). Men's perpetration of violent crime also disproportionately victimizes men, meaning that both perpetration and victimization have a male face. Men are victims of approximately two-thirds of all incidents of violent crime (Crowther-Dowey and Silvestri 2017).

WHEN HISTORICAL RACISM AND GENDER INTERACT: BLACK LIVES, HOMICIDE, AND INCARCERATION IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES

Brazil and the United States provide important case studies of how masculine norms interact with structural and race-based inequalities to drive homicide. In Brazil, the cumulative effect of more than 40 years of high homicide rates means that there are now essentially 4 million missing men in Brazil, mostly black men (Barker 2005). Millions of families in Brazil are missing sons, fathers, husbands, and brothers who were victims of homicide. There are an alarming 56.4 homicides for every 100,000 people in Brazil, according to 2010 data (Amnesty International 2015). Even though overall homicide rates have fallen in Brazil, they have not come down for black men. In the last 15 years, Brazil has seen an impressive and unprecedented reduction of social inequality. Brazil's poor have more money in their pockets, and their children have more access to education and health. However, these important achievements have had little effect on reducing homicide rates among low-income, young black men (Barker 2016).

Many of the young men who are murdered – or who murder – in Brazil are connected to drug-trafficking gangs or live near them. Most of these homicides occur in urban areas, where the drug trade emerged as a response to limited employment and limited presence of the state, and where there is easy access to firearms. For young men who have few things that make them feel that they are socially recognized adult men, this violence is also related to competition for reputation, recognition, honor, and prestige from female partners (Barker 2005, Taylor et al. 2016). Added to this is police violence against young black men. In 2007, police killed 1,330 people, mostly young black men, in the state of Rio de Janeiro alone (Amnesty International 2015).

Similarly, recent high-visibility murders of black men at the hands of police in the United States have brought increased attention to the particular threat of state-sponsored homicide facing black men. Although this homicide – which rarely results in legal consequences for the involved officers – is nothing new in American history, it is now being called what it is: male police officers killing black men. The main civil-society movement that has emerged, Black Lives Matter, has also called attention to widespread race-based injustices in American society. Another piece of the same trend is the slow killing of black men in prisons in the United States. The country has the highest absolute number of individuals in prison in the world, approximately 2.2 million, dwarfing numbers in countries with vastly higher overall populations (International Center for Prison Studies 2013). In both Brazil and the United States, men of African descent are far more likely to be imprisoned than white men. The inhumane conditions and the dearth of rehabilitative efforts in many American and Brazilian prisons mean that mass incarceration could also be considered a form of slow, lethal, patriarchal violence against black men.

These two countries demonstrate the intersections of ethnicity, income inequality (particularly the limited social space for low-income black men to pursue licit employment), the historical legacy of slavery, a repressive and non-rehabilitative public security system, identity aspects of gender and male socialization, early exposure to violence at the hands of other men and boys, and other factors combining to create the conditions for high, unjust rates of death and incarceration for low-income black men.

The Links

Men and boys often use crime in various ways to demonstrate or prove their achievement of a certain form of masculinity. Since Messerschmidt's analysis of criminal behavior as a product of social constructions of gender, sexuality, race, and class, there has been a growing evidence base for understanding many forms of violent criminal behavior as innately linked with performances of hegemonic masculinity, alongside healthy critique and calls for increasing complexity in this analysis (Messerschmidt 1997, 2013). Messerschmidt's thesis points to crime as a fertile landscape for young men to prove a certain type of dominant, hegemonic masculinity, which is demonstrated in several other scholars' work. Similarly, Copes and Hochstetler (2003) draw on interviews with

men in a southern metropolitan area in the United States who were on probation or parole for robbery, burglary, or motor vehicle theft, concluding that "to participate in heavy drinking and drug use, to engage in conversations that imply criminal ability, and to join in social groups and networks where the potential for crime is high are to evoke masculine cultural norms." Sanders (2011) draws similar conclusions through interviews with adults reflecting on their criminal behaviors during youth. In addition to the fact that crime statistics consistently show that men disproportionately perpetrate violent crime and very often target male victims, these insights point to an entrenched cycle of violence linked with masculine gender identity – that is, of men who perceive that they have few other ways than violent crime to "prove their manhood" (Crowther-Dowey and Silvestri 2017).

> **"The gun is a convenient peg on which to hang traditional notions of masculine power"**
>
> (Barker and Ricardo 2005)

Men's disproportionate likelihood to perpetrate homicide and violent crime is not biologically driven. Rather, these patterns are much more complex, including a significant influence of masculine norms, social dynamics, and life conditions. It takes enormous effort to turn boys and young men into killers. From primatologist Frans de Waal to evolutionary anthropologist Sarah Hrdy to developmental psychologist Niobe Way, the evidence shows that neither women nor men are killers by nature (De Waal 2009; Hrdy 2011; Way 2011). More likely, the opposite is true – humans of all genders want to care and be cared for. From Darwin onward, the research overwhelmingly shows that humanity has survived and thrived as a species because its biological and social propensity to live in connection and close cooperation with others is stronger than any evolutionary propensity to kill each other.

Research strongly suggests that it takes systematic cruelty and inhumanity, often disseminated and exacerbated by the reification of harmful masculine norms, to create men who kill. Fighting with one another, or fighting with more marginalized men or boys, allows men to achieve multiple elements of a harmful definition of manhood. For example, a man can demonstrate his physical strength, he can wield power and dominance over another man, he can prove his proficiency in resolving conflict using violence, and he can prove his mastery over his emotions. Furthermore, gang involvement, or even more informal associations of friends participating in criminal behavior, is often an acceptable "microculture" or social space for young men. Young men, craving meaningful connections with their peers and friends, will often be instructed by gendered pressures not to seek such connections in artistic, creative, intellectual, or otherwise emotionally open spaces. Rather, young men's options for male

social connections will be limited to choosing among styles of delinquency such as drug and alcohol abuse, gang involvement, and in extreme cases, militia membership.

The Intersections

The research overwhelmingly and consistently shows that it takes a preponderance of factors – if not an involved, intentional effort – to turn individual men into killers. Researchers such as James Gilligan (1996) and Cynthia Enloe (2016) have studied how extreme trauma, humiliation, and shaming are nearly always part of the making of men who kill. Other researchers have shown how the effects of particularly difficult childhoods and damaging relationships distort a human propensity not to kill other humans. All of this research affirms that killing is not natural, biologically rooted, nor typical of men (or women).

Research on men who have carried out mass killings in the United States varies but tends to point to a cluster of causes. Ubiquitous access to guns, undetected mental illness, social isolation, having experienced homophobic bullying, economic stress or grievance about job or prestige loss, and in some cases having been humiliated by a female partner or girlfriend all combine with harmful masculine norms to increase the likelihood of pursuing this form of extreme violence (Gilligan 1996). In most cases, these perpetrators of mass killings demonstrate what Michael Kimmel calls "aggrieved entitlement" (Kimmel 2013). These young men are angry and disturbed – angry at having lost something to which they feel entitled, such as jobs, income, prestige, access to female partners, or privilege. They typically are men stuck in rigid notions of manhood, have faced some form of childhood trauma, deeply yearn for meaningful human connection, and have access to lethal weapons. As with other forms of violence included in this report, mass killings can be seen as another form of patriarchal violence carried out by men who see themselves as losers in a patriarchal, capitalist system and who are socially isolated and perceive themselves as unable to seek help or lack appropriate help.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: HOMICIDE AND OTHER VIOLENT CRIME

Efforts to prevent homicide and other violent crime with an explicit masculinities lens are exceedingly rare around the world.

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES	PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT*
Initiatives aiming to prevent homicide and other violent crime should focus on the following transformations of harmful masculine norms: • Engage men and boys in discussions about the connections between traditional masculinities, violence, and negative consequences. • Use nonviolent male role models in programming who are similar to participants in age and other demographic factors, in order to provide participants with an approachable, positive peer leader. • Provide a safe space for men and boys to practice nonviolent forms of masculinity and to encourage male bonding and community building.	The **Cure Violence Health Model** uses the "epidemic control method" to reduce crime and homicide. The program model does not explicitly address harmful masculine norms, but certain elements of the program design use male friendships and trust among men. The program selects members of the community – trusted insiders – to anticipate where violence may occur and intervene before it erupts (Cure Violence n.d.). *The report's authors encourage readers involved in other programming related to homicide and other violent crime that has tried or is trying to address harmful masculine norms to contact* **contact@promundoglobal.org** *to help promote learning, explore potential collaborations, and help amplify this work.* * Many of the efforts to curtail homicide and other violent crime are spearheaded by law enforcement and/or military units. **Law enforcement** agencies by and large do not take a preventative approach and frequently exhibit race-based disproportionality in arrests and imprisonment for violent and nonviolent crime. According to a recent report by the Center for Popular Democracy in the United States, "Over the last 30 years, governments have dramatically increased their spending on criminalization, policing, and mass incarceration while drastically cutting investments in basic infrastructure and slowing investment in social safety net programs" (Hamaji et al. 2017).

NON-PARTNER SEXUAL VIOLENCE

6.

The Facts

This section addresses various forms of non-partner sexual violence, such as verbal sexual harassment, unwanted sexual touching, and rape. Non-partner sexual violence is predominantly perpetrated by men against women and girls, although increasing evidence finds substantial sexual violence by men against other men and boys (Jewkes 2012). The WHO estimates that 7 percent of women globally have been sexually assaulted by someone other than a partner, using a somewhat restrictive definition of the act that excludes sexual harassment[1] (García-Moreno et al. 2013). Forms of sexual violence other than forced sex acts, particularly street-based sexual harassment, are prevalent. According to ActionAid, 79 percent of women living in cities in India, 86 percent in Thailand, and 89 percent in Brazil have been subjected to sexual harassment or violence in public, as have 75 percent of women in London (ActionAid 2016). Between 31 and 64 percent of male IMAGES respondents from four countries in the Middle East and North Africa admitted to perpetrating one or more forms of sexual harassment or assault against women and girls in public (El Feki, Heilman, and Barker 2017). In addition to the toll of this violence on women is women's constant feelings of insecurity; men are considerably more likely than women to say they feel safe walking alone at night in their communities, according to data from 143 countries (Crabtree and Nsubuga 2012). Sexual violence against men and boys is widely underreported, in large part due to normative ideas about masculinity, gender stereotyping, and the resulting stigma attached to being a male survivor of sexual violence (University of California, Los Angeles 2017).

The Links

Gender-inequitable masculinities are among the top causal factors of rape perpetration, according to a 2012 synthesis of approximately 300 qualifying studies (Jewkes 2012). The WHO also identifies "beliefs in family honor and sexual purity" and "ideologies of male sexual entitlement" as factors specifically associated with perpetration of sexual violence at the global level. Likewise, IMAGES data from five countries demonstrate that men who hold attitudes of male privilege and entitlement are consistently more likely to perpetrate rape; below-average (e.g., less gender-equitable) scores on the Gender-Equitable Men scale multiply the likelihood of men's reported sexual violence by as much as 3.5 times (Heilman, Hebert, and Paul-Gera 2014). Men aged 18 to 30 in the United States, United Kingdom, and Mexico who subscribed most strongly to inequitable gender attitudes were also significantly more likely – up to six times as likely in the United States and United Kingdom – to have perpetrated sexual harassment in the previous month (Heilman, Barker, and Harrison 2017).

Perpetration of sexual violence can serve as a tool for men and boys to prove their manhood, achieve the social status of a "real man," and establish power over others. Scholars emphasize that men's use of violence against women, particularly sexual violence, is linked with a "culturally honored definition of masculinity that rewards the successful use of violence to achieve domination over others" (Messner 2016). Even if the violence goes unwitnessed or is unknown to others, perpetrating sexual violence can provide a sense of status, power, and control. One in-depth case study with adolescent boys who perpetrated sexual violence illustrates how the boys turned to sexual violence as a way to assert agency and power and to demonstrate their compliance with hegemonic masculinities when they felt that all other efforts to achieve manhood had failed (Messerschmidt 2017).

Sexual violence can also be used as a tool to regulate the gender performance of women and girls, and of other men and boys. A report on sexual violence against men and boys in Sri Lanka found that ideas about acceptable expressions of masculinity "result in discrimination, and in some cases sexual violence against those who challenge accepted gender norms" (University of California, Los Angeles 2017).

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1   The definition applied in this case was, "When aged 15 years or over, experience of being forced to perform any sexual act that you did not want to by someone other than your husband/partner."

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY "RAPE CULTURE"?

The array of culturally salient attitudes and assumptions that drive sexual violence – including harmful masculine norms – are so globally and locally pervasive that feminist scholars and cultural critics coined the term "rape culture" to describe it. One widely circulated definition of rape culture is: "A complex set of beliefs that encourage male sexual aggression and supports violence against women. It is a society where violence is seen as sexy and sexuality as violent. In a rape culture, women perceive a continuum of threatened violence that ranges from sexual remarks to sexual touching to rape itself. ... In a rape culture both men and women assume that sexual violence is a fact of life, inevitable" (Buchwald, Fletcher, and Roth 2005). Rape culture is embodied through many platforms, such as jokes, television, music, laws, words, and imagery. It makes sexual violence against women seem normal and rape as "just the way things are," rather than something that could be changed or that should be seen as abhorrent (Women Against Violence Against Women n.d.). Rape culture creates an environment in which the constant threat of sexual violence controls women and girls' gender performance (e.g., "be careful what you wear or you will be raped"), reinforces the division of space (e.g., "women should not work in certain professional fields or they will be harassed"), and reinforces male dominance and power (e.g., "a woman should not leave the house without a man or she puts herself at risk of harassment"). Furthermore, rape culture places blame on the woman if she is victimized and effectively renders invisible the cultural dynamics that create an environment in which sexual violence occurs.

The Intersections

As with other forms of violence, being a victim of violence as a child is linked with a significantly higher likelihood of men's perpetration of sexual violence as adults (Heilman, Hebert, and Paul-Gera 2014). A boy who is victimized by a parent, caregiver, or other trusted individual might learn that sexual violence is an appropriate exercise of power. Further, although boys are victims of sexual violence at lower rates than girls, they are less likely to seek services for this victimization. A lack of support services in the face of childhood sexual violence is associated with the future use of violence.

Global data suggest complex, multidirectional relationships between educational achievement, income level, and sexual violence perpetration, making broad generalizations impossible. In the IMAGES study in the Middle East and North Africa, men with secondary education or higher in three of four countries were more likely to report having perpetrated sexual harassment or assault (El Feki, Heilman, and Barker 2017). Global WHO data also show that – limitations in available data notwithstanding – high-income countries show higher prevalence rates of non-partner sexual violence than lower-income countries (García-Moreno et al. 2013). Male unemployment – a threat to men's social status and the hierarchy of power between men and women – may also lead to a rise in sexual harassment against women. A recent review of labor data in the United States found a correlation between increases in men's unemployment and increases in sex discrimination and sexual harassment claims, with no such correlation for increases in women's unemployment (Cassino 2017).

In addition to adverse childhood exposures and gender-inequitable masculinities, Jewkes' literature review (2012) identified three other top risk factors for rape perpetration: attachment and personality disorders, social learning and delinquency, and substance abuse and access to firearms. These risk factors suggest a complex mixture of poverty, culture, social environment, parenting, biology, and trauma as influencing the perpetration of sexual violence.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: NON-PARTNER SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Gender-transformative programs challenging harmful masculinities often discuss sexual violence as one of several outcomes of harmful masculinities, but more specific and comprehensive programs are needed.

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES	PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES

Initiatives aiming to prevent non-partner sexual violence should focus on the following transformations of harmful masculine norms:

- Ask participants to name and identify the harmful effects of gender norms on both men and women, particularly as they relate to gender expression and sexuality.

- Foster discussion and appreciation of alternative masculinities and sexuality that provide healthy, nonviolent ideas of manhood.

- Identify rape culture and engage participants in an exploration of how it manifests, its negative consequences, and how to change it (as a bonus, this encourages advocacy).

- Demonstrate the broad, harmful effects of sexual violence, including intergenerational effects, and insist that sexual violence is never justified.

- Recognize psychosocial support as particularly important for young people who have experienced or witnessed violence while growing up, to help disrupt intergenerational cycles of violence perpetration.

PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT

- Some recent school-based programs aiming to reduce violence and to prompt healthier, less violent lifestyles that reject sexual and other forms of violence have shown success in multiple age groups. The **Gender Equity Movement in Schools** shifted attitudes related to gender among schoolchildren aged 9 to 13 in Mumbai, India, for instance, while the **Young Men Initiative** in the Northwest Balkans and other school-based adaptations of the **Program H** curriculum have also shown effectiveness in shifting attitudes related to sexual violence. Most programs, including those working with high school or university-age men and boys – such as the **Men's Project, Manhood 2.0**, and others – have yet to publish evaluations (Stewart 2014).

- The **interACT Troupe** "is distinguished by their commitment to social justice pedagogy and proactive performance. Influenced by critical pedagogy and Theatre of the Oppressed, interACT uses embodied techniques aligned with feminist pedagogies to raise awareness, promote empathic responses, challenge (hyper)masculinity, and encourage bystander interventions" (Rich 2010).

*The report's authors encourage readers involved in other programming related to men's perpetration of sexual violence that has tried or is trying to address harmful masculine norms to contact **contact@promundoglobal.org** to help promote learning, explore potential collaborations, and help amplify this work.*
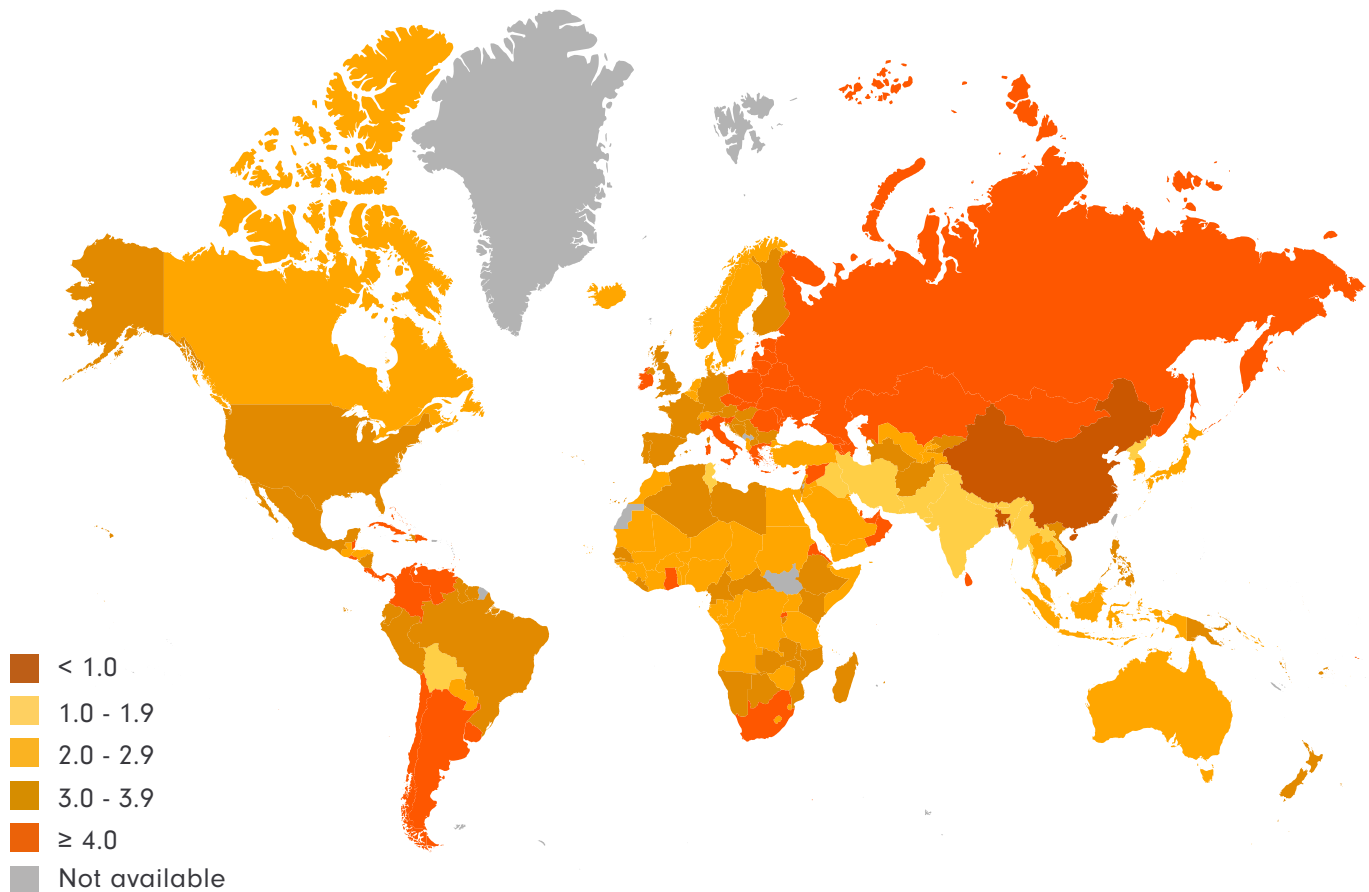
SUICIDE

7.

The Facts

Globally, men are almost twice as likely to die by suicide[2] as women are, with the WHO estimating that 15 men per 100,000 and eight women per 100,000 die by suicide on average, with tremendous variation by country (World Health Organization 2014b). As Figure 2 demonstrates, the male-to-female ratio for suicide equals or exceeds four to one in many former Soviet republics, South Africa, and Argentina, among other countries (World Health Organization 2015). While suicide is often not considered violence, 50 percent of all violent deaths for men and 71 percent of all violent deaths for women are suicides (World Health Organization 2014b).

FIGURE 2. Male-to-female ratio of age-standardized suicide rates

Legend:
- < 1.0
- 1.0 - 1.9
- 2.0 - 2.9
- 3.0 - 3.9
- ≥ 4.0
- Not available

Source: World Health Organization, 2015

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2   Suicide is not always included in academic analyses of violence; more often, it falls under the category of mental health. Suicide is self-directed violence, however, and it is essential to include in this discussion due to the many gender-related factors linked to suicide presented in this section, in addition to its international prevalence. Making a similar point, Barker (2016) writes, "Suicide is violence, and it is patriarchal violence." Suicide is also directly related to the five processes of harmful masculine gendering. In many cases, suicidal ideation is connected to a failure to live up to the demands of "being a man," perhaps related to financial success, one's sexuality, or another characteristic.

While men are more likely to die by suicide, women are more likely to attempt suicide. According to one analysis of this trend across 17 countries, women were 1.7 times more likely to make a suicide attempt than men, although as with successful suicide attempts, research shows that these rates and ratios vary by country (Nock et al. 2008).

The Links

Harmful gender norms may often lie at the root of suicidal ideation and suicide. Societies that "gender" the heart such that men are told to cut off their inner lives, to repress their emotions, and to be hard-shelled workers, protectors, and lone providers contribute to a *crisis of connection* among men. This lack of social connection, or undermining of men's emotional lives, can be part of the groundwork for suicidal ideation, a form of patriarchal violence of its own (Barker, 2016; Way, 2011). Harmful masculine norms often require that boys and men suppress their emotional experience, so much so that men often lack even the language to express or understand their emotions. Several scholars point to alexithymia – the inability to connect with and communicate one's emotions – as a particularly male-gendered precursor to suicidal ideation; a failure to recognize negative or troubling emotions makes it difficult to address them (Cleary 2012; Coleman 2015; Courtenay 2000). Cleary (2012) writes that men's socially reinforced disconnect from their inner emotional lives, alongside the "forced socialization of men's stoicism as a gendered ideal," correlates with suicidal ideation and death by suicide. Masculine norms often dictate that asking for help is weak or feminine. Thus, seeking medical support and mental-health support is not only frowned upon but also seen as unmanly. To even recognize pain – physical or emotional – is to fail to be a "real man." While this can have detrimental effects on a man physically, it is also incredibly harmful to his mental well-being (Cleary 2012).

Failure to fulfill the socially prescribed role of financial provider, even when faced with economic hardship, can drive some men in the direction of self-harm and suicide. When men are taught to be self-sufficient and independent at all costs, they may be averse to seeking mental-health services, which is also linked with suicidal behavior (Cleary 2012). Failure to fulfill the provider role or to be successful at work has also been shown to increase suicidal ideation (Canetto and Sakinofsky 1998; Coleman 2015). When men cannot live up to this model of manhood, when they fail to achieve their manhood by these terms, they are subjected to ridicule and scorn. They can feel that they have no role in the system, that they are worthless, and that their life is without meaning.

These factors are compounded by the issue of age: Globally, men aged 70 and over are the most likely to die by suicide (World Health Organization, 2014b). While research is lacking on this topic, older men's suicide may be in part a response to chronic pain and declining health. Many of these deaths, however, are no doubt an indictment of how society treats the elderly and reflect a crisis of connection among older men. Their bodies and virility in decline, unwanted in the workplace, elderly men are often considered superfluous to a patriarchal economic system that wants young, able male bodies. Added to that is the social isolation of elderly men in many parts of the world relative to women.

The act of suicide may also be constructed as a masculine or masculinized action, which may explain why men are more likely to use more immediately fatal means such as firearms when attempting suicide. Canetto and Sakinofsky (1998) observe male social stigmas around failing to complete an attempted suicide, whereby young men who have unsuccessfully attempted suicide are "feminized" for both their mental-health struggles and their perceived lack of commitment or follow through. This layer of

analysis supports the observation that men are more likely to die by suicide even though in many locations they are less likely to attempt it.

All of these conceptual links are further buttressed by empirical data linking greater adherence to harmful masculine norms – whether by individual men or as expressed in mainstream culture – with increased suicidal behavior among men. In a 2015 study with a sample of more than 2,000 young adults in the United States, for instance, attitudes aligned with traditional masculinity were significantly associated with suicidal ideation, second only in strength to depression (Coleman 2015). Young men in the United States, United Kingdom, and Mexico who most strongly agreed with harmful masculine norms were also significantly more likely to report suicidal ideation in the previous two weeks than young men who rejected those norms (Heilman, Barker, and Harrison 2017). More broadly, research has also shown that settings with more rigid and inequitable gender norms have a higher prevalence of suicidal ideation among youth than settings that are less highly gendered (Nowotny, Peterson, and Boardman 2015).

Research also shows that harmful masculine norms linked with sexual identity – particularly heteronormative and homophobic notions – are associated with increased mental-health challenges and suicide risk among individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, or genderqueer (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood 2012). This is another manifestation of the significant, negative outcomes linked with failure to achieve the narrowly defined social standard of manhood.

These links are complex, however; the same set of masculine norms at the social level can simultaneously ease and exacerbate one's suicidal ideation. Some studies show that when an individual can find value in certain elements of traditional masculinity, such as fathering a child, it can pull them away from suicidal ideation. However, when men

see themselves as failing to live up to expectations of traditional masculinities in the workplace, by not making an income to sustain a certain lifestyle or take care of their family, it can push men to greater suicidal ideation (Coleman 2015). This insight links to other research demonstrating that failing in one area of masculinity tends to push a man to over-assert in others, increasing the likelihood of violence, substance abuse, and self-destructive behaviors (Canetto and Sakinofsky 1998; Coleman 2015).

The Intersections

Research on the risk factors for suicide is limited (and difficult to obtain for obvious reasons), but data suggest these risk factors include financial stress, mental health issues, alcohol abuse, and physical-health issues associated with chronic pain. Other factors include stigma associated with help-seeking, trauma (sometimes related to war and conflict), and loss of livelihoods. In other words, many of those who die by suicide are men who perceive themselves as losers in the global system of patriarchal power (World Health Organization, 2014b). One example of this broader global trend is the high rates of suicide among male members of indigenous populations in Brazil; these men have undergone a particularly significant and perhaps masculine-gendered loss of identity and legacy of social exclusion (Marín-León, Oliveira, and Botega 2012).

Differential male-to-female suicide ratios across the globe suggest that cultural context, employment patterns and income inequality, race, ethnicity, and other demographic factors intersect with gender norms to influence suicidal ideation and behaviors. Within the United States, for instance, some datasets show that death by suicide is most prevalent among Native American communities and least prevalent among Asian and Pacific Islanders, with the highest male-to-female ratio among African Americans (6.9 to 1) (Karch et al. 2012).

Access to adequate healthcare, support services, and social support from family, friends, and neighbors is particularly essential in curbing men's suicidal ideation and behavior. Yet, "gendering" of the heart and men's cultivated emotional isolation often mean that men are unlikely to pursue formal healthcare or even to seek help and support from family and friends when they need it. Wilkins et al. (2014) observe that men's social isolation can amplify the frequency and severity of many of the forms of violence in this report; without social support from family, friends, or neighbors, they write, people are more likely to perpetrate child maltreatment, intimate partner violence, suicide, and elder abuse. The same study suggests that lack of economic opportunities and unemployment are also associated with self-directed violence, among other forms of violence.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: SUICIDE

There is increasing interest in gender-transformative approaches to address harmful gender norms in the field of suicide prevention, but most such initiatives are very new and their geographic range is limited.

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES	PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT
Initiatives aiming to prevent suicide should focus on the following transformations of harmful masculine norms: • Identify and discuss how normative masculinities "gender" the heart, suppress emotional expression, and can lead to a sense of disconnection, isolation, and distress. • Provide spaces for men and boys to express emotions, bond with peers, and build a sense of community and belonging. • Engage participants in discussions on traditional gender norms, the pressures of achieving manhood, and the intense – and often unrealistic – expectations these place on men and boys. • Encourage and legitimize help-seeking behavior – including mental-health care – among men and boys. • Explore and validate nonviolent alternative forms of masculinity.	• The **Campaign Against Living Miserably** (CALM) is a national charity in the United Kingdom dedicated to preventing male suicide in three ways: helping men who are "down" or in crisis; promoting culture change so that any man considering suicide feels able to seek help; and campaigning for better understanding of suicide and prevention. CALM's program materials speak about "challenging a culture that prevents men seeking help when they need it," and that "if men felt able to ask for and find help when they need it then hundreds of male suicides could be prevented," indicating a central focus on harmful masculine norms (Campaign Against Living Miserably n.d.). • The University of British Columbia's research project **Man-Up Against Suicide** aims to break silences and stimulate conversation on the issue of men's depression and suicide. The project collected photos and narratives from 60 Canadian men and women who had been affected by a man's suicide and put them on display in an exhibition that was shown across the country. Included also were photographs and stories of men who had previously thought about killing themselves. These exhibits aimed to provide space and inspiration for people to share their own stories (University of British Columbia n.d.).

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES	PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT
	• **Man Up** is a three-part documentary series and social awareness campaign in Australia funded by the Movember Foundation and hosted by Triple M radio personality Gus Worland. It encourages men to open up and share their emotions and aims to get to the bottom of the male suicide crisis, effect social change, and save lives (University of Melbourne 2016).
	• Many additional programs, some of which directly address themes related to masculine norms, are profiled in a recent review published by the **Suicide Prevention Resource Center** (Suicide Prevention Resource Center 2016).
	The report's authors encourage readers involved in other programming related to suicide that has tried or is trying to address harmful masculine norms to contact **contact@promundoglobal.org** *to help promote learning, explore potential collaborations, and help amplify this work.*

CONFLICT AND WAR

8.

The Facts

Men are disproportionately likely to die as a direct result of armed conflict compared with women (Ormhaug, Meier, and Hernes 2009). These violent deaths are not the only, or even a major proportion of, deaths associated with active conflict, however, and some data suggest that the majority of overall deaths associated with active conflict, when indirect consequences are considered, are women and children (Buvinic et al. 2013).

Involvement in militaries or militias is also decidedly male. Even among men who voluntarily enlist in the military or join a militia or rebel group, a certain amount of coercion based in hegemonic masculinity is at play. Furthermore, the majority of child soldiers worldwide are boys (United Nations Office of the Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth 2015). Victims of conflict-related sexual violence, as with sexual violence more generally, are disproportionately female, while perpetrators are overwhelmingly male. Some estimates suggest that up to one-third of victims of conflict-related sexual violence are men, however (Touquet and Gorris 2016).

LOOKING MORE DEEPLY AT THE MALE FACE OF CONFLICT

The following excerpt appears alongside other insights in a 2013 special report published by the United States Institute of Peace in partnership with Promundo, "The Other Side of Gender: Men as Critical Agents of Change" (Vess et al. 2013):

The data also show that armed violence happens at far higher rates outside of war than during conflict, and in both cases, men are far more likely to be both the perpetrators and the victims. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in any setting increases the likelihood, when other factors are also present, that a conflict may turn deadly and makes it easier to mobilize large numbers of men and boys to commit violence, especially in weak states or states with repressive security sectors and historical grievances. It also makes it possible for younger boys, and armed movements with limited institutional support, to cause havoc.

The male face of conflict is taken for granted and therefore generally ignored. It thus masks the complex interaction of social, cultural, political, and economic factors that make it so. Economic frustration and early exposure can directly affect men. Those who become combatants in armed conflict may endure traumatic indoctrination into armed groups and further militarization. But even when all elements point toward large-scale violence, it is not inevitable. Many frustrated, disempowered young men who feel they have no options in life express that frustration not through violent conflict but through drug and alcohol abuse or other self-abusive behaviors. Still other young men cope with disempowerment through contributing to their communities and thus express frustration in more constructive ways.

The Links

Does a simple preponderance of male youth lead directly to armed conflict? Some econometric and demographic evidence links a high proportion of male youth in a population to its likelihood of falling into internal conflict (Collier 2000; Mesquida and Wiener 1999). This evidence falls short of comprehensively explaining violence (or even male violence) for multiple reasons, however. The so-called "youth bulge" thesis operates under the assumption that male youth are by nature dangerous, ready to turn violent at any moment. This contradicts evidence (from Sierra Leone, Liberia, and other locations) that the vast majority of young men, even those unemployed and out of school, have not been involved in recent conflict-related violence (Barker and Ricardo 2005). This thesis fails to explain the many locations where youth bulges do not lead to violence (Sommers 2006), and it also neglects the ways in which these youth face exclusion and marginalization by societies and governments that do not provide them access to social status or opportunities to participate in the expansion of democratic or economic capabilities.

Young men's social exclusion, rather than their inherent nature or their number, may lead them to violent behavior, some scholars suggest. Research shows that some men partake in "destructive, and sometimes violent, illicit, or criminal behavior" out of an effort to achieve social recognition as a "real man" in cases of extreme social and economic exclusion (Bannon and Correia 2006). At the same time, states, militaries, and rebel groups exploit the gendered vulnerabilities of male youth to violent ends, pointing to young men's agency in prompting violent conflict. Whereas certain scholarship asserts that male youth voluntarily pursue violent means to combat social injustices, it is likely that other power-holding or power-seeking agents exploit the gendered vulnerabilities of excluded male youth to their own violent ends in the case of conflict and war.

Violence, conflict, and war are not related only to men or masculinities. Furthermore, these roles must not be mistaken as static (Large 1997). On the contrary, evidence points to women taking on men's roles during war, including by engaging in combat; the Rwandan genocide is particularly noteworthy for women's level of involvement in the killing (Byrne, Marcus, and Powers-Stevens 1995). Recent scholarship has also unveiled the various ways in which militia groups and militaries have used girls as soldiers and spies in several conflicts (McKay and Mazurana 2004).

Nonetheless, a focus on male youth in conflict zones is appropriate to the point that one might ask which came first: war and conflict or hegemonic masculinity? While there is a growing body of literature on conflict and gender, most analyses of conflict and war still do not consider (or may even take for granted) that war, conflict, and militaries are extremely male-gendered destructive forces (Jacobsen 2006). Military/militarized culture is rooted in a gendered hierarchy in which the masculine is valorized at the expense of the feminine. Traditional militarization relies upon aggression and adventurousness being tied up in performances of hegemonic masculinity, equating "being a man" with conquest, defense, and the willingness to kill. In this way, militarization and the social construction of violent masculinities are reinforcing and codependent processes, both of which are continually constructed and reconstructed in relation to circumstances of time and place and encouraged through indoctrination, force, and coercion. Likewise, aligning with harmful masculine norms advances specific political interests in which war is essential for concentrating power, controlling resources, and gendering labor (Hutchings 2008). In these and other ways, then, war necessitates and drives hegemonic masculinity and vice versa.

Objectification, dehumanization (including feminization of enemy combatants), and "othering" are central to creating male soldiers willing to kill, and masculine norms have proven to be useful ve-

hicles for achieving this. Imperialism, colonization, and domination of other cultures are seen as justified and even necessary by cultures that create hierarchical identities in which the hegemonic man is on top, positioning non-hegemonic male identities as inferior and in need of being controlled (Alison 2007; Braudy 2010; Zurbriggen 2010).

Repressing empathy and social connections is also a shared objective of militarization and hegemonic masculinity. Traditional constructions of masculinity include "normative male alexithymia," or the inability to recognize one's own emotions or the emotional experiences of others. Hazing and humiliation rituals are used to restrict empathy within the military and reflect socialization techniques many boys face as youth to shape them into normative men.

Research also shows that conflict-related rape is a result of a specific production of masculinity that is fostered specifically because of its usefulness in political domination. Baaz and Stern (2009) investigate the ways in which masculinity is socialized, conditioned, and harnessed by cultures for the specific purpose of war-making. Their research demonstrates that the rape of women specifically achieves a dual perceived purpose of humiliating men while also reinforcing the masculinity, virility, and heterosexuality of the "victor" rapists (Baaz and Stern 2009; Alison 2007).

The Intersections

Many factors contribute to men's engagement in violent conflict. Some factors are structural and contextual, some are individual and psychosocial, and all overlap and interact in several ways. All of the factors that drive conflict are part of men's lived experience and thus can be understood through the lens of male identities (Vess et al. 2013). Specific factors across contexts, however, have been linked with the overwhelming male or masculine participation in conflict. These factors include economic frustration (drawing upon the social expectation that men be financial providers), early exposure to violence, traumatic indoctrination, and the myriad ways that militaries are overly glorified in a given setting, among others (Vess et al. 2013).

"A society that trains its members (whether male or female) to eschew the values of traditional masculinity (including toughness, aggression, tolerance of violence, respect for hierarchy, restricted emotionality, dominance and power, and self-reliance) will not be able to train soldiers to kill, nor to wage war effectively."

(Zurbriggen 2010)

"Often, extremist movements prescribe notions of masculinity and femininity that dictate how men and women are perceived and treated and the social roles and expectations they must fulfill."

(International Civil Society Action Network 2017)

Lack of employment and social mobility can result in young men joining armed conflicts as a means of obtaining wealth, as rebellion against ruling classes, or because of social vulnerability (Barker and Ricardo 2005). However, in most cases, as previous reviews have explored, reasons for participating in conflict are neither simple nor uniform, and just as many – or more – young men resist joining violent groups as join such groups. As Barker and Ricardo conclude:

"The reasons for joining may be different from the reasons for staying involved. Coercion may be involved initially, but later the young men may become voluntary adherents to the ill-defined cause. In other cases, young men may join voluntarily but then be coerced to stay. The amount of individual choice, particularly when we talk about younger youth, is also questionable. The data argues for avoiding simplistic analyses – such as blaming conflict on demographic trends – and it also argues for the need to look at the gender-specific realities and vulnerabilities of young men."

(Barker and Ricardo 2005)

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: CONFLICT AND WAR

It is still rare for peacekeeping and humanitarian operations to incorporate awareness of gender-related issues, let alone gender-transformative approaches. As Mazurana et al. (2005) write, officials within peacekeeping and humanitarian operations "make a serious miscalculation" when they believe that "issues regarding women, gender, and human rights are 'soft' or marginal issues, issues that can be addressed later, after the 'hard' issues have been dealt with."

GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE MESSAGES	PROGRAM SPOTLIGHT
Initiatives aiming to prevent conflict and war should focus on the following transformations of harmful masculine norms: • Provide male youth with opportunities for nonviolent livelihoods and pathways to social recognition. • Discuss, model, and encourage nonviolent alternative forms of masculinity that value emotional expression, community building, and humanizing "the other." • Engage men and boys – and women and girls – in discussions about traditional gender norms, violence, and the military as a gendered space.	• Inspired by the lack of programming to support men and women who have been affected by violence, trauma, and displacement in post-conflict and high-violence settings, **Living Peace** was developed in Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi to assist participants in healing from their experiences of trauma by restoring social and partner relationships, and strengthening positive coping strategies that exclude all forms of violence. The groups use a combination of psychosocial support and group education to help men and their partners in post-conflict settings address the personal effects of trauma, while also bringing the community together in a process of social restoration. The group-therapy process has been used with survivors of sexual violence, husbands of conflict-related rape survivors, and witnesses of genocide and other forms of violence (Promundo, "Living Peace"). • "CARE's **Young Men Initiative (YMI)** in the former Yugoslavia and **YouthAction** in Northern Ireland challenge gender inequalities and peer, homophobic, sectarian, and gender-based violence, providing a guide to young men by promoting healthy versions of masculinities and manhood. YMI combines a multisession curriculum, youth-led media campaigns, and structured gatherings that bring together youth from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Kosovo" (Vess et al. 2013). *The report's authors encourage readers involved in other programming related to conflict and war that has tried or is trying to address harmful masculine norms to contact* **contact@ promundoglobal.org** *to help promote learning, explore potential collaborations, and help amplify this work.*

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Masculine norms have clear and direct links with many forms of violence. Too often, and with devastating consequences, societies produce a certain definition and standard of manhood that – distinct from any immutable biological characteristics of men – fuels and sustains violence of all forms. Whether self-directed, directed at others, political in nature, or otherwise, the forms of violence addressed in this paper serve to fundamentally undermine the health and well-being of societies. Thus, to better protect the inherent rights, freedoms, and safety of all members of society, it is urgent that societies better understand and dissolve these pervasive connections between masculine norms and violence.

WHEN SOCIETIES...

- Demand that male-identifying persons achieve and continually re-achieve a social status of a "real man" equated with physical dominance, financial success, and other rigid, sometimes directly violent, and often impossible expectations;

- Police or monitor men and boys' performance of gender norms on a day-by-day or even minute-by-minute basis and strictly punish the inevitable violations, rather than celebrating each person's individuality and uniqueness;

- "Gender" the heart such that men are socially instructed to refrain from showing any emotional vulnerability or from nurturing intimate emotional connections;

- Create harmful and unnecessary divisions related to what an acceptable profession, hobby, social activity, club, or interest is based simply on a person's sex; and

- Buy into and reify an inequitable, oppressive, patriarchal distribution of status and power, even in small daily acts of complicity,

...THIS IS FUELING MEN'S VIOLENCE.

Researchers, programmers, policymakers, donors, and others working to prevent and respond to violence around the world must more effectively incorporate an understanding of harmful masculine norms into their work. Recommendations for improved future practice, drawing upon the insights included in this report, include the following:

- **Move beyond the notion that violence is natural and normal for men.** It is time to retire any model of violence prevention that ignores the roles of patriarchy, power, policies, structural processes, and harmful masculine norms in driving trends of violence perpetration. Of course, individual perpetrators of violence must always be held accountable for their actions. At the same time, individuals, communities, and societies must see more clearly – and transform – the harmful masculine norms and patriarchal power imbalances that fuel men's violence, elevating equitable, nonviolent, caring identities for all genders in their place. This also requires a shift in the framing of violence and violence prevention from one that sees men as inherently violent (even biologically driven to violence) to one that sees masculine norms as socially constructed and mutable – and that identifies the multiple ways that all genders resist violence every day. A growing field of practice affirms that rather than being

immutable, socially relevant norms about manhood can be changed, and do change.

- **Research, map, and better understand constructions of gender, particularly in relation with (rather than in isolation from) one another.** Research must recognize that men's and women's identities are not formed in a single-sex vacuum but rather are shaped in relation with one another, often through unequal and patriarchal relationships. Future research and programming should also explore how a binary understanding of gender causes harm in itself and should aim to better understand the identity formation of non-binary gender identities.

- **Prioritize the voices, preferences, and experiences of survivors of violence in research, programs, and policy development.** The purpose of this report is to focus on male perpetration of violence, seeking to shed new light on the role of harmful masculine norms in driving this violence. This focus is essential for the purpose of this report, but it should not alter the ethical principle that any approach to violence-prevention programming should center on and prioritize the needs, preferences, wisdom, and agency of survivors of violence, who are disproportionately women and girls. Any program

working directly with men and boys to unravel harmful gender norms, particularly within the spaces of sexual violence and intimate partner violence, should be accountable and responsive to survivors' needs and preferences. It is also noteworthy that services and programs for women and girls who have experienced violence likewise rarely take the transformation of gender norms as a core approach. All individuals stand to benefit from programs that support their questioning harmful gender norms and taking action – together – on these norms.

• **Fund, scale up, and build upon pioneering violence-prevention approaches that directly address gender (including masculine norms) and power.** Many effective approaches involve gender-transformative activities targeting harmful masculine norms and/or convening broader conversations about gender and power among participants of all genders. Many examples have been discussed in the program spotlight sections throughout this report. These programs tend to be clustered in certain fields of violence prevention, however, and such work tends to be relatively limited in scope. It is essential to bring a gender and power analysis to all violence-prevention programming and to dedicate increased funding to the development and expansion of effective program models working from this perspective. To move beyond boutique programs in isolated locations, advocacy for more integrated, gender-transformative programs and policies at the national and international levels is also needed.

BUILDING ON WHAT WORKS

Violence prevention efforts have advanced significantly in recent years. Summarizing a growing understanding of what works in violence prevention, the WHO lists these recommendations for preventing violence (World Health Organization 2014a):

1. Developing safe, stable, and nurturing relationships between children and their parents and caregivers;

2. Developing life skills in children and adolescents;

3. Reducing the availability and harmful use of alcohol;

4. Reducing access to guns and knives;

5. Promoting gender equality to prevent violence against women;

6. Changing cultural and social norms that support violence; and

7. Victim identification, care, and support programs.

All of these efforts and program characteristics are imperative; urging communities, countries, and international organizations alike to embrace and adequately resource them must be a global priority. The evidence in this report recommends a deepened understanding of at least points 5 and 6 in this list, although processes of gendered socialization affect all of the points.

- **Challenge harmful masculine norms directly in violence-prevention programming.** To disrupt the links between harmful masculine norms and violence, these must be called out directly in research and programming, and program participants must be guided to see, understand, and reject them. Such conversations and program components can take many forms, as described throughout the report. For instance, programs can:

  - Ask participants to name, recognize, and discuss how power inequalities manifest in their intimate relationships.

  - Teach – and provide safe space for practicing – discussion-based and compassionate problem-solving approaches that contribute to peaceful conflict resolution.

  - Create space for participants to recognize the multiple, limitless ways of being a man – for instance, a man can love and respect his partner, a man can use his words to avoid violence, and a man can share leadership and decision-making responsibility in his family.

  - Talk about the gendered underpinnings of sexual coercion, dominance, and control, and insist on women's – and all people's – sexual and reproductive rights and agency.

  - Help participants identify the many manifestations and negative consequences of a rape culture and how to challenge it.

  - Provide spaces for men and boys to express emotions, bond with peers, and build a sense of community and belonging.

  - Teach and support children of all genders in practicing, recognizing, and managing a wide range of emotions and fostering bonding and connection.

  - Discuss, model, and encourage nonviolent alternative forms of masculinity that value emotional expression, caring relationships, and community building and that humanize "the other" everywhere, especially in locations of ethnic or political strife.

  - Reinforce these group discussions with evidence-based norms-change campaigns and strengthen this critical reflection about masculine norms in all the spaces in which men and women interact, including in schools, militaries, police forces, workplaces, religious groups, and beyond.

- **Explore the intersections between gender norms and other risk factors, and move away from programming with too narrow a focus.** While this report focuses on harmful masculine norms and their links with violence perpetration, it recognizes that these norms are only one part of a greater group of causes of violence perpetration. To say that violence-prevention programming should be gender-informed and gender-transformative does not mean that is all it should be. Rather, programming drawing upon the insights and best practices of various disciplines of violence prevention, and holistic understandings of the broad risk factors for violence, will be most likely to be effective.

- **Likewise, recognize the intersections among the causes and consequences of various forms of violence.** Many efforts in violence-prevention research and programming tend to focus on only one form of violence at a time, often neglecting the links between causes of perpetration and experiences of various forms of violence. This report takes the approach of simultaneously addressing such diverse fields as suicide prevention, homicide prevention, rape prevention, and prevention of child sexual abuse, among others. Continuing to conduct research, advocacy, and programming in

narrow fields of practice, with little mutual lesson-sharing across fields, may have unintended negative consequences for the overall violence-prevention movement. Violence-prevention practitioners, activists, and professionals must continue learning how to collaborate across fields and how to apply the best practices of all, as well as how to recognize when gender-transformative messages, activities, and campaigns can simultaneously work to undermine several forms of violence at once.

- **Reduce barriers to help-seeking and health-seeking in response to experiences of trauma and violence for men and boys – and all other victims of violence.** As the work to prevent all forms of violence moves forward, it is essential to expand necessary healthcare services for survivors, including psychosocial support; counseling; and other compassionate, trauma-informed care options. For male-identifying survivors of violence, this includes taking steps to ensure that men feel welcome in healthcare settings and to unravel the harmful masculine norms that may keep men from pursuing any health services, even in response to experiences of violence.

- **Move beyond addressing only individual- or community-level changes in programming, and look to structural and political factors underlying – and even benefitting from – men's violence.** It is essential that all violence-prevention practitioners look at the intersecting structural drivers of violence, including harmful masculine norms. As this report shows, however, these norms are not created and reinforced only at the level of individual men or women. These norms are part and parcel of an inequitable, patriarchal ordering of society in which men hold disproportionate power and advantages over women, and in which some particularly empowered and privileged men hold disproportionate power and advantages over other men (with gender and sexual minorities particularly disadvantaged and disempowered). Uprooting this inequitable structure is essential to achieving the goal of stopping men's violence.

As this report shows, men and boys are disproportionately likely to perpetrate nearly all forms of violence, as well as to suffer certain forms of violence – suicide and homicide in particular – at very high rates. This report explores harmful masculine norms as an additional, crucial factor driving these patterns of violence. Alongside many other causal factors that drive men's violence, there are important links between social messages about how to be a "real man" and men's likelihood of perpetrating or experiencing violence. Understanding the links between masculine norms and violence – and building ongoing research and programming to disrupt these links – is imperative to creating a world free of violence.

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ANNEX:
TERMINOLOGY

Bullying

Aggressive, unwanted behavior against an individual by youth who are not siblings or current intimate partners. The behavior includes a real or perceived imbalance of power, and it occurs repeatedly or is likely to be repeated (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2016a).

Child sexual exploitation

"A child is a victim of sexual exploitation when she/he takes part in a sexual activity in exchange for something (e.g. gain or benefit, or even the promise of such) from a third party, the perpetrator, or by the child her/himself. A child may be coerced into a situation of sexual exploitation through physical force or threats. However, she/he may also be persuaded to engage in such sexual activity as a result of more complex and nuanced factors, either human or situational, including a power imbalance between the victim and the perpetrator. While any child may be sexually exploited, children may also find themselves in a situation that makes them particularly vulnerable to such exploitation (e.g. poverty, abuse/neglect, unaccompanied/homeless). Furthermore, the age of a child may increase her/his vulnerability to sexual exploitation, with older children often mistakenly assumed to be either consenting to their own abuse or not in need of protection" (Interagency Working Group on Sexual Exploitation of Children 2016).

Gender identity

"A person's deeply-felt, inherent sense of being a boy, a man, or male; a girl, a woman, or female; or an alternative gender (e.g., genderqueer, gender nonconforming, gender neutral) that may or may not correspond to a person's sex assigned at birth or to a person's primary or secondary sex characteristics. Since gender identity is internal, a person's gender identity is not necessarily visible to others" (American Psychological Association 2015).

Gender norms

Sets of rules for what is appropriately masculine and feminine behavior in a given culture (Ryle 2016). Individuals expect others to conform to these behaviors and tend to prefer to conform to them as well (John et al. 2017).

Gender roles

Sets of behaviors and roles related to private and public life that are assigned to or associated with specific sexes. Through gender socialization, children and adolescents learn to associate certain activities and behaviors with specific genders and to adopt roles in line with these differences (John et al. 2017).

Gender-synchronized programs

According to the report that coined the term, these programs exist, at the "intentional intersection of gender-transformative efforts reaching both men and boys and women and girls of all sexual orientations and gender identities. They engage people in challenging harmful and restrictive constructions of masculinity and femininity that drive gender-related vulnerabilities and inequalities and hinder health and well-being" (Greene and Levack 2010). Synchronization in gender-related programming implies work with male and female participants that is simultaneous, coordinated, or fully integrated rather than work that exclusively pursues a single-sex approach, even if that work is gender-transformative. These approaches aim to "increase understanding of how everyone is influenced and shaped by social constructions of gender ... viewing all actors in society in relation to each other, and seeking to identify or create shared values among women and men, within the range of roles they play" (Greene and Levack 2010).

Gender-transformative programs

Programming approaches that seek to transform gender roles and promote more gender-equitable relationships between men and women. This term originally arose in an effort to recognize and distinguish program approaches that specifically address gender norms and inequalities versus approaches that are gender-neutral (meaning they neither distinguish between the needs of men and women nor question gender roles) or only gender-sensitive (meaning they recognize but do not challenge the specific gender-based realities and norms) (World Health Organization 2007).

Harmful masculine norms

The particular, rigid, and inequitable expectations placed upon men and boys because of their sex that lead to self-directed harm and harm by men and boys against others. These norms may be understood as the building blocks of a "hegemonic masculinity" (see next page) and are presented in further detail in the "Masculine Norms: What Are They And How Do They Work" section.

Hegemonic masculinity

Normative ideals of masculinity that emphasize certain expressions of masculinity and enforce certain men's dominance, power, and privilege over women as well as certain other men (see also "masculinities") (Connell 1987). The expression also refers to versions of manhood (e.g., middle class, and heterosexual) that have greater power than other, "subaltern" masculinities (e.g., lower-income, from an ethnic minority group, or non-gender confirming).

Intimate partner violence

Violent and/or controlling behavior within an intimate relationship resulting in physical, sexual, and/or psychological harm. Examples include physical violence (e.g., kicking or slapping), forced or coerced sex acts, threats of harm, restricting access to money, and isolating the person from friends and family (World Health Organization 2012).

Masculinities

Refers to the idea that there is no single, fixed, natural, universal "masculinity" to which all men ought to aspire, but rather multiple, plural, complex, and even contradictory such identities (see "hegemonic masculinity") (Connell 1987).

Non-partner sexual violence

Sexual violence perpetrated by someone who is not an intimate partner (e.g., a stranger, friend, peer, colleague, or neighbor). Sexual violence includes any unwanted sexual act, such as rape, sexual abuse or harassment (including verbal), and sex trafficking. It may occur over short or long periods of time, and it may or may not be accompanied by patterns of control and manipulation (Abrahams et al. 2014; World Health Organization 2013).

Suicidal ideation

Thinking about, contemplating, or planning suicide (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2016b).

Note: Throughout this report, the terms "masculine norms" or "masculine gender norms" are used to refer to the particular social norms related to male-identifying persons and performed by individual men.