Working with men and boys

to promote gender equality and to end violence against boys and girls

METHODS, STRATEGIES, TOOLS AND PRACTICES

Bela Malik   Lena Karlsson   Ravi Karkara

Save the Children

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The vision
Save the Children works for:
- a world which respects and values each child
- a world which listens to children and learns
- a world where all children have hope and opportunity

The mission
Save the Children fights for children's rights.
We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.

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Foreword

In spite of over a decade of attention to mainstream gender concerns in development policy and practice, gender inequalities that disadvantage girls and women persist in South and Central Asia. The litany is by now well-known. Girls and women have less access to services such as health and education and less control over resources. Girls and women face various forms of gender-based violence, such as rape, sexual harassment, female foeticide and infanticide and honour killing. Even though most forms of gender discrimination affect girls and women, international research has clearly demonstrated that dominant forms and perceptions of masculinities among young boys become the most impelling force for male risk-taking behaviour including street violence, unsafe sexual practices and misogyny.

Save the Children Sweden-Denmark (SCSD) have made a commitment to address gender discrimination and violence against children by working with boys and men-- in partnership with girls and women- to challenge root causes of rights violations such as unequal gender and power relations and hegemonic forms of masculinities. Save the Children Sweden-Denmark is also committed to link various forms of discrimination and address them holistically from a child rights perspective. To be able to promote gender equality and a society free of violence, boys and girls have to be involved in designing and monitoring these interventions and in addressing the responsible actors such as family members, community leaders, teachers, religious leaders, governments and the private sector.

With this objective, Save the Children Sweden-Denmark, Regional Office for South Central Asia organised a three-day workshop on 'Strengthening partnership with men and boys to promote gender equality and end violence against girls and boys' on 23-25 March in Kathmandu. Around thirty participants from the region met and shared their practical experiences of and theoretical insights into working with men and boys on issues (masculinities that promote gender equality and non-violence towards children and women). They also developed strategies and concrete action plans for increasing partnership with men/boys to address violence against girls and boys and for promoting gender equality from a child rights based approach.

This publication provides an overview. It also contains some ideas on possible areas of future work. This is a relatively new area in South and Central Asia, and we hope that this publication will provide guidelines along with serving as a document for the current 'state-of-the-art' in the field. Ravi Karkara, Lena Karlsson, Asif Munier and Rahul Roy organised the workshop.

Ravi and Lena prepared this document. Anupama Bhalla and Neha Bhandari copy-edited the report. Thanks to all of them for their commitment and zeal

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Preface

This publication attempts to capture a moment in the ongoing efforts to work with men and boys to end gender-based discrimination and violence against women and children in the region.

Boys and girls are subject to the violence generated by patriarchy. This horror story is lived and relived in all parts of the region leaving no social class or locale untouched. Interventions that treat men as the villains and women as the victims have not taken us far. Patriarchy is so deep rooted that it cuts across 'male-female' divides. Inequality is structural. Uprooting patriarchy and bringing equality requires a radical change in viewing and responding to the problem.

This book highlights some of the areas needing further attention, the grey areas over which debate ensues, and highlights both the concerns and the possibilities. It contains a listing of methodologies, tools and approaches that are working, and the discussions that they invite.

The text includes all the sharing and presentations, but has not rendered them in the usual 'process' document format, or in the 'workshop report' mode. Documenting in print the outcome of a three day interactive workshop is a challenge. How does on put a two-dimensional expression to robust presentations, rich discussions and debates, questions, queries and exchanges that brought together people from different parts of the world, with varying skills, experiences and concerns? The facilitators had interspersed theory sessions with sharing of actual experiences. There was group work, presentations, including a film (*When Four Friends Meet* by Rahul Roy), sharing of personal narratives and methodologies, tools and frameworks. The workshop's objectives given below, were mostly met.

- ☐ Gain increased knowledge on addressing root causes of child rights violation in South and Central Asia namely dominant forms of masculinities and inequality (including gender inequality)
- ☐ Develop tools, methods, techniques that work for the region, learning from each other and to work towards a form of alliance of groups interested in working with each other
- ☐ Develop strategies and concrete action plans for increasing partnership with men/boys in South and Central Asia to enhance boys and men's engagement in addressing violence against girls and boys and promoting gender equality—from a child rights-based approach
- ☐ Establish a South and Central Asia network of organisations (including children's organisations) working on increasing partnership with men/boys in South Asia.

This book is a hold all. It is a discussion note, a workshop report, a primer on masculinity, a catch all of methods, approaches, guidelines, practices tools and strategies. It points to the pitfalls. The publication looks ahead at possible paths ahead. It is distilled from the workshop proceedings and aimed at the general reader and the specialist, the developmental worker and the journalist.

A note: the area of child rights as it links to masculinities needs to be developed further. This was evident from the gaps at the workshop. In a life cycle approach, children have to be considered when talking of masculinity in a broader sense.

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Acknowledgement

The ideas for this workshop have been brewing for a while. Rahul Roy, Asif Munier, Saghir Bukhari and Ranjani K. Murthy helped with the concept and organisation of the workshop as part of the planning team.

Herluf Madsen has been a rock solid figure of encouragement, always quick to accept new concepts and to pursue streams that cross cut. Kiran Bhatia, was a source of inspiration and encouragements. Michael Etherton, Marlyn Thomson, Ruth Fenny Hayward and Michael Kaufman were other pillars of support.

We also thank Famida Jameen, Gyani Thapa, Mache and Rajaram who provided logistic support. Anupama Bhalla and Neha Bhandari copy-edited and fine-tuned the final draft. We thank Bela .... this publication.

None of this was possible without the active and keen participation of activists, intellectuals and others working or looking to work with masculinities in the struggle to end violence against girls and boys and to work towards gender equality.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASF	Acid Survivors Foundation, Bangladesh
CB	Child Brigade, Dhaka
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Child Rights Convention, UN, 1989
CRP	Child Rights Programming
CSA	Child Sexual Abuse
CSE	Child Sexual Exploitation
GAD	Gender and Development
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GST	Gender-Sensitive Training
RH	Reproductive Health
TfD	Theatre for Development
VAW	Violence against Women

Background[1]

The issue

Women and children are increasingly bearing the brunt of violence, with men being the main perpetrators. The associated factors defy easy categorisation. A few observations:

1. Gender-based violence is part of a 'gender' script where domestic violence is justified by society.
2. Men's violence against women and children is deeply rooted in the way boys and men are socialised. They are often taught to repress their emotions, with anger being the only 'legitimate' outlet.
3. Violence is often related to economic stress.
4. Men who witnessed violence against women and children, including as victims, are more to use violence against their female partners and children.
5. Men's silence about other men's violence contributes to gender-based violence.

Gender excluding boys and men

While gender has been mainstreamed into development for nearly three decades now, the gap between men and women in the aggregate is only widening. In that period, the effects of market-led globalisation have become manifest. They include the increasing feminisation of the workforce, and growing male unemployment/underemployment, which shifts the 'traditional' gender balance in developing countries. There is increasing violence against boys and girls and an increase in their commercial sexual exploitation and in the abuse that they face. More and more children enter the labour market everyday. There is continuing physical and psychological punishment. Something must be lacking in the way 'gender' has been envisaged in mainstream developmental discourse thus far.

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[1] This chapter relies on presentations by Rahul Roy, Ranjani Murthy, Ravi Karkara, Lena Karlsson and Famida Shoma Jabeen and the ensuing discussions.

It has is now being realised that 'gender' is more a relational category and cannot be reduced to a 'men vs. women' issue. There are multiple masculinities just as there are femininities, all of which lie along a continuum, with the macho image of a male who is big, strong, dominant and never weeps at one end, and the helpless image of a female who is dominated and vulnerable at the other.[2] A change in women and children's lives has to entail a change in the lives of men and boys. There has to be a parallel change in the way masculine and feminine are imagined.

In its narrow definition, 'gender' has usually excluded men and boys, and seen them only as perpetrators of gender-based inequality. While it is true that most perpetrators of violence against women and children are male, and the victims are female, it is not correct to say that all men and boys are opposed to gender-based inequality and applaud the violence against women and children. Nor is it correct to say that all women are only victims.

There are men and boys who are vulnerable in relation to other men, women and young persons just as there are women who are the bearers of patriarchy and who oppress other women. The recent prison case of Abu Ghraib shows the exultant participation of women in acts of violence that degrade humans. Women are genetically coded to nurture and care is a problematic construct. Reality is complex. Keeping this complexity in view, and with the realisation that years of excluding men and boys from the gender discourse has not helped matters, there has been a shift towards considering the possibility of working with men and boys to end gender inequality and violence against women and children.

Such interventions need to confront the constructions of 'masculinities' that exist, some of which underpin most aggressions against women and children. So far, in South and Central Asia, feminism has enabled interrogation of gender-based roles and relations, but has neglected examination of masculinities, which leaves out several coordinates in gender relations. Recently, there has been reassessment of this model in South and Central Asia, following which many interventions put men and boys at the centre of an interrogation of masculinities. Alongside there are groups working with boys and girls from a rights-based programming approach. The challenge lies in creating a conversation between the practices of both 'adult' and 'child' oriented initiatives.

Girls and boys are not born as such, but are made. Their 'gender', or the attributes that supposedly accompany belonging to either sex, and attach to the roles and relations that are consequently expected are creations of society. These expectations of sex-based roles vary across cultures, geographies and classes. New born humans are socialised into them.

☐ Each society has its own hegemonic notions of sexuality. Given that these are hegemonic, it is possible to transform them by dipping into the alternative and perhaps marginalised forms of sexuality that exist in the same cultures, geographies and classes. A boy who shares his feelings, who is not violently inclined, who handles babies gently, who grows up to like and respect his sisters and classmates, may be rescued from being written off as 'sissy'. 'Odd ball' behaviour can be reinstated as 'model' behaviour. Rather than being punished for transgressing expected

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[2] Masculinity is a way of explaining boys and men in relation to girls and women. In shorthand, it is the representation of maleness and is shaped in relation to a discourse of power (between groups of men and women) and in relation to a general symbolisation of difference (in that it is seen as opposed to femininity). While there is diversity across South and Central Asia on what it is to be a man, there is also commonality on why there is violence against women and children. We need to look at masculinities as a discourse, not as a problem between men and women.

behaviour, this putative violation can be rewarded. Discrimination begins at an early stage of life and needs to be addressed from that early stage of human development and can involve the 'male' elders (fathers, grandfathers, male teachers, older brothers, etc.) actively. There are immediately discernible changes that follow in forms of masculinities, and therefore on the expression of 'masculinities' as they effect women and children. Hence, it is possible to offer space for various masculine subjectivities and to integrate these subjectivities into feminism and child rights. The effort can remain firmly within a relational framework defined by power equations.

Masculinity and the life cycle[3]

Infancy
Before a girl is born, there is foeticide. After birth, they are subject to murder through female infanticide either directly or through neglect of the girl child. If they survive, they face the psychological loss because of less bonding with the fathers. Usually in an emergency, girl children are less likely to be rushed to care. Male infants face some biological disadvantages compared to female infants.

Childhood and adolescence
Girls are usually fed less, and have less access to health care and education than do male children. They work more and get lesser time for rest and recreation. They are vulnerable to sexual abuse and child labour. Boys too suffer from dominant masculinities. They are made to feel inadequate if they are weak or short, they suffer from more corporal punishment. They also face sexual abuse, including incest, trafficking, conscription and bonded work.

Adulthood
Women have less control over their bodies, their mobility is restricted. Their work burden is high as is their care burden. For men, masculinity works to create crisis if they are not the breadwinners. They also feel guilty and excluded if they are gay, or if their sexual performance is not deemed 'satisfactory'. They are denied the joys of social fathering.

Elderly group
Women are likely to be abandoned by their progeny and family after the death of their husbands. Widows are treated poorly in most societies of South Asia. Husbands and sons do not promote property rights of women. For elderly men, they lose family headship in a joint family, they are abandoned by their children and they fear losing sexual health. They feel inadequate after retirement. They lack access to independent income and privacy. Psychological illnesses tend to plague them more than they affect older women.

Masculinities in different sectors

Dominant masculinities contribute to the nature and extent of poverty. Girls and women have relatively lesser access to resources. These masculinities also lead to typically different strategies of coping. When girls and women are poor, they cut down further on their own consumption. Men tend towards alcoholism. More men are likely to commit suicide than women. Men are tending to lose more jobs due to globalisation. Women are getting more jobs, but at lower ends of the job market. This leads to increasing male frustration and increased violence against women and children. Cutbacks on social sector spending due to structural adjustment

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[3] This section and the next are taken from Ranjani K. Murthy and Sabrina Sunderraj, 'Partnership with Men and Boys to Promote Gender Equality: Experiences and Gaps in South Asia' (draft presentation by Ranjani at the Kathmandu workshop).

policies do not help in cementing family ties which get broken due to economic tensions. This leads to less than caring environments for children (both boys and girls).

Masculinity leaves its mark on health, with infant mortality being higher for girls. The gender ratio is tipped against the norm (more women than men), except in Sri Lanka and Bhutan where the sex ratio is in favour of females. Girls tend to be left with caring responsibilities for the sick and infirm. Women do not have a choice over their reproductive functions. Boys and men fall prey to dominant masculinities that urge males towards risk taking behaviour leaving them vulnerable to injuries and illnesses (tuberculosis, accidents, liver sclerosis, heart attacks and drug dependence is higher among men and boys).

In education, while girls suffer from relative lack of access, the pressure is high on boys to do well. They are more susceptible to physical/corporal punishment.

Masculinity defines violence and sexuality that affect both girls and boys.

Why include men and boys?

Men and boys are also victims of dominant discourses and practices of patriarchy. It is not as though all men and boys benefit from patriarchy and that man's powers are immutable and universal. The school-going boy who likes needlework and hates football has suffered. The poor male dalit (former untouchable, at the bottom of Hindu caste hierarchy) has had abuse heaped on by the dominant castes in society. So has the father whose eyes threatened to spill over when his little girl died, but who had to hold back his tears because he could not afford to be seen to be 'weak' or 'emasculate'. The young man who was

told that it was all right to forcibly have sex with a minor because it would cure him of gonorrhoea, but who felt wrecked by the screams of the young child, too, is a victim in a sense. They are all victims of succumbing to societies' expectations of what being 'male' entails. There is stereotyping of male behaviours just as there is of female behaviour. This results in creating unnecessary and fabricated oppositions that add to the problem.

More visibly, boys are sexually abused. They become victims of a patriarchy that defines men as 'strong' and sexually active with a range of partners, including 'toy boys'. They are beaten in schools, much more than are girls; they are subject to other forms of violence including use in sports, work and war. Boys are more susceptible to risk taking behaviour, more likely to get into street brawls, abusing substances and breaking the law than are girls.

With structural changes in the global economy, traditional privileges associated with being men are being withdrawn. Men often cannot cope with the new situation. To make up for their loss of privilege in one area, they compensate by behaving more 'masculine' in others. Men's anger and helplessness needs to be addressed for gender equality to result. Men have to feel easy vis-à-vis women. Relationships between men perhaps contain the key to their behaviour. The silence surrounding their confusions and anxieties has to be broken if the negative politics of violent expressions have to give way to a positive politics of humanity, respect and equality.

Working with men and boys is needed to address men and boy's problems with dominant forms of patriarchy. They need to be able to shed tears in public, not always bear the burden of being 'men', strong, powerful, dominant, protecting and providing. Men who adhere to dominant and aggressive forms of masculinity suffer from poor personal relationships and from losing out on the

joys of parenting, loving and caring. Including men gives them a space to defy the stereotypes that pertain to them.

All men and boys are not harsh, non-demonstrative and violent. All masculinities are not harmful to men, women and children. Males are victims and women are perpetrators too. In a generalised atmosphere of patriarchy, while more women and girls suffer than do men and boys, women too are the carriers of patriarchy, and men and boys too suffer from the hegemonic idea of masculinity that pervades patriarchy as a discourse of power. Rights and responsibilities cannot be so neatly 'gendered'. Males are neither necessarily hostile to equality between the sexes, nor to the idea that all violence against women and children should end. They have their pressures, which at times are more than the burdens that women carry simply because the burdens that men are supposed to carry according to society and family are seldom challenged. For example, why can't boys and men cry? Why can't they prattle to anyone when they have something on their minds or hearts? Why must they always earn and 'keep' their families? Why must they be strong and silent? Why can't boys love the smell of flowers or the smell that little babies carry with them? There are so many stereotypes which have not been confronted by activists. And until we break this idea of 'girls should be like that' and 'boys like this', a harmonious world will remain out of reach.

There are multiple masculinities and social theories to help us to understand gender in sophisticated ways. This leaves ample space for bringing men and boys into the movement for gender equality. The pain of being a man and a boy allows one kind of identification, from which it is possible to analyse the social relations that create that identity. Gender is more than sex. It is a relation. Masculinity is an expression of an identity. It is not necessarily synonymous with

power, but is a contingent relationship. While work on 'women' and 'femininities' has flourished, that on 'men and boys' and 'masculinities' has been neglected. Adding men and masculinities to current forms of theory and practice of 'gender' will allow a more politically complete engagement against discrimination (see Appendix 2 for a fuller discussion on gender-based violence against women and children).

Masculinity is discursive power. Women are carriers too. Usually 'feminism' that excludes men cannot explain how women exploit men, women and children, subjecting them to violence. Working with men and boys and understanding masculinities and attempting to validate alternative forms can only help the movement for human rights and equality.

If we accept that masculinity is constructed, and that 'female' and 'male' roles are historically created, then they can be changed too. This is not a permanent, uniform and irrevocable state of being. This change can be brought about by men, women, girls and boys. The dynamism of creation of masculinities and their multiple forms leaves enough space for working together for a world that is peaceful and equitable. Working on violence against women and children is a good entry point since it is of common concern to humanity.

Is this all that simple?

Working with men and boys seems to be new to in developmentalese. However broader ideologies that envisaged social change and which may have dropped out of currency did look at transformation involving all sections of society. It is not a struggle of men and boys against girls and women, or vice versa, but a struggle of all men, women and children against the root causes of discrimination, inequality and oppression.

Bringing men and boys specifically for gender equality is laudable at one level. However there are some practical and political issues that arise.

One concern is that bringing men and boys in must be premised on their political commitment to changing gender relations, of which there seems to be only fleeting signs today.

Another issue concerns the danger of recreating patriarchy in the effort to address the 'problems' of men. (Men as protectors of women and children.)

Will the primary concern of gender equality be diverted by a focus on masculinities, and on working with men and boys? Which needs of which boys and men should be fore grounded? Will women advocates, who have made it to the forefront of the movement for women's equality, be pushed back as men reassume their frontline positions? Does discussion on masculinities potentially relegate women to the excluded margin? Is 'masculinities' just a passing fad?

On the other hand are those who dismiss these concerns as stemming from biological determinism. That is, why should gender be the concern of 'women' only? If it is true that women and men are socially constructed categories, then keeping 'men' out essentialises them as the 'problem', and denies them the agency to be anything different. An effort that aims to restore the manifold experiences of the feminine ends up flattening out the myriad experiences of masculinity. As mentioned, the 'gender is only about women' approach also ignores the women as oppressor and perpetuator of hegemonic masculinities.

Gaps

The biggest challenge is in the relative dearth of practical experiences of working with men on gender equality and to end violence against girls and boys. Perhaps bringing men in began with 'gender training' and it was realised that there is a lot that men need to battle against as gendered subjects themselves. This had to be done without marginalising and victimising men and having them answer for the rest of 'mankind', but to work with them sensitively and productively.

What are the concrete guidelines? There is now growing experience and expertise in this field which this book attempts to put together for the region (Central and South Asia). A workshop on working with men and boys to end gender-based violence provided the basis for the present write-up. As reported, a gap in a focus on child rights as linked to masculinities appeared either totally missing or under-focused during the workshop. This is an issue that needs to be addressed.

Overview of the workshop[4]

The workshop held in Kathmandu (March 2004) was an effort to share the experiences/ methodologies/approaches/tools between those working with adults, those working with girls and boys, and those undertaking 'research' and broadening the idea of addressing 'masculinities' as a relation to 'femininities'. The workshop brought together a good mix of those working with children from a rights-based approach and those working with adults but focusing on masculinities (see Appendix 1 for a list of participants, and Appendix 2 for the workshop plan). Presented below is an overview of the theoretical and practical output of the workshop.

Gender Socialisation

In all societies in the world girls and boys are treated differently and there are different expectations from girls and boys from the family and community members. (How they should be, what they should think/want, what they should choose, etc.) What shapes most children and adolescents, regardless of other circumstances, is the impact on their lives of their societies' gender-based expectations. Examples were given in the workshop on how different forms of messages and stereotypes are conveyed to girls and boys through media, religious leaders, parents, school, peers, etc. Teachers, for example, have different expectations of girls and boys and the textbooks promote stereotypical images of girls and boys

Girls and young women learn that females are regarded as emotional, only considered adults if married and even then expected to be submissive to men in decision-making. Girl's expected roles and responsibilities are usually associated with their future roles as mothers and wives. Boys and young men learn that it is considered masculine to be strong and dominant, violent, sexually active, not to show emotions and inner feelings, and to exercise authority over women and children. Boys are often expected to support their parents financially through their lives.

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[4] This overview is by Lena Karlsson and Ravi Karkara.

Children learn their gender roles and what is expected from them. These values will shape their attitudes, behaviour and decisions in life. Gender is also closely related to other forms of diversity. Other forms of diversity such as (age, caste, class, religion, ethnicity, sexual preference, disabilities, HIV/AIDS status, etc) are also influenced by as well as influence and shape gender relations.

Boys, in most societies, learn from an early age that conflict can be resolved by using physical and psychological violence. Violence does not only affect girls and women - but it also puts young males at a particular risk, both as perpetuators and as victims.

Masculinities

Throughout the workshop it was emphasised that there is not one way of being a man or a boy, and there is no uniform discourse of masculinity or power. What are considered to be masculinities vary across age, race, religion, cast, ethnicity, sexual orientation and individual situation. What is considered masculine is probably different from the perspective of a boy from a low caste in rural India, to a gay decision-maker in an urban location. Masculinities are shaped in relation to an overall structure and discourse of power and in relation to a general symbolism of difference (the opposition of femininity and masculinity). In a patriarchal society men/boys and women/girls have different roles and responsibilities – and the roles of men/boys gives greater entitlement to power.

Perception of masculinity differs between societies and within societies and it also changes over time. Men/boys can experience power and powerlessness at the same time – a boy can experience powerlessness in relation to his employer and powerfulness in relation to his sister. The situation also changes throughout the lifecycle. It was emphasised that caste and heterosexuality plays

important roles in the construction of masculinity in South Asia and that patriarchal structures reinforce power relations and inequalities.

The roles of girls/women have changed a lot over the past decade, covering both productive and reproductive roles. More women are becoming the breadwinners. At the same time there have been few changes in boys and men's role. Boys and men in South Asia, seldom take part in household responsibilities.

Both women/girls and boys/men contribute to the reproduction of notions of masculinity and femininity – but there are also men/boys and women/girls who contest and challenge those notions. There is an increased recognition that men have a responsibility to end men's violence and they have much to gain thereby. To stop violence is also part of the human rights, including the child rights agenda.

Rights perspective: who is responsible?

We can use the existing human rights frameworks to discuss violence and inequality through a rights-based lens. There is existing work done to address root causes of violence by working with adolescent boys, for example in the Meena project, brothers worked to get their sisters to school and help to keep them there. They try and influence older men through street plays. Though boys take the stereotype protective role, it is a step ahead. There should be encouragement given to girls and children to participate in decision-making. One contributing factor to continued child labour is that they are taken seriously by their families because they are the breadwinners. Children are important actors and can make a difference. The atmosphere in which children grow up should not perpetuate gender-based violence or discrimination. The

family, usually a tricky area for intervention, needs to be worked with. This same experience pertained to the women's movement against domestic violence. Children should claim their rights as enshrined in the CRC. Adults and key duty bearers should respond to them.

Experiences of working with men and boys

Working with boys in the streets

'Masculinity gives entitlement to power. The culturally acceptable and dominant forms of masculinities are usually associated with violence and decision making –and violence is often used as a mean to remain in power.' (Rahul)

Violence as a means to solve conflicts, unequal gender relations and sexual harassment are visible among children living and working in the streets. Violent forms of masculinities are reinforced and internalised by boys through media: movies, peers and the overall society. There is a lot of pressure on boys to perform sexually and to be strong and dominant – sex, physical and psychological forms of violence are used as expressions of power. Both boys and girls are at risk of being sexually abused by boys and men in the streets.

Examples were given from two child-led organisations, Child Brigade in Bangladesh and Butterflies in India, on how only a few dominant and 'articulated' girls had been selected to be part of the decision making structure in these organisations. It was emphasised that masculine behaviour among girls and women might lead to decision making positions, but boys and men who have a feminine behaviour are likely to be ridiculed by both females and males.

Methods such as theatre and media have been used in Butterflies to introduce alternative forms for solving conflicts and for challenging gender stereotypes and unequal gender relations. As a result of the programme, boys use a less dominant and sexualised language towards girls and they are 'pushing girls around' and calling them 'whores' and 'prostitutes' much less than they were.

Working with boys and men to stop acid attacks

Gender-based violence such as acid attacks, e.g. to throw acid on girls and women as a revenge for a rejected marriage proposal or due to a dowry demand is a manifestation of gender discrimination and it is related to male control over female sexuality*: 'If I cannot have her, nobody else should.'* Acid attacks take place in Bangladesh and some parts of India and it is also used as 'revenge' in land disputes. It was highlighted that acid throwing has to be addressed holistically: e.g. as a legal issue, through community mobilisation, by working with young men to prevent acid attacks and through the empowerment of girls, women and boys who have been subject to acid attacks. The importance of working with journalists to stop sensitised ways of reporting on attacks as well as by working with the acid sellers was also emphasised by an organisation from Bangladesh (Acid Survivors Foundation).

The organisation also conducts campaigns together with men and boys – by involving famous movie actors – to raise awareness on gender-based violence and the consequences of acid throwing. They have also organised youth volunteers training workshop, where boys talk to other boys about acid violence.

Working with boys and men through gender training

Examples from various training programmes for boys and men on gender and masculinities were given. In Pakistan, experiences from working with the police officers showed that self-awareness is the first step towards a change in behaviour. It is

critical for men to start reflecting on themselves, to accept their own strength and weaknesses and to identify what it possible to change in their relations with men and women. Life-skills, anger management, communication and behaviour patterns were discussed from a gender perspective. Men were also sharing moments when they felt powerless both in their private life and at work. They were also identifying how they can bring about change in the lives of children and women by using their power. The importance of creating an atmosphere of trust and confidentiality, to work with small groups of men and to have a combination of male and female facilitators was highlighted. As a result of a series of trainings men experienced that they were better in handling their own emotions and they also identified flaws in the police-training curriculum, including statements such as 'a woman cannot be raped without her consent'. It was also highlighted that in order to bring about sustainable change, there is a need to include decision makers in the training programme and to combine the training with a long term capacity building initiative.

Similar experiences were shared from Malaysia through a programme of involving working class men and adolescent boys on gender relations. Men and boys were discussing sexuality, gender roles, and their relations with their children and what it means to be a man. A spiritual leader was used to draw up the history and the journey of being a man. The journey showed that men have given up power at times and the group identified that male power within the family is the next arena that needs to be addressed. It was mentioned that a language specific to 'men break their silence' needs to be evolved, in the same way as the women's movement created its own language. 'The women's movement has pushed men into a journey of self-discovery.'

Key learning from gender trainings

☐ Instead of focusing on individual males acts of violence, it is better to focus on the entire culture that creates violence and dominant forms of masculinities.

☐ Men and boys also need space and opportunity to discuss their feelings with other males, but opportunities should also be created where both sexes are able to share their concerns and perspectives with each other in a structured and non-confrontational way.

☐ Men/boys and women/girls both pay a heavy price of gender stereotyping, since it limits both sexes possibilities to develop according to their full potential. Both should be targeted in order to bring about change.

Working with men and boys to stop violence through community based approaches

Few organisations focus on the root causes of armed conflict and violence. While women and girls are taking over traditional male roles during conflict, they are not given equal space in initiatives for conflict resolutions and they are often reverting to their traditional roles after the conflict ends. The importance of working with boys and men on non-dominant forms of masculinities, peace and conflict resolutions was emphasised.

Examples were given from Tamil Nadu in India on how working with men's clubs (for men and adolescent boys) on masculinity issues led to that men and boys were able to identify benefits and losses for males in a patriarchal society, e.g. exposure to community violence, lack of close contact with their children, high rate of suicide and depressions, etc. Men and boys also changed their traditional values and behaviour and their wives report that they are beaten less by their husbands.

There were other examples given from the same state on initiatives of working with students on gender and sexuality related issues. Initially, only girls were involved in the programme, but the girls also requested that boys should be reached through a separate discussion. Violence against women and children has also been challenged in Tamil Nadu through involvement in the White Ribbon Campaign and through various advocacy initiatives towards the government based on Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Working with men and boys through media and campaigns

Four films on gender and masculinities were produced in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal, in year 2001 as a joint cooperation between UNICEF ROSA, Save the Children UK and NORAD, with financial support from Save the Children Sweden. The films were produced by local filmmakers for initiating cooperation and discussions on masculinities issues. The films were translated into the local languages and a discussion guide was produced. The films were launched with great success by various organisations in the region but unfortunately UNICEF and Save the Children did not agreed on a follow up mechanism to take the discussion forward.

One of the four films, *When Four Friends Meet*, was shown during the workshop as an example on of how media could be used for initiating discussion of masculinities and sexuality. The lives of four young men in a working class area in Delhi, India, and their perceptions of masculinity and sexuality, e.g. 'what it means to be a man' were portrayed through the films. These films have been used by a number of organisations in the region and they have also been introduced through universities for influencing the academia to initiate research on masculinities.

Examples were also given on how the White Ribbon campaign has been launched in various countries. The campaign was initiated by men in order to influence other men to stop violence against women. Information material, radio talk shows, etc are used to involve more men to take concrete actions.

Working with boys and men through education

There is a 'global trend', especially in the West, of girls out-performing boys in school leading to a discussion on the 'feminisation' of education. (For instance does the teaching culture promote methods in which girls have an advantage to express themselves?) The gender gap in primary education is also narrowing down globally and in the region. The majority of children out of school are still girls, but within particular groups of children where the majority of children out of school are girls — boys are also likely to be highly represented.

Making the school curricula more gender sensitive, or providing a gender training to teachers, does not automatically bring about change in gender relations, if teachers continue to use the same stereotype teaching methods as before. It is therefore important to work with the whole educational system through a gender and diversity lens, and to address the power relations that exist in the classroom (gender and diverse background) as well as gender relations in the overall society.

How can we create a learning environment where girls and boys from various backgrounds have the same opportunities to learn, express themselves and develop according to their full potential?

It is important to work with the individual child but at the same time challenge discrimination and patriarchy through the education system. Teaching methods that suits both boys and girls, and

methods that encourage untraditional and non-violent forms of masculinity and femininity need to be introduced, e.g. where boys are encouraged to show their feelings, express themselves and solve their conflicts verbally. Gender and diversity friendly structures (including toilets) for both girls and boys have to be adopted and values of diversity and gender equality have to be promoted through quality education.

Bringing in more women into male dominated arenas (decision making) and more men into female dominant arenas (primary education, etc.) does not automatically bring about change. There is a need to systematically challenge and work with both men/boys as well as with girls/women on gender and masculinity issues – and to address the problem at an individual, organisational as well as a structural level.

Gaps and opportunities

A regional mapping on International Save the Children Alliance initiatives to address violence against children has recently been conducted by Save the Children Sweden Denmark for the UN study on Violence against Children. The study shows that there are hardly any initiatives supported by Save the Children to address root causes of child rights violations - such as gender-based violence and issues of masculinities. There are many Save the Children supported programmes addressing commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking but only a few initiatives in the region for addressing physical punishment and sexual abuse. Psychological punishment is still a grey area. However most interventions also lack a clear gender perspective, for example recognising that boys are more often physically punished and girls are more often subjected to psychological forms of punishment in order to conform to traditional forms of gender roles and behaviour.

This was a follow up of another mapping undertaken a few years ago on initiatives with boys and men to address gender discrimination. The mapping showed that initiatives to address issues of masculinities and gender relations are scarce and often addressed in isolation. Few organisations have a comprehensive strategy to address patriarchal structures – not only by working with girls and women but also to work with men and boys to address dominant forms of masculinities. Few initiatives address gender-based violence at an individual (empowering), organisational and structural level (laws, policies, norms, values, attitudes and practices).

There is a need to increase the work with the government on accountability issues and to address masculinities from a life cycle approach. Only a few initiatives – for example in relation to sexual preference – have been taken to address masculinity issues on a policy level. There is very little work being done to work with men and boys to end violence against children. This is what the mapping showed.

Areas for further intervention

The mapping and discussion through the workshop highlighted the following recommendations and areas for future interventions.

Gender training and capacity building
Gender training should not be done in isolation; it requires a comprehensive capacity building approach, with management commitments and clear follow-up mechanisms. The following components of training have proven to be useful: 'Men's language', gender and power relations, alternative forms of solving conflicts, sexuality, life skills, self-reflections and gender socialisation. Male disadvantages, women as carriers of masculine values and 'sexuality' needs to be

further addressed through gender trainings. Training of government officials in crucial in order to bring about societal change.

Advocacy and campaigns

There is a need to address issues of gender and masculinities through advocacy initiatives towards the government in relation to gaps in legislation, policies and action plans for promoting gender equality.

Awareness raising campaigns are another important component to be promoted.

Men as social fathers, alternative forms of masculinities, men and poverty, violence against boys, male disadvantages and male health (risky male behaviours), masculinities and peace, homophobia and homosexuality needs more attention.

It is important to use upcoming event and opportunities such as the UN study on Violence against Children and the Yokahama mid-term review as opportunities for promoting work with men and boys on masculinity issues.

Field based intervention and research

Working with men and boys on poverty, health, education, gender-based violence (including violence against boys), war and conflict, sexual preference, women as carriers of discourses of masculinity – needs more attention through research and practical interventions.

There is also a need to document good practices (including processes, outcome and impact of the various initiatives and programmes) on working with men and boys to address gender discrimination and violence against children. It was also highlighted that we need to be able to demonstrate impact in order to be able to allocate resources and to convince other organisations on the importance of working with masculinity issues.

Women/girls have to be addressed both as victims and as carriers of dominant masculinities – and boys and men has to be addressed both as perpetuators of violence and as victims of violence. Work on masculinity needs to be linked to various thematic aspects, such as education, violence, child labour, etc – and there is a need to focus on addressing rights violations and the most marginalised groups of children/adults. It is important to present role models and good practices and to promote intra country and regional cross learning.

Child rights programming

Work with men and boys to address gender discrimination and violence against children needs to be addressed from a child rights-based approach.

Working against violence from a CRP perspective means:

☐ Addressing the root cause of violence and addressing un-equal power structures (patriarchal structures) and power relations between children and adults, etc.

☐ Putting children at the centre, recognising them as right holder and social actors.

☐ Giving priority to children and child friendly environment and child friendly information on violence, discrimination, gender relations and sexuality.

☐ Recognising government as primary duty bearers accountable to address and take action against violence.

☐ Seeing parents and family as the primary caregiver and protecting and supporting them in this role.

☐ Using participatory and empowering approaches working in partnerships and alliances for promoting rights of the child for addressing violence against girls and boys.

Examples on how to address gender-based violence

Examples were also given on how gender-based violence can be addressed from an individual and from a organisational level.

Individual level

☐ Do serious self-reflection to understand the violent steak in you

☐ Make a pledge to yourself to stop being a perpetuator or a victim of violence and share your resolutions with others

☐ Be proactive- stop being a silent spectator to violence

☐ Recognise and make others aware of the serious and multiple consequences of violence.

☐ Challenge persistence notions of masculinity and condone violence and oppression.

Organisational level

☐ Address violence from a rights-based approach (including power and gender analysis)

☐ Questioning narrow definitions and perceptions of gender roles and relations, including 'masculinity'.

☐ Promote programmes for men on parenting and responsible sexual behaviour. Stress the benefits for all members in society of men playing a more active role in nurturing their children and abandoning the culture of violence as a proof of masculinity.

☐ Share and analyse good practices of working with boys and men to promote gender equality and to prevent gender-based violence and abuse.

☐ Find men who already behave the way in which we want more men to behave, and engage them in support to programmes addressing violence and abuse. These men can also become good role models for other men.

☐ Advocate the government to make laws against gender-based violence and to implement the laws.

☐ Networks with HR and women's rights organisations and influence them to incorporate gender-based violence against children.

☐ Calling on and organising boys and men in the society to protest against violence and abuse and to take initiatives for more equal gender roles and relationships.

☐ Increase the knowledge on gender issues among professionals and in the school curriculum. Educational material for men on reproductive health issues and on the unacceptability of violence and abuse is needed.

Conclusion

Gender discrimination and violence against children is an obstacle for development. It is an obstacle to girls and boys rights to survival and development, to quality education, to health and for a secure and safe environment for the population at large. It also comprises a large threat to public expenditure in the form of both direct and indirect costs.

The overwhelming majority of discriminatory and violent acts are committed by men, at every level – between individuals, within and among groups and within social institutions. Violence is used to establish, enforce and perpetuate gender inequalities. Research has indicated that in societies where men and boys are not permitted to acknowledge fear and inner feelings and where masculinity and femininity are highly differentiated - are men and boys likely to be more violent These forms of violence do not only affect girls and women, but also boys and men themselves.

From childhood, boys are exposed to violence as victims, as witnesses of violence and they are also expected to be its perpetuators. Gender inequalities

create gender-based violence, but by transforming gender relations and promoting gender equality we can counter act discrimination and violence. Research has also shown that closer relations between fathers and children reduce the level of violence.

There is an increasing recognition in the region that men and boys have a responsibility to stop violence and many examples where given throughout the workshop on how boys and men also challenge various forms of gender discrimination and violence against children.

In order to challenge gender discrimination and violence against children, there is a need to:

☐ Address it from a child rights approach. Root causes of rights violations have to be addressed including patriarchal structures, power relations, non-participation of children as well as lack of accountability from the government and other duty bearers.

☐ Recognise that working with men and boys is not enough; we have to work with boys, girls, men and women to challenges dominant forms of masculinities.

☐ Diverse and non-hegemonic forms of masculinities have to be reinforced.

☐ Adopt a holistic approach, addressing masculinities and gender discrimination both at an individual level and at a structural/institutional level (laws, policies – norms, values and practices).

☐ Have a stronger child rights focus for addressing issues of masculinity and for child rights organisations to include masculinity in their child rights approach.

Frameworks and approaches

Sharing from a literature review[5]

Before proceeding with the examples of interventions with boys and men that came up in the course of the workshop, here is a quick 'mapping' that was presented. The desk research on which the review is based was limited and did not include Central Asia, Maldives and Afghanistan. Those regions need to be mapped as well.

- ☐ Gender-training,
- ☐ Advocacy,
- ☐ Field based programmatic interventions,
- ☐ Policy formulation and planning, and
- ☐ Research and documentation

Training
Women-exclusive, men-exclusive and mixed gender-training workshops

Gaps
- ☐ Issues of power - government training
- ☐ Disadvantages faced by (particular) men/boys
- ☐ Women and discourses on dominant masculinities.
- ☐ Training with men and boys in communities
- ☐ Issues other than reproductive health (RH), and more recently violence

Advocacy
- ☐ Men on violence against women/girls
- ☐ Men on HIV/AIDS
- ☐ Men on social fathering
- ☐ Boys and girl child education
- ☐ Media advocacy on alternative masculinities

[5] This section is based on Ranjani's presentation.

Gaps

☐ Men, boys, work and poverty

☐ Men, boys and health

☐ Boys, education and corporal punishment

☐ Men and violence against boys

☐ Masculinities and peace

☐ Homophobia

Field-based interventions

☐ Social fathering through clubs

☐ Male participation in RH

☐ Working with men and boys on violence

- violence protection committees

- counselling services

- men exclusive anti-violence groups

Gaps

☐ Working with men and boys on masculinities, poverty, health, education, violence faced by men/boys, war and conflicts, and alternative sexualities

☐ Working with women as carriers of discourses

Research

☐ Construction of masculinities

☐ Violence against women/girls and masculinities

☐ Sexuality and masculinities

☐ What men think about women's empowerment

☐ Working with men/boys on violence against boys and their RH needs

Gaps

☐ Masculinities, men's/boys' poverty, work, health, education, violence against men/boys

☐ What women think about how men/boys should behave.

Discussion

The importance of the other side, i.e. addressing women, was underlined. Women are both victims and carriers of dominant masculinities and gender work thus far tended to neglect this dimension even

as it focused on 'men as perpetrators' thus inventing differences and creating oppositions.

In health, the governments focus on condoms, vasectomies, i.e. family planning – not even the gamut of RH, HIV/AIDS, where even HIV/AIDS sometimes is the cover for population control agendas. Here, experiences of working with women on reproductive health showed that for full success, men had to be brought in. Caution needs to be exercised in this area of bringing men in. The fundamentals of public health have to be kept in view.

On the rationale for working with men and boys, there has been less stress on male disadvantages, child rights (there exists more work than has been documented, but even then there is lesser work on adolescents than there is on adult men), and on crisis (more work on men as perpetrators than on the crises in their lives).

In terms of life cycle, interventions with infants, children and elderly are few than on women and men.

Poverty, work, health, education, violence against boys, war and governance lie in relative neglect from a sectoral approach.

Regarding interventions, there is advocacy, gender training, gender sensitisation, and less of field-based interventions.

The Kathmandu March 2004 workshop is welcome because it brings theory and grassroots work in dialogue.

There is a need to balance the rationales for working with men and boys. There should be focus on the concerns of the poor and marginalised. There should be balanced attention to life cycle issues.

Pilot field interventions are recommended, followed up by advocacy.

Such a mapping exercise needs to be constantly modified and updated keeping new developments in view. Work with men and boys should be institutionalised within governments. There should be more partnerships to upscale the reported successes and to promote cross- and intra-country learning.

Discussion on methodology to unearth these gaps

There is a need for published material, e-mailed to key persons, to activate the core group within UNICEF, country representatives of major organisations (including Save the Children), form a South Asia masculinities web group, and exchange literature through that. The materials should be a mixture, not country-to-country field based only. There is also need to survey the rest of South Asia (Sri Lanka, Maldives, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal). There is an annotated bibliography waiting to be published by UNICEF, and another one by UNIFEM.

Intervention aimed at bringing about gender-based justice has to be multi-pronged. It has to address the causes of domestic violence and poverty. Intervention must seek the bases of power relations between men and women in all their variety.

NGOs and civil society organisations focusing on women's issues should involve men and boys. They need to find out how to create emotions in men. Women in women-related organisations tend to get strident against men which prevents men from participating. There is a need to change the tone in communicating to and about men and boys.

Practically, in gender training sessions, it may be useful to get a mix of female and male facilitators Female facilitator usually end up taking a defensive position when they talk gender, a male facilitator may work as well, if not better. Since overall women and girls face more discrimination that do men and boys, multiple interventions involving mixed groups, men-only and women-only groups seem to work. It is good to have separate spaces to develop a language of responsibility. Mixed groups stand the potential danger of encouraging the language of blame. Sessions in different age groups and other identities are found to have been useful.

Research on non-hegemonic forms of masculinity is needed. Gender sensitisation by itself is not enough.

Participants reported that often patriarchy is prevalent even in development organisations that claim to challenge gender roles. Such organisations tend to be active in preaching to others but seldom self-reflect on gender roles within their organisation. Perhaps a beginning can be the self and the organisation before proceeding to the rest of society. There tended to be more focus on technical issues within the development world. Social issues, which are cross cutting, were not taken head on. Obviously a technical approach did not work and levels and forms of violence in society continue to escalate.

Further, there is less focus on working on masculinity issues with children. It is easy to introduce this dimension without addressing it directly. It can be integrated with other issues and through easy routes, e.g. schools. Currently most of the ongoing efforts on rethinking masculinity are with adult groups.

It is important to remember that working with men and boys alone is not going to solve the problem. Masculinities is not only about men and boys, just as femininities are not only about women and girls. There is a power relationship which needs to be addressed.

The research and output presented at the workshop validated the above survey. There is more ground to be covered and several issues to be addressed before the work with men and boys in South and Central Asia can be said to be on a healthy footing. Going beyond the survey, child rights approach based groups working with children need to integrate 'masculinity' into their approach, along with the lifecycle approach in intervention. There has to be clear identification of the roles and responsibilities of the key duty bearers if the root causes of patriarchy that are informed by dominant violent forms of masculinity have to give way to a more equitable society informed by alternative masculinities.

School Education

There is a 'global trend' of girls tending to perform better than boys in school and a discussion on the feminisation of education is taking place. The gender gap in primary education is narrowing down. The majority of children out of school are still girls, but within particular groups of girls who are out of school, boys are also likely to be out of school

To make 'isolated' changes such as making the school curricula more gender sensitive does not bring about change if teachers continue to use stereotype teaching methods as before. It is important to work with the whole educational system through a gender and diversity lens to address power relations in the classroom and in society through education.

How can we create a learning environment where girls and boys from various backgrounds have the same opportunities to learn, express themselves and develop according to their full potential? We have to look at the individual child but at the same time challenge discrimination and patriarchy through the

education system. Teaching methods that suits both boys and girls, and methods that encourage untraditional and non-violent forms of masculinity and femininity has to be used, e.g. where boys are encouraged to show their feelings, express themselves and solve their conflicts verbally, etc-gender and diversity friendly structures (including toilets) for both girls and boys has to be adopted. Quality education has to promote values of diversity and gender equality.

Violence against children (UN study)

Overview

Violence against children has become an important issue at the international and national levels. Article 19.1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) requires the protection of the child, irrespective of gender, from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parents, legal guardians or any other person who has the care of the child. Yet, girls and boys across cultural, religious, ethnic and income groups in South Asia are at risk of violence. Violence against girls and boys must be recognised as a violation of human rights as it breaches their most fundamental right to respect, human dignity and integrity.

The developmental stage of children and their dependence on adults makes them exceedingly vulnerable. Children are often subject to various forms of violence within the family, at school, in institutions and on the streets. The types of violence generally prevalent in countries across South Asia are many and of varying degrees of intensity. Children are frequently mistreated and abused, endure severe physical and psychological punishment, torture, forced labour, denial of food, isolation, restraints, sexual assaults and are sometimes even murdered, often at the hands of the

very individuals responsible for their care and safety.

Children are also subject to state sanctioned or state-tolerated violence. Children in detention facilities and other state or private institutions are often victims of beating, sexual abuse, rape, neglect and psychological violence by staff and caregivers. Street and other children in contact with law enforcement personnel are known to be at risk of violent treatment.

Children with disabilities are even more vulnerable to physical, psychological and sexual violence, since the dominant attitudes of both their own families and of society at large include shame, embarrassment and concealment on part of the former and neglect, fear, avoidance and ridicule on the part of the latter. The perpetrators of violence against disabled children take full advantage of this negative attitude towards them, confident in the knowledge that they can get away with impunity. Disabled girls are often doubly disadvantaged in society since they are both girls and disabled.

This study is a contribution to the upcoming UN Global Study on Violence against Children. The study is an important opportunity to bring about real and positive changes in the lives of girls and boys as it provides the opportunity to develop more effective responses that give them real protection from violence. The UN study will provide an in-depth global picture of violence against children and propose clear recommendations for the improvement of legislation, policy and programmes relating to the prevention of and responses to violence against children. The study, rooted in children's human right to protection from all forms of violence, aims to promote action to prevent and eliminate violence against children at the international, regional, national and local levels. The UN Secretary General has appointed an Independent Expert to lead a comprehensive, global

study of Violence against Children. The IE will be supported by a Secretariat (consisting of professionals and experts from UN agencies and a NGO liaison officer) in the preparation of the study. United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Health Organization (WHO) and the Office of High Commission of Human Rights (OHCHR) have been designated as the lead implementing partners. An NGO Advisory Panel consisting of 24 experts on violence will support the Secretariat of the IE. The key NGOs involved in the study include Save the Children Alliance, World Vision International, Human Rights Watch and NGO Committee on Child Rights.

The UN Study on Violence against Children will focus on physical, psychological and sexual violence within families and homes, in schools, in care and residential institutions, in work situations, in the streets, in detention facilities and prisons. The study has identified physical and psychological punishment of girls and boys as an endemic form of violence against children.

The goals of the UN study are to:
☐ Raise the international visibility of all forms of violence against children
☐ Better understand the causes of the problem and its impact on children, adults and societies
☐ Assess existing mechanisms to address violence against children
☐ Identify an international action plan to effectively end these abuses.

Save the Children members have given high priority to the UN Study on Violence against Children as it provides them an opportunity to influence the study and contribute to it. An Alliance Task group of Save the Children has been formed under the Alliance Advocacy Group to work exclusively on influencing the study on identified issues, drawing on Save the Children's experience. Members of the Task group are Save the Children-Sweden, Save the Children-

Norway, Save the Children-UK, Save the Children-Canada and the Alliance Liaison Officer in Geneva. The lead agency is Save the Children-Sweden.

Save the Children organisations are active in promoting child rights in all countries of South Asia covered by the study. They are:

Afghanistan: Save the Children-Sweden, Japan, Norway, UK and US
Bangladesh: Save the Children-Australia, Sweden-Denmark, UK and US
India: Save the Children-UK and Canada.
Nepal: Save the Children-Norway, Denmark, UK and US
Pakistan: Save the Children-Sweden, UK and US
Sri Lanka: Save the Children in Sri Lanka

Save the Children programmes are increasingly based on a child rights approach, putting both girls and boys at the centre, recognising them as right-holders and as social actors. Several initiatives by Save the Children organisations and their partners have taken a stand against violence against children, and some of them are demonstrable examples of successful intervention. In other cases, the initiatives are too recent for an accurate evaluation of their impact.

Children's perception of violence

Various consultations with girls and boys in South Asia have shown that violence is a major concern that affects their lives. This is reflected in the Yokohama children's participation processes, the National Plan of Action (NPAs), other sub-national and national consultations, etc. Consultations with girls and boys held at the national or regional level revealed that many children have been physically, psychologically and/or sexually abused in their homes, in the community, in schools and in the streets. The perpetrators of violence against them included their own parents, cousins, relatives, teachers,

elders, their peers, police and other caregivers who are responsible for their safety.

Types of violence

The countries of South Asia are constituted by a series of gradually overlapping cultural zones dominated by common social and religious matrices. As a result, a vast population of roughly 1.4 billion shares in common many of the premises of their daily existence irrespective of nationality. Within this overall environment of collective social and cultural assumptions, there are also common forms of violence that are endemic to the region which have emerged from a shared history of patriarchy, poverty, colonial domination, uneven economic development, political instability and caste dictated social hierarchy. However, since the region is also the repository of enormous diversity, these common or generic forms of violence have specific manifestations that require specific country or sub-country level interventions. The introductory section will outline the generic or common forms of violence that dominate the social landscape of South Asia, while the country reports document their specific cultural expressions and the targeted interventions that have been made in response. The most prevalent forms of violence in South Asia can broadly be categorised as physical and psychological abuse both inside and outside homes, including family and state sanctioned corporal/physical punishment, sexual abuse of boys and girls, violence and discrimination exclusively on the basis of gender, coerced labour, the ill treatment of street children and those who are victims of the grossly inadequate juvenile justice system in the region.

Corporal/ Physical and Humiliating and Degrading punishment

Physical and psychological punishment is the use of physical force or humiliating/degrading treatment causing some degree of pain or discomfort, in order to discipline, correct, control or change behaviour,

or as a method of educating/bringing up the child. Physical punishment can take many forms, including hitting the child with the hand or with an object (such as a cane, belt, whip, shoe, etc); kicking, shaking or throwing the child, pinching or pulling their hair; forcing a child to stay in uncomfortable or undignified positions or to take excessive physical exercise; burning or scarring the child. Humiliating or degrading punishment takes various forms such as psychological punishment, verbal abuse, ridicule, isolation, or ignoring the child. (Save the Children 2003). Physical punishment is also psychologically damaging by causing low self-esteem, sadness, shame, depression and other forms of psychological injury. At the same time, psychological punishment too can be equally or more harmful to the child than physical punishment.

Both psychological and physical violence are violations of children's rights. Physical and psychological violence have both short and long-term adverse effects on children. Beating a child causes pain, injury, humiliation, anxiety, anger and vindictiveness that could have long-term psychological effects. Physical and psychological punishment may reduce the child's sense of worth and increase vulnerability to depression. In extreme instances, physical violence results in permanent injuries and disabilities. It is not uncommon for a child's eardrum to be punctured when the ear is punched with great force. Even the mere threat of corporal/physical punishment in schools has a deep and often damaging impact on children's motivation, interest and ability to learn and grow as learners and individuals. Children, especially girls and the disabled are vulnerable to unequal treatment, harassment, bullying and under-estimation, which harm them in profound and long lasting ways. Many scientific studies have shown that children subjected to abuse and physical violence in the early years become violent and abusive in adulthood.

Severe punishment at home and in schools is an inbuilt aspect of the lives of many children in South Asia. Parents, guardians and teachers often resort to physical and psychological abuse to enforce obedience and to ensure discipline and better performance at homes, in schools and at work. There is a traditionally prevalent view that children are completely subordinated to parents, guardians and members of the extended family. Corporal/physical punishment is generally accepted as a disciplining device and parents, guardians, teachers and other caregivers resort to the practice as a matter of course. However, it is being recognised as an issue that must be addressed since it violates children's dignity and causes physical and psychological damage.

Sexual abuse

Child sexual abuse is defined by "Save the Children Final Policy" as the "imposition of sexual acts, or acts with sexual overtones, by one or more persons on a child". Child sexual abuse refers to a range of activities: touching and fondling a child's genitals with or without penetration, forcible intercourse with penetration of child's vagina or anus by a penis or other object (rape and sodomy respectively) regardless of ejaculation. It includes exposing children to adult sexual activity or pornographic movies and photographs, making lewd comments about the child's body, having children pose, undress or perform in a sexual fashion on film or in person and peeping into bathrooms or bedrooms to spy on a child (voyeurism) (UNICEF ROSA 2001c: 2). The definition also includes fondling of breasts, oral sex and penetration of a child with or without the child's consent by an adult who is in some position of trust or power.

Most research on child sexual abuse and sexual exploitation indicate that girls and boys experience greater mental trauma and stigma after they have been sexually abused and/or exploited. Evidence from consultations with boys and girls suggest that

they experience a feeling of having been sullied or destroyed (Heissler 2001). Children are vulnerable to sexual abuse because of their age, their naiveté and their dependence on adults. Sexual abuse occurring for longer period affects the child more than short-term abuse. Violent forms of sexual abuse are more harmful to the child than fondling, kissing or touching. The more closely related the abused child is to the abuser, the greater the damage to the victim's psychological condition.

Information from newspaper articles, from children in special homes, detention facilities and a number of child sex workers apprehended by the police makes it clear that child sexual abuse and sexual exploitation are major problems facing all countries in the region. The most hidden and underreported form of violence against children in South Asia may be sexual abuse. Because of the shame and stigma that victims of child sexual abuse attract, most abused children do not talk about it in order to protect themselves, as well as to protect perpetrators, who are often family members. Children who have been sexually abused are afraid to speak out for fear of being blamed or cast out from the family. Sometimes they are threatened or bribed by the abuser, are anxious about the response of the adults, or lack the words to relate what had happened and hence are afraid that they may not be believed. Perpetrators sometimes try to cover up the situation by falsely accusing the child who has been abused. A sexually abused girl often has no marriage prospects. Consequently, when girls report sexual abuse, the family tries to conceal it for fear that she and other girls in the family will not be able to get husbands. Many families do not come forward to file complaints of rape and sexual abuse due to the trauma that the abused child goes through in reporting the crime, in undergoing medical examination and in giving evidence during the trial.

Child sexual abuse takes place at every level of society and almost everywhere. There have been cases of sexual abuse in orphanages, boarding schools, shelter homes, safe custody, correctional centres, vagrant homes, religious institutions, schools, police stations and prisons. Both girls and boys are subject to sexual abuse in work places and the perpetrators are usually employers or co-workers. Other places where such abuse is known to have been committed are homes, bus stations, video shops, hotels, cinemas and parks. Even thought many of these are fairly public places, there is a tendency to deny and conceal this form of violence.

Sexual exploitation and trafficking

The Declaration of the First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children defines commercial sexual exploitation of children as "using a child for sexual purposes in exchange for cash or in-kind favours between the client/customer and intermediary or agent who profits from such trade in children (UNICEF ROSA 2001c). Sexual abuse by an adult becomes commercial sexual exploitation when it involves remuneration in cash or kind to the child or a third person or persons. The child is treated as a sexual object and as a commercial object. Commercial sexual exploitation of children represents coercion and violence against children, amounts to forced labour and is a contemporary form of slavery.

Those who profit include a wide range of persons, among them being parents, family members, pimps, sex work establishments, hotel owners, taxi companies and traffickers, operating either individually or as part of a syndicate. Some government officials, politicians and police protect them and the trade. Commercial sexual exploitation of children includes sex work, sex tourism, child pornography and trafficking.

Trafficking of children is the recruitment, transportation, purchase, sale, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by use of violence, abduction, force, fraud, deception, coercion or debt bondage. Trafficking of children is not only linked to commercial sexual exploitation of children but also to other forms of exploitation, such as forced labour, slavery, camel jockeying, servitude or the removal of organs.

Children in conflict with the law

Juvenile justice refers to legislation, norms, standards, procedures, mechanisms and provisions, institutions and bodies specifically applicable to juvenile offenders (UNICEF 2001, Report of the Gender Focal Point Meeting).

Children in conflict with law are beaten, tortured, sexually assaulted and sometimes killed. Girls and boys are arrested for begging or working as vendors in public places. Some children are involved in criminal activities because adult criminals are exploiting them. Often the police profit from such activities by taking bribes from these children and their adult exploiters. Political parties use street children to throw bombs/bricks at the police, vehicular traffic and at political processions. Children are also used by criminal gangs for transporting arms, trafficking narcotics, collecting tolls and alms, snatching and pick pocketing. While it is important to prevent minor offences and serious crimes, it is even more important to secure the well being and rights of all children in conflict with the law. Children who come into conflict with the law often do not get the protection provided by the constitutional and legal systems of the countries in the region.

Street children are more likely to come into conflict with the law. They are denied all the rights many other children enjoy. They have no access to education and health care and live in constant fear of being robbed, beaten, sexually abused, or picked up by the police. Several factors contribute to this phenomenon: widespread corruption and a culture of police violence, the inadequacy and non-implementation of legal safeguards and the level of impunity that officials enjoy. Police also have financial incentives to resort to violence against children. They beat children for their money or demand payment for protection, to avoid false charges, or for release from (often illegal) custody.

Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is the violence inflicted/suffered on the basis of gender differences (Save the Children 2003a). Particular forms of violence such as sexual abuse, trafficking, sex work, honour killing, dowry related abuse and acid throwing, are disproportionately directed against girls. However, certain forms of violence such as recruitment into armed conflict, drug gangs and street gangs involve a greater proportion of boys as both victims and perpetrators. Physical punishment is more often inflicted upon boys on the assumption that they will grow up to be proper men as required by the definitions of male-dominated society. Police and the staff in jails and in detention facilities may beat or sexually abuse boys more than they do girls. Girls, however, suffer intense psychological pressure on account of being forced to conform to socially defined gender stereotypes. Boys too suffer mentally because they have to face the social pressure of being men and masculine.

However, there are more cases of violence against women and girls than boys. The patriarchal system shaping gender relations and gender stereotyping have made women and girls more susceptible to violence. It endows fathers and sons with greater access to and control over resources, decision-making, participation and mobility. In such societies, males are considered superior while females are treated as subordinates and inferiors.

Such attitudes towards girls and the extraordinary power of men, reinforced by society, the state, the legal system and religion lead to disproportionate violence against girls. Discriminatory inheritance laws undermine women's economic empowerment and are also the cause of violence against women and girls. There are types of physical and sexual violence that are reserved almost exclusively for girls in South Asia. These include physical torture, rape, early-marriage, honour killing, dowry-related violence and violence based on traditional practices. The vulnerability of girls is accentuated by the fact that the market economy, commercialisation and mechanisation of agriculture have added further to the marginalisation of women in South Asia by replacing their work and by increasing male control over cash and resources. Girls are needed less in the legal market economy.

International Commitments

The governments of South Asian countries have ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The following section presents articles in the Convention on the Rights of the Child that relate directly to violence against children:

Article 1 of Convention on the Rights of the Child defines a child as any person below 18 years old.

Article 19.1 protects the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

Article 24.3 protects children from being victims of hazardous traditional practices.

Article 28 establishes children's right to receive primary education and requires state parties to take measures to encourage regular attendance at school and reduce drop out rates.

Article 28.2 requires school discipline to be consistent with the child's human dignity.

Article 29 ensures that state parties shall agree that the education of the child shall be directed to the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential.

Article 32 protects children from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

Article 34 protects children from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse, including, child prostitution and child pornography.

Article 35 protects children from abduction, sale and trafficking of children for any purpose or in any form.

Article 37 protects children from torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 39 states that ratifying states must take steps to aid children who suffered physical or psychological damage as a result of abuse, maltreatment or torture in their recovery and social reintegration.

Article 40 provides that every child alleged, is accused of, or recognised as having violated the penal law must be treated in a manner consistent with the child's human rights, fundamental freedoms, sense of worth and dignity.

Articles 12 ensures that state parties shall assure a child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

Article 13 ensures children's right to freedom of expression.

Article 16 ensures their right to information.

As against these, national laws that prevail in the countries of the region are to different degrees at variance with the provisions of the CRC, either in the substance of the law or in the enforcement of it in those instances where the law is in conformity with the relevant provisions of the CRC. The status of the law with regard to child rights in each of the countries is outlined in the country reports.

Save the Children's Response to Violence against Children

Save the Children has been working the countries of South Asia to help improve the lives of children and families in the region. Save the Children has been responding to the needs of children and families in the region through programmes in health, education, protection and economic opportunities. Save the Children attaches great importance to the issue of violence and child protection programmes have a high priority in its activities.

The Vision

The right of every girl and boy to a life free from violence will be realized.

The Aim

All sections of society recognise and take action to eliminate all forms of violence
against girls and boys, with the result that people's behaviour; attitudes and practices are changed to respect for children's rights.

Save the Children Advocacy

All advocacy will be based on the principles of Child Rights Programming (CRP),
including strengthening and promoting children's participation, accountability and
non-discrimination, including gender equality.

Overall priority

Save the Children will focus on the participation of girls and boys (from various backgrounds: age, disability, ethnicity, religion, region, status, language, HIV/AIDS status, sexual preference, etc.) as an overall and specific contribution. (Save the Children Advocacy Relating to the UN Study on Violence against Children 2003)

Save the Children believes that the UN study will offer important advocacy opportunities for bringing about significant changes in the lives of girls and boys. Save the Children's priorities reflect those identified and prioritized by girls and boys in many consultations/processes around the world. They also take into account Save the Children members' present experience and capacities as well as the need for complementarities vis-à-vis other organizations involved.

Save the Children members in South Asia have also been involved in research, awareness raising, initiating pilot projects, training and developing media programmes. Violence is only part of a complex of intersecting phenomena and Save the Children addresses this through its education, nutrition and food security programmes. Based on this strategy and understanding Save the Children has very few projects that deal directly and exclusively with violence against children in the region. Almost all the projects/programmes that deal with violence in the region are at their early stages of implementation.

Children's Participation

An overall and cross cutting priority is children's meaningful and ethical participation in addressing violence affecting them. The core purpose of their participation is to empower them as individuals and as members of civil society and will involve giving children a genuine opportunity to express

their views, be involved in decisions or take action. In accordance with this, child groups have been formed in some of the programme areas. These groups are intended to provide a platform for adolescent girls and boys to share their voices and express their concerns and opinions. Save the Children works with children's groups to explore and understand the issue of violence, gender relations, discrimination and masculinity from the viewpoint of both girls and boys.

Child Rights Programming

Working from a child rights perspective means using the principles of child rights and human rights to assess, plan, manage, implement and monitor programmes with the overall goal of strengthening the rights of the child as defined in international law. Working from a CRP perspective means addressing the root causes of rights violations related to violence against children, including patriarchal power structures and unequal power relations between children and adults. It means recognizing children as rights holders and social actors, giving priority to children, creating child-friendly environments and providing child-friendly information on abuse and violence. Governments should be recognized as primary duty-bearers responsible for addressing and taking action against violence. It also means recognizing parents and family as primary caregivers and protecting and supporting them in this role. It implies using participatory and empowering approaches in partnerships and alliances for promoting the rights of the child in addressing violence against girls and boys.

Child Protection Policy

Save the Children is committed to conducting its programmes in a manner that is safe for the children it serves and helping protect child victims with whom it is in contact. Save the Children members have taken the lead in formulating and enforcing an internal Child Protection Policy. The protection policy establishes the organisation's position on the issue of maltreatment and abuse against children and its commitment to protect the integrity of children with whom it comes into contact either at homes, work or in institutions. There is also provision for disciplinary action for inappropriate behaviour towards children. Failure to follow the specific and general requirements of this policy is grounds for discipline, up to and including dismissal from employment, termination of consultancy, agency, volunteer/ internship or board/ advisory council membership.

Conclusion

It is difficult to deal with these issues socially. The problem begins with the self and then proceeds to the organisation. There is reluctance to address these issues head on. In a CARE office, when it was found that female staff was dropping out, it was clear that this was mainly because of physical harassment by male colleagues. The management found this out and made a policy of zero tolerance. The female staff took a long time to become confident about the organisation again. Many child rights activists neglect the situation in their own homes, vis-à-vis domestic child workers, their husbands/wives, friends, or colleagues. Organisations working for 'rights' have to ensure that their own staff adhere to the rhetoric they preach to others.

The issue of children and violence, the impact of interventions is not clear. The dilemma facing organisations is whether they should go deep into an issue or else adopt an integrated approach. Laws remain an area of neglect.

What is being done?

When, where and how

It seems to be easier to work with the earlier 'gender is only about women' approach. It is easier to deal with a negative image of man. It is more difficult to work with the idea that there is a complex array of possibilities and identities, varying contexts and different possible relationships. Even existing practices seeking to break ground tend to revert in moments into the erstwhile 'separatism' between men and women and between girls and boys. Likewise it is easy to theorise about sexuality and about gender as a social construct. Integrating this theoretical approach into practice is very difficult. Where does one begin and how does one negotiate this difficult terrain?

The issue of 'violence' furnishes a good entry point for working with men and boys. Gender-based violence is not acceptable to a large section of humanity. Alliances can be forged over this issue which is ultimately about power and powerlessness. Diversity and differences can be accommodated in such an approach. It will help locate the identities that are problematic. This chapter describes some of the methods, tools and strategies being used in 'bringing men and boys in'. It concludes by listing some of the practices that seemed to work.

Let's talk men: personal narratives and films, South Asia

This set of four films was sponsored by UNICEF and Save the Children UK. Films are a good entry point to begin discussions on masculinities. These four films are accompanied by discussion guidelines for facilitators. They have been shown in various locales with a range of 'audience'. The set of four helps boys and men to address masculinity, while helping women and girls to understand the social world of boys and men better. To quote from the discussion guideline:

Let's talk men is a series of films on masculinities. These educational films are to be used with children and young people to present primarily boys but also girls with alternative male role models to dominant paradigms, which are violent towards women and girls and where these behaviours are accepted as the norm. The films are designed as experimental learning tools to increase and extend the impact of NGOs, academics and other social organisations in tackling the problems of increasing violence against girls.

Hence they do not specifically address only men and boys. The films take up the theme of masculinity differently. The settings are different (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), the characters vary, and the issues within the rubric 'masculinity' are different.

When Four Friends Meet... is directed by Rahul Roy of India and was screened during the workshop. Four boys share with the camera their secrets: sex and girls; youthful dreams and failures; frustrations and triumphs. The four friends, residents of Jehangirpuri, a working class colony in Delhi, are trying to make their living in an environment which is changing rapidly. Girls seems to be very bold, stable jobs are not easy to come by, sex is a strange mix of guilt and pleasure.

Yeh hui Na Mardon Wali Baat (Now That's More Like A Man) is directed by Farjad Nabi and Mazhar Zaidi of Pakistan. The video relies upon popular clichés and provides the space for constructing men, real and imagined. A series of women give form to men through words. A group of children play endlessly – the game of life, of gender.

Listen to the Wind by Tsering Rhitar and Kesang Tseten of Nepal is the only fiction film among the four. A Sherpa boy in the high mountains of Nepal

is different. An old nomad with deteriorating eyesight who wishes to see the rare Kalma Metok flower before he dies is his best friend. In the face of mounting obstacles at his new school – bullying classmates, diminishing chances of securing a much-needed scholarship and the threat of expulsion from school, can he realise his friend's advice to 'Listen to the Wind' to find his own answer?

Amader Chhelera (Our Boys) has been directed by Manzare Hassin of Bangladesh. Winds of change are sweeping through the country. The West is irresistible, and the East refuses to disappear. In these confusing times boys from a pop group and a young artist, all from the newly emerging middle class families of Dhaka, open their lives to the director. Duties and obligations, women and desire, confusion and contradictions, the boys can feel the wind but do not really know which way it blows.

As a tool, films work well. The process of participating in the filming itself transformed Sanju, one of the 'characters' in *When Four Friends Meet.* The film was premiered in the working class colony and when adults congratulated the 'four friends', discussing masculinity became validated and the process got a positive spin. Personal narratives and films are a good 'tool' to work with.

Exploring masculinities: travelling seminar, India[6]

The need to counter violence against women, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the failure of the population control programmes have pushed to the fore, amongst other issues, the question of male sexuality and male culture. Activists and academics involved with gender issues have critically commented on masculinity and its impact on

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[6] The write up is by Rahul Roy, Delhi.

gender relations as well as the institutionalisation of male power. However, the passion and rigour with which women's lives and women's cultures have been studied and documented in South Asia has been missing in the study of masculinities. This is unfortunate because a textured understanding of the diversity of South Asian men's experiences, attitudes, beliefs, practices, situations, sexualities and institutions is essential to not only challenging the social dominance of men over women but for building a more humane world.

The last few years have witnessed various efforts at correcting this imbalance. Grassroots groups, international NGOs, the UN system and academics have begun the process of engaging with the issue of masculinities. India has witnessed various efforts like the "Let's Talk Men" film series supported by UNICEF and Save the Children UK, UNIFEM'S violence against women campaign, initiatives by groups in Maharashtra to conceptually and in practice engage with masculinities, Population Council's effort at male initiative in reproductive health. However, it is surprising that the Indian university system is yet to respond to this emerging theme of masculinities. The subject is yet to enter the various departments of Gender Studies. It is essential that a critical mass of both practitioners as well as research material on the theme be generated through the university system.

The Travelling Seminar on masculinities supported by UNIFEM was designed to introduce diverse questions of male sexuality and male culture within the university system. The seminar is a unique platform to introduce the current theories and practices of masculinities to the university community in order to generate interest for further work in the area.

This seminar series consisting of academic papers, films and activist narratives gave a broad overview of the range of work that is happening in various social settings on masculinities. The presentations spread over two days at each university included conceptual papers, sociological/anthropological/historical studies, psychoanalytic perspectives, activist narratives (experiences from the field of work on violence against women), personal narratives (reflexive stories of men's experience of transitions/journeys/their sexualities) and films on masculinities.

As the title suggests the seminar travelled to six locations, one each from the north, north-east, south, east and west of the country and the University of Delhi.

The seminar was both an academic exercise in generating interest for further research on masculinities as well as a campaign to form a network of university communities which are willing to take up issues of gender equality. It specially sought the participation of young men because gender-based violence is an issue over which discussion is needed and networks against it formed.

The best of current intellectual/experiential work on masculinities in the country was on display during the seminar.

The multidisciplinary/multicultural nature of the seminar displayed the complexity of the gender web and the diverse strategies required to move towards gender equity. It provided an opportunity for audiences from different backgrounds to participate and engage with the seminar.

In the best traditions of the women's movement, this seminar can be seen as the merging of theoretical approaches on gender and a grassroots level struggle for gender equity. The seminar was intended to generate an academic interest in

research on masculinities and also provide an opportunity for groups of young people spread over six universities to become part of the growing world-wide protest on gender-based violence.

Building bridges: Working with men and boys in Pakistan

Rozan works with men and boys in different ways. One form is gender training of police personnel, which is discussed below. Another is the White Ribbon Campaign and involving men and boys in that to work against violence against women. Finally, is the attention given to beginning men's clubs where men can talk men. Rozan has worked with the media in highlighting and discussing issues of gender stereotyping and of associating certain types of behaviour with men. It has used theatre for example.

The organisation has been conducting gender training with police personnel in Pakistan since 1998 as part of their 'Rabta' project. Rozan realised that violence affects both boys and girls. Also that it is important to work with men, women and children, in fact with all sections of society however defined. Violence against women and children is high in Pakistan, and there was a problem with stereotyped attitudes that the law enforcers themselves carried.

Gender training is conducted in the National Police Centre in Rawalpindi. The programme is now in its third phase and has included the community and trained trainers. In time Rozan wants to hand the project back to the police to run. Policy makers have been included in the module. Workshops included analysis of socialisation process and healthy life skills. Those who are emotionally healthy relate well with others. And here, men can play an important role in ending gender-based violence.

Methodology of workshop

Critical components of the workshop remain focused on self-awareness. life-skill development, discussion of power, gender and violence against women and children. The method followed is:

☐ Five to six days of five hours work
    Small experiential group in an atmosphere of trust, safety, encouragement.
☐ Mix male and female facilitators was a good model: it showed that professional relationship between male and female is necessary.
☐ Fourteen day gap between self-growth and gender in violence module. They shared openly, even instances of beating and murdering 'suspects'.
☐ In the middle of the session the group was given assignments.

There is an exercise of sharing moments of powerlessness, when I can't cry, can't share my problems, when I can't get money for my family. In another session, they go through sharing of powerlessness of community members, so they can connect their powerlessness especially with children and women. They can use their power for change. It is clear by the end that gender stereotyping affects individual lives. The system and not individuals or 'men' or 'women' are to blame. The group understands the dynamics and effects of 'gender stereotyping' and go back to the police station. A follow up happens where community persons go to the station with fictitious cases just to test the response. This exercise is video-documented and replayed for responses and discussion.

Feedback from the group is solicited after the process is complete. Till date, only one person has said that the training was not useful. Rozan's self-evaluation is done through soliciting many replies to one question which is framed in different ways. This is done before the training and after and the

differences are assessed to see 'progress'. After six months, the same questions, rephrased are put out again to the group. There is a straight 'climb' in the immediate aftermath of the training. Six months later, there tends to be a slide. Through this process, Rozan learnt its own mistakes and changed its format and methodology.

Countering stereotyping has to be an ongoing process since the process of socialisation is usually so unchallenged in patriarchal societies. For example, in Pakistan, the training curriculum states that 'women cannot be raped without their consent', which, at one level may be a typographical error, but at another could be indicative of a much deeper problem. Rozan is working towards syllabus change.

In all its effort with the police training and with the White Ribbon Campaign, while there have been many successes, there are certain limitations and problems that were highlighted.

Problems
□ Cultural value that violence against women not problem of society
□ Men who came forward were criticised
□ Men involved in working for livelihood,
□ Difficult to call boys for meetings due to their engagements
□ Parents' resistance a problem: my child working on women's issues
□ Myths in men about the role of women in society.

Limitations
□ Process is slow, frustrating, difficult to show results
□ Methodology requires training: Rozan only shares its module if other groups commit to methodology

□ Impact needs to be sustained through refreshers.
□ Support needed: police station, their superior, it's not a one-off training, to convince officers to give importance to police officers
□ Some men do not respond even after training of one year.
□ Community ownership of projects vital (influential people in community), community supports police personnel who do things out of the ordinary.

Working with men: Gender lab, Tamil Nadu (India)

This intervention takes place in Tamil Nadu, India. The idea began when working with 'women and development' in the mid-1980s did not prove successful. There was always a bottleneck and that was men's non-involvement. Despite its decent human development index, Tamil Nadu is very 'anti-women'. Women were carrying their pains and burdens alone. In the early nineties, there was the 'one-half' movement which included men in combating violence against women. Training workshops for men were conducted, and in time, the gender lab module was developed. It has now been extended to youth clubs, dalit and adivasi (indigenous persons) groups.

What is this men's club and how does it work? The idea of a men's club was to take it beyond the NGO base. A small group is taken for a two-day stay. Ground rules are set to make people feel comfortable with each other. For example, each person should only talk about themselves, they should not criticise anything, or give any unsolicited advice.

Then the group is taken through different experiences. Men are given a necklace to wear

(usually worn only by women). Sharing takes place, including how you feel wearing the bead necklace.

A magic box containing many things is opened, and the group sorts out the items into three sets: common/men's symbol/women's symbol. This gives an opening to analyse masculinities and femininities (*anmai* and *penmai* are the concepts in Tamil). Usually the *penmai* list is longer. The 'men's only' list is shorter. This is followed by an 'onion' exercise, where layers are pealed, and nothing is found at the end.

On the second day is reflection and sharing. Individual sharing included quarrelling with the wife because she earned more. Some men could not take their own revelations and would collapse into tears. Then there is a 'devil's advocate' who prises from the participants the losses and gains from that kind of behaviour. It is kind of 'gender budgeting' that unfailingly reveals that there are more losses than gains. This helps men come out of their own constraints. They become aware of the socially constructed nature of difference between men and women. The 'lab' which facilitates sharing is more useful than gender sensitive training since men open up and soon realise their role in helping women come out. It is a self-realised exercise rather than them having been 'taught' anything.

It was important to hold separate discussion groups among men only on gender and sexuality issues. Men in the two day club retreat talk about issues they had never shared earlier since they are socialised into not discussing their vulnerabilities, doubts and powerlessness. Facilitators begin the opening up by sharing their own experiences. There is no pre-arranged agenda. The ages of the men are between twenty and fifty. They are mostly married. Their 'power' situation varies. The group includes dalits and other 'social leaders'. The retention rate is ninety per cent. Sometimes facilitators and participants require counselling or debriefing.

In an environment which is not sensitive (wife, or community), follow up is important, but that is an area where more work is needed.

Working with men to end violence against women in Madurai, Tamil Nadu, India

Ekta has been working since 1990 on women's empowerment. They work with a cross section of society, including rural and urban poor and schools and colleges. It works with men. There are four males in its general body, though the executive committee is all women.

Colleges

Ekta entered colleges through the National Social Service (NSS) and women's studies units of colleges. The idea was to tap 'youth power' for creating a gender equal society. In 1993, Ekta organised a residential programme for female college students. The three day programme drew 250 female students from different colleges. Gradually, this was extended to both female and male college students. The girls asked Ekta to talk to the boys as well. Issues such as harassment of women, ragging, globalisation and communalism are discussed. The interactive sessions often end with commitments where boys vow to find out if their future wife consented to the marriage or is forced. There are vows against taking dowry. Males talk freely about infertility and worries about sexual performance. Girls and boys become friends rather than viewing each other as exotic, unfathomable beings. Now, over 2,000 students take part in intensive programmes while 10,000 students are covered through the extensive programmes.

With college students, the tools include street theatre, or sessions named 'youth for development' so that the word 'patriarchy' that raises hackles in some institutions is avoided.

Schools

Life education programmes are conducted in schools. This initiative followed from discussions with school teachers who expressed the inadequacy of the school environment to address problems of adolescents (depression, low self-esteem, inability to distinguish film-created fantasies from real life, teenage romance and pregnancies, peer pressure and addiction to addictives, tensions arising from broken families, sexual harassment of women, ragging, incest and violence). Ekta then began its life education programme in 2000. The effort helps children and young persons to reflect and analyse their situation, to learn about relationships at an early age, to understand gender roles and responsibilities beginning with their own families, critically review the media, and make realistic plans for the future. The programme takes place in five corporation schools, of which three are girls-only and two are boys-only, particularly with class nine students (aged 13-14 years). The class strength in these schools that draw lower income students is large, so the groups that Ekta works with are broken into smaller ones. Every year, 1,500 students are covered by the programme, at the end of which a certificate is handed out.

White Ribbon Campaign

Male members of Ekta began the White Ribbon Campaign in Tamil Nadu in 2000. Women told Ekta to talk to men, who have decision making power. The meetings began with being men-only. The participants felt that women should be there to challenge them, or else they will only reinforce dominant views. This then shifted to mixed sessions held once a month. Topics discussed include family and the role of the media.

In rural areas, there were questions, and doubts, which Ekta noted and tried to address in our following campaigns. Reading materials were collected and disseminated to initiate and facilitate discussions. The White Ribbon Campaign in

Canada was contacted for this purpose. The essence of the campaign was that men are able to care and speak out against violence on women. It challenges men to end violence against women by laying down their 'weapons' and treating women as equal partners.

The strategies vary and include small interactive meetings for reflection, large thematic meetings for awareness generation, workshops and seminars for greater understanding of the issues and formation of solidarity groups. Facilitations focus on gender as a social construct and the 'male burden'. Words, proverbs and sayings are analysed for their 'gender' content. A dictionary is being developed. There is a poster in which men are encouraged to sign with a commitment to end violence against women and to support women's groups in addressing issues of violence against women.

In a limited capacity, Ekta conducts police training through the government of Tamil Nadu. We found this not to be very successful since only small numbers were coming in to the training of trainers' programmes. Of the thirty districts in Tamil Nadu, Ekta's work is restricted to Madurai, which was another reason for limited success. Finally, the problem is too endemic to be addressed by training only. In this manner, they did not face the success reported by Rozan.

Ekta plans to extend their work to mobilise more members, hold summer camps for students, organise study circles, provide pre-marital counselling, individual counselling, hold interactive sessions with media, police and trade unions, conduct micro-level studies of violence against women and to strengthen linkage with similar initiatives in India and outside for which the Kathmandu workshop was useful.

The gender lab programme above was different in methodology from Ekta's. Besides which Ekta

works with mixed groups and with different age groups. They work with the community, including parents.

Working with men and boys in a plantation in Malaysia: a community approach

The social profile of Malaysian workers is that most of them are of Indian dalit (lowest caste) origin. In the process of unionising workers, it was realised that values, behaviour and attitude concerning masculinities have to be addressed. Paul, from Malaysia, shared his experiences and his own evolution in the process. The problems of 'gender' socialisation were evident in the plantation with poor savings rate, stereotyped division of labour, poor health and education indicators, and economic problems. Market globalisation provided another difficult context to work within. Here, it was not possible to use sophisticated unproblematic 'pure' theory in rectifying the manifold nature of the problem. Violence in such communities had to be dealt with by often subscribing to certain hegemonic norms (including religion and dominant heterosexual family standards).

Women were initially not active in the trade union. They were burdened with domestic responsibilities. Men typically only earned, watched TV, and could spare themselves for other work, including trade union activity. Men also were not keen to work with women. Women consequently held low self-esteem. Men took major household decisions and the rest of the family was expected to implement them. There was little conversation between men and women in families. In women's only discussions, the imbalance of domestic responsibility came up.

Discussions were then held with men on the problem. Next, the groups were mixed and families could talk. Children began to be listened to.

Traditional division of labour was changed, and men were better fathers, husbands, sons and brothers. A life-cyle approach was taken in the sessions, which consisted of about ten men each. History was used to bring out the socialisation aspect of gender roles and the subordination of women to men. Spending habits of men, their vision of the family, their dialogues with their spouse, their relationship to their children, their share of housework and issues of domestic violence were addressed in the men-only sessions. Now the next stage of work with men is going on. Here, new participatory leadership styles are explored. There are sessions on coping with aging and sickness, male sexuality, men and work, how to deal with powerlessness and lack of privilege, how to seek new recognition by the wife and children and men's role in undoing male domination and patriarchy structures.

There have been huge changes in the community as a result of this work. School enrolment rates have gone up, violence against women and children has gone down, spending and saving habits have changed, the sexual division of labour has become more equal, and men, women and children are looking much happier than they were two decades ago.

Working with men and boys to end acid attacks on women and girls in Bangladesh: campaign style

Bangladesh witnesses high rates of violence against women. Acid (nitric or sulphuric) attacks are suffered mostly by women, half of whom are under eighteen. The reasons include rejection of marriage, domestic violence over dowry demands, revenge, jealousy, land and property disputes, political rivalry. A marked feature of the attacks is that the perpetrator is always male. This is explained by the patriarchal nature of the country; it is usually men

who propose to women; dowry; men own land; and procurement is easy for men due to their mobility and the easy availability of the acid.

The Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF) realised since its inception in 1992 that it has to work with men to deal with this problem. In Bangladesh, men dominate the police, legal and medical professions, and business. The programmes involving men are listed below.

A men only rally

On International Women's Day (8 March), ASF rallied 2,000 men in a 'men's only rally' where men from different social strata were mobilised. The men held banners and placards denouncing violence against women. The theme slogan was 'Stop Acid, Save Women'.

The men only rally was very effective in demonstrating that men too are concerned about women's lives and that this is not simply a 'women's only' issue.

Workshop with acid users

Focus group discussion was held with acid users to highlight the issue of misuse of the substance. Most of those who used acid in their work (goldsmiths, battery shop workers/owners, tanneries, and cycle shops) were unaware of its misuse. A few said that they gave acid to their friends without asking what it was to be used for. After the programme, the users organised their own small rallies in their neighbourhoods.

Workshops with journalists

Male journalists are trained to report on acid attacks. The media tends to sensationalise acid attacks. The main issue is not that the victim was young and beautiful and is now disfigured for life, but the physical and mental trauma, the need for justice and prevention. The media can then serve as a watchdog against this crime.

Awareness-raising meetings with local youth groups

Young men (aged seventeen to twenty-five) are the main perpetrators. ASF holds awareness-raising meetings with this target group of potential perpetrators. Youth groups followed up by conducting their own discussions and organising rallies around this theme.

Training programmes for youth groups

Youth groups are trained to make them into social advocates against acid violence. Volunteers spent time visiting universities and colleges talking about acid violence and its social and legal implications.

Other programmes

The prevention unit has trained female survivors of acid violence in leadership, gender awareness and drama.

The legal unit works with the judiciary and local level government officials against gender-based violence.

Difficulties

1. Journalists and government officials were distracted during trainings. They thought this was an oft-repeated issue.
2. Acid users were surprised that their 'tool' was so misused. Some of them however thought that the problem lay with women who went out, romanced and exposed themselves.
3. Again, this 'victim is at fault' mentality obviously pervades society and came up repeatedly in different training.

Young persons however proved less difficult to work with. This led to the realisation that more work with boys and younger men is needed. Root causes need to be addressed rather than working towards simple 'prevention' of one type of violence against women. Patriarchy has to be confronted as well as inequality in society. These cannot be addressed by isolating

'acid'. Acid throwing is a manifestation of gender discrimination and related to control of female sexuality, 'if I cannot have her, nobody else should'. It is also used as a form of violence for solving conflicts such as land disputes. Acid throwing has to be addressed holistically as a legal issue, through community mobilisation, by working with young men to prevent acid attacks in the future, through empowerment of the girls and boys who have been subject to acid attacks, by working with journalists, and with acid sellers.

Building alliances: Uttar Pradesh, India

In 1991, women's groups in Uttar Pradesh (UP) launched a state-wide campaign 'Stop Tolerating Violence'. Male activists were also involved in the campaign. In the *jan sunwahi* or public hearing it became clear that men had to be involved in battling violence against women. This led to the formation of '*mahila himsa ko rokne ke liyepurshon ka abhyan*' (Men's Action for Stopping Violence against Women, or MASVAW). VAW (Violence Against Women) is a social issue, hence combating it is the responsibility of the entire society, not just women. It was difficult initially since there were few men in 'women's issue' NGOs, and few men from male-headed NGOs attended. The target group in the campaign was peer groups (youth, students, adolescents), men who are perpetrators, real or potential, those who have authority (brick kiln owners, panchayat representative), and leaders and advocates (media, NGO activists and teachers). The best work was with the last set since MASVAW's connections with the group was best. Spatially, the work focused in Bundelkhand and Gorakhpur. The initiative has forty-nine partners at the grassroots level and many individuals. It must be remembered that eastern UP is largely feudal and patriarchal.

The process began in October 2002 when consultation meetings were held with male heads of NGOs in UP. During this consultation, participants analysed the situation prevailing in their areas and made plans for work. Many workshops concerning gender, sexuality and violence against women were held. The plans made were reviewed periodically. Those who attended these sessions committed to taking the work forward on their own. They held meetings with local self-governments, owners of rural industries employing women, rural youth, students of schools and colleges and so on. A set of educational materials has been developed which includes flash cards, games and other materials. Individual activists, media persons and academics are joining the campaign and a process of networking is ongoing at the regional and local levels. Students and teachers have taken the campaign up in Bharatiya Vidhyapeet University (Benaras) which had a particularly poor record of gender equality. Work with Gorakhpur University has begun.

Apart from awareness, the network offers support in filing cases and so on. Particular incidents are investigated. A fact-finding team is despatched to the locale. Medical examinations are arranged. If needed, a first information report (FIR) is lodged with the police and there is follow up ensured through working with the media.

Games are particularly useful as a tool. There is a snakes and ladder game, which is easy, and introduces gender-based discussions. Rozan too uses games as a tool with a manual for the facilitator. Though the game deals with behaviourial aspects, other tools of change include organising men against violence, rallies, seminars, meetings and workshops.

Recently there was an all UP campaign based on CEDAW for which the network prepared materials and participated in other ways.

There are many challenges ahead. The group does not have too many resources. In a conflict situation, it is clear that it is not only a gender imbalance that causes violence, but gender-based violence itself is based in a structure of inequality whose language is violence. Caste, class, gender and age are implicated. Beginning with gender-based violence uncovers all the violence and its roots. Landholdings remain unequal. Dalits are excluded. Within that women dalits are at the lowest end. Muslims are vulnerable as minorities. Often it seems that structural inequality and not just gender-based inequality needs to be addressed. MASVAW is open to addressing violence from all forms of inequality. It looks at these forms as manifestations of patriarchy.

The network has an advisory committee that advises them in forming their vision and improving their functioning. As a response, the network moved towards decentralisation and began two regional chapters in Varanasi (Benaras) and Gorakhpur that initiate independent actions such as casework, celebrating women's day, and organising seminars and competitions in colleges and universities. In Gorakhpur, the work is broad based, going beyond the university. In Varanasi, work is done mainly in the university.

There are positive outcomes that are discernible. On 8 March 2004, just around Holi, the festival of colours, during which women and children are harassed, MASVAW decided to celebrate women's day despite Holi. A record 600 people participated including the working class. A point was made. Media covered the show. The rally was not under the MASVAW banner, though it was organised in good part by the organisation.

Landlords and industrialists have begun treating their women workers differently. One brick owner began to share managerial responsibilities with his wife.

Some men raised the issue to break the silence. Youth groups are monitoring violence in their villages. The issue is being discussed in panchayats. In eastern UP it is difficult to raise the issue in public. It is easier if the perpetrator is from outside, whereas if it is within the family, it is near impossible.

Male workers are participating in violence related fact finding missions. Male headed organisations are reviewing their staff policies and giving place to the issue in their organisation.

MASVAW are working with youth and adolescents. In some schools, students began to talk about VAW, but the organisation does not know how to build on this. Teachers talk with students. A good entry point is to work through teachers. Students began to monitor abusive language in their institutions. They are sharing cases of violation in their own homes. Students write letters to their fathers to stop violent behaviour within the home. When a child complains on violence, the parents complain and issue strident denial. It is a method of bringing attention from within a home outside. Legally it is better, and it is better to have discussion on these issues.

In one university, students have begun a sexual harassment monitoring committee, which did not work well, so it was dissolved. Another was created with involvement of feminists, students and teachers union and others, which is a good sign.

In Bharitya Vidhyapeet, there is a police chowki (station), where police is involved in VAW. Professors are also culprits. In the university there was a survey among the females about their vision of an ideal university. This became a good way of indicating the problems.

At a more individual level, members of the campaign feel that participating in this campaign

has helped them personally by providing them space to live with their emotions.

Men against violence need to be careful since in an entrenched patriarchal system, it is easy for men to assume their role as protectors. Men have to be partners, friends. There has to be constant self-reflection to make sure there is no imposition or no traditional masculinity roles being performed. The language of rights provides the opportunity to keep the intervention on the right track.

There have been problems with the formal political arena. Initially the work was threatening to political leaders, in response to which a protection system had to be set up. A contact with the media helped MASVAW to handle the threats. MASVAW has to be careful in not allowing individual cases to become scoring points.

Lessons

1. We are still a long way from ensuring a violence free gender just society

2. Discussions on sexuality tend to get dominated by sexual behaviour or rights to the neglect of other issues. Even within that, there is scope for at least discussing the need for mutual satisfaction in sexual matters.

3. The small initiatives that have been made need to be consolidated. Currently the network is hugely spread out. MASVAW can consolidate sexual violence at the workplace (brick kilns) and adolescents and with panchayats as some 'areas' of strength.

4. Need to be vigilant against developing and promoting a patronising and paternalistic approach. MASVAW cannot assert that all its partners are following a rights-based approach, it also involve some other partners who may not be on that wavelength.

Future directions

1. Immediate challenge is to develop closer links with women's organisations and groups. Male-headed organisations dominate in UP, than women organisations headed by women which are few and far between, and the work of women's organisations is not very well known. Misunderstanding exists about their work. In MASVAW's review planning meeting, they call members of women's organisation who can guide them and point to limitations.

2. MASVAW needs sustained action on the issue to strengthen people's movements.

3. Need to learn from experiences of other groups in India and outside. They do not know how many groups work with men and adolescents against VAW.

4. Ongoing efforts need to be continued and consolidated.

5. An evaluation of work needs to be conducted.

Discussion

MASVAW works through experiential forms too, where men wear dupattas (a long cloth covering the breast worn by women). Men conclude that it is not good to have been born a woman.

Perpetrators are difficult to identity. Sometimes testimonies come through personal narratives.

So far there is no inclusion of issues of violence faced by young girls or children (female foetuses). This could be done. There is scope for working with young boys on parenting issues. There is ongoing work with schools and parents on physical punishment. Accepting the beating of children as a disciplinary measure justifies violence. Experiments with alternative justice systems could be conducted. Family courts are not very effective in Gorakhpur and Varanasi.

Working with street boys and girls

Butterflies, a Delhi-based NGO

While Butterflies works with street children and on issues of violence, it does not explicitly focus on masculinity. A precondition of work with Butterflies is

that adults should respect and listen to children, involve them in planning and implementation. These are non-negotiable. Verbal and physical abuse of children is not tolerated.

On the streets, violence is a reality. A child is verbally, physically and sexually abused on the street. A survey conducted by Butterflies showed that each child had been sexually abused at least once. This abuse was done by men, women and older peers. Some children who experienced this disappeared for a while and reappeared more confident. It transpired that they had taken lessons on self-defence from wrestlers.

The world of the street child is very masculine in a dominant sense. Hanuman is a favourite god. Bhairon is another beloved god and children collect alcohol to offer him. They learn through films and advertisements. That is their school. The first show on a Friday is a must-go. Many attitudes come from mainstream commercial audio-visual media. Man should be a super hero. He should be bold. Physical violence is an easy way to settle disputes. Man is the bread winner and the protector of the family. The role of the wife and child is to follow the hero and look up to him. An example of *Ladla* was given. This film is one of the worst in depicting men and women. Each time the hero struck his wife to 'bring her in line', the crowd of children howled with delight, whistled their endorsement and clapped their hands in approval. After that Butterflies tried to make it a point to accompany the children to film shows and discuss the film.

The heroes are action heroes. It is 'macho'. Social legitimacy is acquired by using foul language, smoking cigarettes, abuse other substances like alcohol and drugs, and have many girlfriends. If a boy on the street does not have a 'girlfriend', he is considered a 'wimp', a lesser man. Having girls around is not enough, they have to be bossed over. Sexual abuse of younger boys is part of the 'macho'

identity. Sex is used to control weaker elements. It is important for boys on the street to be seen as strong. They cannot weep or show their emotions, especially fear. With some female educators, boys would sometimes begin to weep when they recounted a painful or humiliating experience but not otherwise, even though they may hurt deeply both inside and outside.

An aspect of this is that girls too acquire 'male' characteristics. They have begun to use abusive language. One ten-year-old girl was the leader of a small group. She was strong, 'macho'. Pressures to prove masculinity surface in so many ways. The children provide for their families. They acquire status in their family. They protect their younger siblings. They are the breadwinners. Both boys and girls subscribe to this masculine image. It is unquestionable.

However it had to be questioned if violence had to be addressed. Butterflies began to introduce these issues formally in interactions with the street children. The first question was 'who earns for your family?' The answer that the mother does, that she does not drink, and that she takes full responsibility for the family, showed that gender roles are not as certain as assumed.

Tools

I. Education

a. Life skills education, including sex education, done through experience sharing: Included in the education are issues of equality in sexual intercourse, consultation, right to enjoy and deny, so that it doesn't become a discussion about man-woman relationship in marriage, childbearing and so on. Lessons include how to handle and manage anger and resolve conflicts.

b. Belief in democratic values (Bal Sabha, Bal Mazdoor Union, Health Cooperative): Such forums provide, political education at one

level, as children are made to decide on what kind of political system they want. Initially, boys would not let girls speak and they would dismiss girl's views. But slowly things began to change.

II. Theatre: This is an important technique to work with children who have been sexually abused and/ or are/were into prostitution. This also helps children to get rid of 'sexual behaviour'.

III. Newspaper, radio: Working with the media helps to improve children's communication skills. The newspaper group has also trained children in journalism in four states. They run a newspaper called National Children's Times.

IV. Economic empowerment: Children suffer brutality due to economic vulnerability. To improve their situation, children's development bank and children's savings scheme were developed through which children save money and can take loans. Children are also trained in banking enterprises and ethics in good business practices. There are now 800 members, both girls and boys. A management committee also exists consisting of both girls and boys.

V. Work with other actors
Police is seen to be a street child's worst enemy. In cases where the police perpetrates the crime, a FIR cannot be filed; permission needs to be taken from the Lt. Governor. But in most cases the DCP (Deputy Commissioner of Police) intervenes, meets the child and coerces him or her to withdraw the case.

In cases, where boys are sodomised, police says 'say anything but anything else' since such cases reflect poorly on the station if the case is filed. In situations where the case is filed in the lower court, the Investigating Officer usually does not give proper evidence to the public prosecutor, so the case falls flat. Butterflies works with a legal aid NGO on this issue.

Street children are also often seen to contract STDs. Since there is no provision with the paediatrician, they go to a skin specialist. Butterflies is working with this issue, and also with nurses on dealing with emergency cases.

In the legal sphere, there is work with advocates and child welfare members under the Juvenile Justice system.

It is mandatory for Butterflies staff to go through gender sensitive training. This is especially important as it helps to change the mindset of the staff. It is important to have adults speak about the issues and to overcome their own moralistic prejudices before they work with children.

The organisation supports children who are abusing drugs. It is not easy working with this group because they are on the street and are homeless. It is easy for an adult to say that it is not good to beat others but children, like others, need to survive, and their life choices are determined by their context.

Discussion
Working with the police is a difficult matter. The constable's mindset is still colonial and has to do with the recruitment and selection procedure. There are draconian laws in place such as the Prevention of Terrorist Activities (POTA). Is training really going to change the situation? There are five former police officers running NGOs in Kerala but they cannot change the attitude of the police force. There has to be a fundamental change.

Female police officers are not posted in the field, but provide support. But having females in the police force is not enough. There was a case of a female constable who beat her twelve-year-old domestic help and her colleagues tried to shield her.

Butterflies also takes space from the municipality, or some other NGO for night classes. There is also a social audit of the organisation's work. A monthly newsletter is also published detailing their work, and the situation that exists. However, Butterflies finds it difficult to work with street children's families, as it is not possible for Butterflies to find the street children's parents. The organisation also works with illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.

Butterflies notices that over a period a time, discussions on sexuality has changed the boys on the street. Boys do not hit the girls as much or abuse them, calling them *randi* (prostitute). At the time of decision making in the Bal Sabha (children's council), for example, on where to go for a picnic, girls are listened to.

The boys in Butterflies, through their Bal Sabha also decided to form a union. They demanded their right to education, right of access to health care and to night shelters. In addition, the Bal Mazdoor Union works on various issues. For instance, when Gond tribals went to Nagpur to demand that they be included in the notified list, 200 women and children were shot dead. Majority on the streets protesting against it were union's members.

Child Brigade (CB), Dhaka, Bangladesh

This organisation belongs to street working children. These are children who work in or around the street in irregular forms of (self-)employment. While few of these children are utterly homeless, many have experience of sleeping in the street on an occasional basis. Their story is similar to that described in Butterflies. Street children who are organised face an uphill task of challenging the many faces of poverty, of dealing with the violence that is embedded in their lives and of tackling oppression. Child Brigade is much celebrated as a vibrant child-led NGO that works with a rights-based approach. However its progress has not always been smooth, and there are many struggles still to be waged.

Child Brigade began in 1994-5. The organisation began with only boys, aged 10-14. They were engaged in rag picking. Within the next year, they began a waste management system. Collecting garbage and sorting the organic from the inorganic, recycling, became their job. By 2000, the organisation had moved to education and a life-skills project. From 2000 till date there is a monitoring cell, and an alliance with shelter homes, links with a juvenile justice network that SC provides, with journalists, with other NGOs.

It has hundred members, with some girls. There are three kinds of members, core (decision-making body, with rotating responsibility), shadow group, then general membership, and the street-based groups and volunteers who do theatre, education, and provide linkage for children and schools. The girls are not in the core and shadow groups.

The membership is up to age eighteen and consists of children mostly above the age of ten. The organisation is run on children's own resources, potential, resilience. They use experiential learning methodologies (TfD). The core principles are non violence and trust, both of which are in scarce currency in a street situation.

Child Brigade works implicitly in masculinity by questioning negative forms of masculinity and building upon mutual warmth among boys, non-violence, learning and listening. The educational project 'Babloo' tackles sexual harassment of girls. Gender concerns and alternative notions of masculinity are sought to be introduced in indirect ways, which, in the culture of Bangladesh, probably works better. Violence exists and has to be tackled. Child sexual abuse is located and dealt with through counselling and legal action. Confidentiality has to be maintained. Child helplines are not very effective in Dhaka. Now work has to extend to adults vis-à-vis children (truck drivers and children, for example). Children on the street are constantly under threat from drug lords and goons. The

children have to counter these threats through non-violent methods.

Mainstream notions of masculinity prevail but are being challenged also. Girl participation and membership is another issue. This organisation is directly supported by Save the Children, which means that Save the Children has to worry about the phase out. Other issues are listed below.

Issues

- ☐ Girls' status in society, their mobility and CB boys' perception affecting engagement
- ☐ Group dynamics and teambuilding to change sexuality ideas, to include more women.
- ☐ Reacting, coping and readjusting to external exposure and networking (other NGOs, children's groups, NPA processes)
- ☐ Need to work more on masculinity, gender and sexuality and maybe some of the good practices we learn from here, we'll take back.
- ☐ Slow process, but more and more girls included in core decision-making and activities.
- ☐ When there is a chance to go abroad, or meeting, CB elects its representative, but usually it is a boy, and stereotyped reasons given such as girls find it difficult to get permission, or boys are more articulate.

Apart from CB, Save the Children is engaged on a project called 'Super Sisters on the Ravaged Streets', which was a consultative study with girls on Dhaka streets. This is work in progress and aims to locate a way forward for girls working on the street so that they could organise themselves. The girls wanted to do more on masculinities with boys on the street.

Girls indicated that boys on the street have to be given a new role vis-à-vis the girls, a new role of co-worker if the girls need to challenge the power relation that subjugates the children on the street.

From the instances given above of adult and street children organisations, it is clear that there is work happening in masculinity with adult organisations. While children's groups are working with masculinity, the work is not focused on addressing the issue directly. Both Child Brigade and Butterflies need to focus on bringing girls into the decision making process.

This workshop is a chance for an exchange of information so that the issue of masculinity as an aspect of dealing with gender-based violence is integrated at the earlier stages of the life cycle.

Working with men and boys: Learning

- ☐ Subjective expressions of an objective reality can help men 'come out' and become agents of transformation. In such an exercise, we can borrow from the history of feminism, where women bloomed in the subjective representations of difficult objective conditions. Those representations showed the way ahead. They bonded, formed sisterhoods, shared, struggled, understood, empathised, wept, and formed social alliances even as they explored all the aspects of what being 'female' entailed. The expressions were anarchic, feminist, Marxist, utopian, pragmatic, and socialist. They were in print, on radio, in plays, songs, dances, dress, hospitals and factories. They were on the streets and in homes, in colours and in monochrome. They politicised the personal and left nothing untouched, not the holy or the profane.
- ☐ Men and women need the space to discuss their feelings, both with each other and in separate groups.
- ☐ An entry point is the 'crisis of masculinity' as the world around makes certain values less assured. Changes in 'traditional' masculinities provide space to work towards new futures. Not intervening with men and boys could prove to be detrimental for women and children (and vulnerable men) since there seems to be a

correlation between increases in male violence and anxiety over loss of male power. This was shown in Jehangirpuri Delhi and in the plantations in Malaysia.

☐ Men are not homogeneously threatening. They are people who are loved, love, respected and cherished. There are many dimensions to 'man' and many kinds of 'men'. All work with men and boys needs to be premised on this if the 'missing half' of humanity and its identity is to be recovered.

☐ Care has to be taken when men talk is that dominant and stereotyped ideas of man as provider and caretaker are not evoked. The ground is slippery.

On violence

☐ Violence should not be narrowly defined. Fear as an emotion is created by violence for example.

☐ Men need to be a target group for change, for themselves, for women and children, and for society as a whole.

Training men

☐ Trainings need to be conducted by sensitive trained facilitators. This may limit the possibility of expanding the intervention.

☐ Small groups and an atmosphere of trust, respect and safety are important.

☐ Experiential processes of training work well.

☐ Impact needs to be sustained throughout.

☐ Systems of support are needed to reduce the amount of stress or feeling of loneliness once the men and boys leave the 'training' environment and enter 'life'.

☐ Some men do not respond.

☐ Community ownership works best.

☐ Gender trainings must include a critical mass of men and boys. In the ensuing diversity, men can challenge one and other.

☐ Men and boys can go through experiential training on what it means to be a girl or a woman in the region.

☐ These trainings and sessions should include some women facilitators.

☐ Women should not be excluded from the exercise.

☐ Include decision makers in the training sessions.

☐ They should be follow-ups and repeat sessions if needed with the same group.

☐ Male staff can be used in gender trainings. This was shown to be effective in more than one case.

☐ Instead of focusing on each case of violence, or on an individual man's act of violence against women, the entire culture that creates roles and responsibilities defined as masculinities be analysed and challenged.

☐ Understand life of men, self-growth before gender and violence (visualise a society they want, and their feeling in that society; woman walking on the road at 12 at night; a child not victim of child sexual abuse, urban man not concerned about money: and then ask if these things happen in your society, then construction of ideal society).

☐ Divide workshop into two sections: self-growth, and gender and violence.

Sharing

☐ Men need space and this can be provided by a men's only club.

☐ Men are not 'taught' or 'trained' to be gender sensitive. They simply realise this themselves.

Working with children

☐ Parenting for fathers creates strong bonds between father and children. The father acts as a role model.

☐ Positive disciplining methods show that violence need not be the way to settle dispute or to 'discipline'.

☐ Theatre works well to challenge stereotype notions of masculinity.

Adopting a rights-based approach

Men too have rights. Women's and children's rights should be seen as part of general human rights if violations are to be located and challenged. It should be remembered here that men remain a relatively privileged group and more efforts should be channelled towards boys, girls and women, and among men, among the more unprivileged if more parity in rights and freedoms is to be secured.

Men can be allies

☐ As the examples from Pakistan, Malaysia, and India, among others show, men can be drawn in to effect a scaling down of gender inequality. Men then shoulder equal responsibility for change. In Jahangirpuri, Delhi, the process of being involved in a film helped Sanju and his friends negotiate with their own 'masculinity' and resulted in them changing themselves into gentler and more sensitive human beings.

Using the media

☐ Powerful images are manufactured through the media. The Raymonds' complete man advertisement challenges some notions of masculinity, while it enforces consumerism.

☐ The documentaries "Let's Talk Men" explore masculinities as a basis for further discussion among the audience.

Personal narratives can be a method and a tool.

Approaches

☐ Practical support/field based interventions
☐ Gender training and capacity building
☐ Research and documentation
☐ Communication and advocacy based on field based interventions.
☐ Policy formulation and implementation – partnerships with governments
☐ Management
☐ Rights-based approach
☐ Participation/empowerment (claiming of rights), accountability and non-discrimination.

Concerns

There is concern on how some work with men and boys tends to reinforce certain aspects that characterise patriarchy, e.g. small nuclear family, gender roles, and so on. On the other hand, one can look at it as a worthwhile intervention where some high beautiful sounding theory has to go grey when in action. This could be a step ahead, but a cautiously taken step, taken with introspection and awareness of its possible limitations, and even backlash.

Conclusion

☐ Root causes of rights violations have to be addressed from a rights-based approach. Patriarchal structures, power relations, non- participation and accountability have to be addressed.

☐ Working with men and boys is not enough, we have to work with boys, girls, men and women and challenges dominant forms of masculinities.

☐ Diverse forms of masculinities have to be discovered and alternative forms reinforced.

☐ A holistic approach is necessary, addressing masculinities and gender discrimination both at an individual level and at the structural/ institutional level (laws, policies – norms, values and practices). We have to look at alternative forms of solving conflicts.

☐ There is a need for NGOs to have a stronger child rights focus for addressing issues of masculinity and for child rights organisations to include masculinity in their child rights approach.

☐ There is need to enlarge the audience to whom 'masculinity' issues are addressed. Women work on land but do not own it, for example, women are fighting as guerrillas but they are not part of decision making. These are expressions of masculinity. With a wider audience, these issues become a political force.

Looking ahead at possibilities

Theoretically, we find masculinity in most unequal power situations. However dealing with masculinity in each of those situations is another matter. An exercise was conducted on how masculinities can be addressed in different sectors where children were fore grounded. The participants were asked to work on health, education, children in conflict, child sexual abuse and exploitation, trafficking, and physical and psychological punishment. In each chosen field the group had to recommend strategies for working with men and boys and to advocate to government and civil society.

Children in armed conflict

This group took a holistic approach and did not want to narrowly focus either on 'children in armed conflict' on simply on working with men and boys on this issue. The context of children in armed conflict includes a history of oppression that affects children and also other members of society and of the generalisation of a certain 'macho', 'martial' type through history textbooks. Inequality creates its own conditions of conflict, even armed conflict that precede the more publicised moment of armed conflict. Locales witnessing armed conflict usually are accompanied by very small democratic space. Therefore strategies have to be made in this context. Finally, there are moments of conflict, ceasefire, crescendo and the strategies will differ accordingly.

Approach to the development of strategies could include
1. Not just men and boys, but working with all children and young people too.
2. Seeing children as agents by using a rights-based approach. They are not only victims.
3. See all aspects of children in armed conflict: physical and psychological, displacement, orphans, maimed, children of broken families, parents missing, etc.
4. Need to work within narrow spaces.

Strategies

1. Education: work with younger male teachers in villages and the district levels to create spaces where children can ventilate and discuss their life experiences. Lobby for discussion of conflict, violence, into the curriculum either through the syllabi, or through educational activities. Here, certain notions of masculinity are frontally challenged.

2. Out of school children, young people to be reached through initiatives and groups that are working with these groups, involve men and boys in this, e.g. through the social volunteers against AIDS that is ongoing in Nepal.

3. Media: create information and disseminate sensitively.

4. Child based research on children affected by armed conflict on experiences and solutions; maybe SC collects the output and disseminates it.

5. Information given to the rest of the world, so the international and national community takes notice.

6. Create fora for debate and discussion, or include this aspect in existing boys and men's clubs.

7. Learning from Afghanistan, Sri Lanka other places on some of these issues, and with working with men and boys

Recommendations

1. Declare ceasefire.

2. Restore democracy and respect basic human rights, which include child rights.

3. Stop the recruitment of children.

4. Integrate 'armed conflict' into existing and ongoing work by civil society organisations.

5. Socio-psychological counselling training and setting up in primary health care centres, or primary and secondary schools through teachers, health workers.

Education

Strategies

☐ Training of teachers
☐ Education focusing on experience and learning
☐ Uniform
☐ Life-skills education
☐ Child rights training
☐ Parents-teachers meeting fathers to come too
☐ Fathers, fatherhood issues
☐ Sensitising community leaders
☐ Forming group against violence at the community level
☐ Counselling at the community level
☐ Promoting democracy in the family
☐ Media sensitising to promote new images of women and family
☐ Developing new models of masculinities and femininities
☐ Documentaries for gender equity and non violence.

Recommendations

☐ More allocation for primary education
☐ Promote gender sensitive syllabi
☐ Banish corporal punishment in school
☐ Committee of parents should have power to monitor
☐ Gender studies in college
☐ Gender approach in ministry of education
☐ Promote non-discriminatory approach to education,

Discussion

Education is related to poverty. Child labour and education become related. In CRC and primary education, the government agrees on principle, but does little later. There is the question of elite public schools versus the government schools in India. There is debate over community ownership of schools. Stipends are available for girls, not boys, so girls go to school, earn for family, while the

boy takes up a job and stops attending school. The question of equity is important. See the reality of enrolment patterns, scholarships for girls. In some contexts it may be that boys may be doing better. There should be context specific education to ensure equity.

Child sexual exploitation and abuse

This section was comprehensively discussed.

Strategies

□ Involve the border police men in the issue.

□ Fathers, youth groups, brothel owners, clients, truck drivers, doctors, journalists to be involved in the campaign against trafficking.

□ Community based organisations, fathers as family members, schools, etc. need to be sensitised for prevention; responsive community; life-skills, awareness about the issues need to be created.

□ Rights perspective for protection, jailors, etc. for policy initiative.

□ Prosecution: judges, etc. since gender training are not the answers.

□ Acceptance by male members for victims to be rehabilitated into the house and society. A larger sensitive community is needed.

□ It is a regional issue, need cooperation for the issue to be tackled.

Recommendations to stakeholders (law enforcement officers, etc. and community)

There is need to look for root cause of trafficking, which includes poverty. But poverty is not the only cause since many poor families do not traffic in their children, nor are trafficked children restricted to poor families. Trafficking and sexual abuse of children is also fed by myths that need to be demystified. For example the myth among male migrant workers that if they do not have sex, their health suffers, or the myth of the need for multiple partners to show 'masculinity', or the idea that sex with a virgin will cure STDs, or that there is pleasure in the pain suffered during intercourse with a virgin. The alternative idea of a 'real' man who cares, loves, and helps others needs to be promoted since in this dominant masculinity, both boys and girls suffer as do women. A rights-of-the-child framework, with a strong emphasis on masculinity, using a life-cycle approach is needed.

Opportunities need to be explored so that child sexual abuse is stopped. Power and masculinity need to be confronted. The legal aspect needs to be strengthened. Advocacy for the protection of boys is needed. Awareness to tell people that both girls and boys are involved is needed. There is need for network between men's, boys' and other organisations. The media can play a central role. Fundraising can be done to involve men and boys. There is a need to invade places where boys and men meet, e.g. internet cafes, cinema halls. Professions that are dominated by men can be explored for involving men in campaigns. Some celebrities can be roped in for effect. More drama can be used in an interactive way on this issue. Positive aspects of sexuality can be explored, and spaces for men and boys and women and girls could be created. Children need safe places to meet and talk about sensitive issues. They can address issues of power, gender relations and sexual preferences. Such discussions can extend to include vulnerable and marginalised children.

Child protection committees can be encouraged. Psycho-social services including helpline and internet services can be ensured for vulnerable children.

Material on how to work with men and boys can be generated (such as this document) and disseminated. The material can include AIDS specific information.

Parents should be encouraged towards positive parenting methods. Fathers should know about child sexual abuse, power relations within the family, incest and masculinity.

This will establish a link between other forms of violence and child sexual abuse. Society can take a more active role rather than these issues being the preserve of 'specialist' developmental agencies. Children can be encouraged to participate in decisions that affect them. This gives them more confidence, makes them comfortable and prevents untoward incidents from taking place.

Religious leaders can be involved in campaigns since abuse takes place there as well. Teachers and students need to be informed about sexual abuse in child pornography and sexual abuse through the internet.

Capacity building

There is need to raise individual and organisational capacity and involve as many in the capacity building exercise. Child protection and gender sensitive policies are needed in one's own organisations to combat the problem.

Physical and psychological abuse of children

Strategies

1. Raise awareness in public
2. Raise awareness with potential perpetrators on effects on themselves and others
3. Identify key stakeholders, members of parliament, government and media
4. Create information in local languages and disseminate through various media
5. Raise awareness of victims/survivors
6. Provide training and have capacity building courses

7. Establish discussion with them (judiciary)
8. Community initiative
9. Laws to be strengthened
10. Comparative study for cross sharing
11. Regional study on this issue, for advocacy
12. Collect existing materials
13. Legal aid in hospital
14. Mainstream abuse in the CRC
15. Children's participation is a cross-cutting issue
16. Introduce the issue of violence in curriculum
17. Children's cells should be created so that children can lodge complaint
18. Helplines

Discussion

Schools can be a target area for discussing about masculinity. This is a key area. If we are working with children, we should keep that as a key area. School first, then clubs, and other groups. Ragging should be included as an issue.

Sum up

The question is how to train men and boys in these issues since work with boys and men is new. Maybe over a period of an year, there will be greater clarity about tackling these issues through the lens of masculinity. In the conflict areas, there is need to know more, especially about how boys joined rebel groups due to prevailing dominant notions of masculinity. After the conflict what happened to them? In the case of the Tamil Tigers, boys became commanders. At the end of conflict, they will go back to their homes, but are unlikely to remain authority figures. The issue of masculinity comes in again. There is need for open, cross-border discussions on whether armed conflict is the only way of resolving differences and dispute.

On education, we need strong emphasis on alternative schools, teaching methodology, and

curricula. Students are taught wholly in the language of dominant 'nationalism' that erases differences. Indigenous knowledge should be part of learning since for certain children it is not clear how traditional schools really serve them.

In trafficking, there are many myths to be shattered. These myths that inform dominant masculinities inform the amount and degree of incest in Malaysia and Indonesia.

A general conclusion is that we lack micro research to bring out these issues. We lack the expertise in tackling media (TV, films, etc.) which reinforce patriarchy and perpetrate child and women abuse.

Broad issues, dilemmas and lessons

1. We need to address the broader context and cannot jump into masculinity in isolation. It has to be located within a larger context (lack of democratic spaces).

2. Masculinity cannot be addressed without addressing femininity as well. Both need to go hand in hand. Why are we looking at only masculinity? Gender as a perspective is needed. There is the need to unravel how masculinity is having a bearing on each of these issues, in migration for example (males with sex workers, masculine notion of promiscuity). Need to flag the masculinity issue. Need to unpack the gender myths, need to cross through females and males and to mainstream the concern.

3. We need to view both victims and perpetrators as agents by involving people, allowing for voices to be heard. We need to work with perpetrators to know more about why they do what they do.

4. There is need to intervene in different spaces, including cinemas to change the structure, practices and cultures of these institutions. We may need alternative structures where the formal is not working. There is need for reform within existing spaces and to create alternative spaces therein.

5. We need to focus on prevention and taking action. Prevention needs a movement, not just training. In action to address violation: services, legal changes, networks, and helplines are a must.

6. New kind of leaderships, including indigenous groups should be explored. Organisatons are working with children, but children and adolescent organisations are relatively rarer.

7. Accountability and transparency can serve as broader principles to weave in masculinity.

8. Research gaps can be identified and filled.

9. International instruments can be the bases for more intervention.

10. Women's rights violations are more known, children's are less so. Again here, we know more about violations suffered by girls than we know about those that affect boys. We can build on our experience from the women's movement and weave in the masculinity aspect in these.

11. Sharing of knowledge and experience from Nicaragua, and other places. If there are good examples, we can use that here.

12. There should be emphasis on advocacy.

13. There is little point in addressing issues of masculinity and in working with men and boys without participating in larger processes that yield substantive democracy.

14. Psychologists can help in identity building.

15. Child focus needs to be strengthened in approaches to work with men and boys on various issues. This was felt to be neglected in the discussions and presentations.

What next?

The workshop was only a small part of the ongoing process. Much is being done at various levels to mainstream the issue of masculinity and involving men and boys to combat violence in society. Follow-up is necessary. Some possible routes for follow up were identified keeping in view country commitments, advocacy/campaign requirements, project support and network support.

Concern was expressed that there were only a few representatives from Nepal and Pakistan and none from the Maldives, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Afghanistan. Within India, the northeast was left out in this workshop.

It was also clear that it was easy to work with those already working on this area, but difficult to do so with others since it is a particularly difficult area to break into. Even where groups were addressing gender-based violence, the stress was more on gender than on sexuality. This gap holds true for even those working with men and boys. Concrete issues are simpler as an entry point, e.g. acid throwing, or working with street children. Those organisations working with a rights-based approach can easily integrate 'masculinity' concerns into their approach and make use of tools and strategies that work. This workshop brought out few 'best practices'. Many more doubtless exist and an updated mapping of existing interventions is awaited.

Theoretically it is easy to explain masculinities. In action, how do we help these groups to integrate this issue into work? There are hardly any demonstrative actions to tell people how it works. Here some theoretical feedback is possible that recommends ways, tools, methods, maybe in women's movement or the child rights movement to further intervention in work with men and boys. How does one integrate the issue into broader aspects?

There can be an update of the existing mapping and annotated bibliography. This was prepared for UNICEF and is still not published even though it is already in need of an update. A guide on integrating and institutionalising masculinities into existing gender work can be prepared. More broadly, a simple document on what is masculinity and the principles and desirable approaches of dealing with it can be prepared. There is need for direction

papers on working with men and boys against violence against women. A discussion series on this topic can be commissioned, which discusses how masculinity and work with men and boys can be integrated into sexual abuse, trafficking, education, health and other areas of work.

While the why is important right now, the how should not be far behind.

Besides publications, pilot work is important. Then resources should be put towards the project. There should be a hub of resource persons including specialists and donors. It may be easier to broaden and deepen the work with existing partners since their orientation is already clear. The updated mapping (extended to children) will provide indications of where fresh collaboration is possible. This mapping can feed into practices.

Country plans were tentatively advanced. In India, there can be an year long campaign including different activities. It can be a meeting for sharing methodologies. Existing fora can be used, for example the Centre for Women's Studies, Delhi, is planning a masculinities seminar. The next national conference on women can be a venue. The approach can be introduced into existing movements for human rights (including women's, children's, dalit's and other rights). A network of organisations working with street children in the region can be created and brought into the campaign. Butterflies could facilitate that. The focus of the campaign can be clear. It will make the issue of masculinity visible and demonstrate how it fits into different kinds of interventions within child rights organisations, women's organisations, human rights work, conflict transformation and the media to name a few. The CRC monitoring group in India can include this aspect in its work. Likewise with the CEDAW monitoring group. The campaign will have something concrete to show at

the end of the year in terms of having brought masculinity into the agenda of various organisational initiatives. The campaign needs a broad coordinating group from varied fields including university academics, media group, child rights groups, street children, and women's organisations.

In Bangladesh, there can be a mapping of the existing organisations and initiatives and the SC alliance can hold a workshop. The ASF wanted to work on masculinity since they realised that their current approach does not address root causes of acid attacks. Perhaps a joint research on male perceptions on acid throwing to involve men and boys more could be undertaken, or maybe a project.

Save the Children in the region should begin to actively integrate the masculinity issue into existing work, for example in action research on violence. For this Save the Children UK and Save the Children Sweden-Denmark should be given presentations based on this workshop.

There is a workshop planned with Save the Children partners on sexuality later in 2004. Since UNICEF had a study with boys on masculinity, Save the Children could do something jointly with them. The planned campaign on child sexual abuse could be broadened to 'violence against women and children' and masculinity could be integrated into it.

More research is needed in Bangladesh on several issues concerning masculinity. This research can be accompanied by research in the region and concrete work can begin. For example at a regional level there is possibility of looking at masculinity in trafficking. The emphasis remains on rehabilitation and immediate prevention, but less on the why and what of trafficking.

The existing travelling seminar on masculinities can be extended to Nepal and Bangladesh to begin with. Western universities can support research on masculinities in the region. More documents and films will be useful.

In Pakistan, Rozan can be approached for initiating the process leading into a wider process of masculinities. There is a mapping needed of who is doing what and what is the quality of work.

In the region as a whole, a discussion e-group on this issue can be created, which then moves into an independent website. A clearing house of information on South Asia can be set up, with SCF involved actively.

There are many activities that need to follow this workshop, which is a step along the way. Some of these activities have already been initiated by Save the Children Sweden-Denmark:

1. Mapping of existing tools and methods for working with men and boys focusing on South Asia but bringing global experience into the picture.
2. Save the Children Sweden-Denmark with Acid Survivors' Foundation, Dhaka, is undertaking research in working with men and boys in Bangladesh.
3. Participants from India, including representatives from Save the Children Sweden-Denmark have initiated a Delhi-based people's level discussion to examine initiatives and ways to move ahead.
4. Save the Children Sweden-Denmark plans to conduct a regional overview of working with men and boys in South and Central Asia with concrete support to at least four countries in South Asia to end violence against children in the region.
5. There is continuous pressure and lobbying to include this issue in ongoing and future interventions and approaches.

Appendix 1

Regional strategy on working with men and boys to end violence against children and promote gender equality

Background

Save the Children Sweden-Denmark organised a three-day regional workshop on 'Partnerships with Men and Boys to Promote Gender Equality and End Violence against Girls and Boys' on 23rd-25th March 2004 in Kathmandu. This workshop provided an opportunity for individuals and organisations from all over South Asia to share and learn from initiatives of partnership with men and boys to address violence against boys and girls in South and Central Asia. Around 35 participants from the region developed strategies and concrete action plans for increasing partnership with men/boys to address violence against girls and boys and for promoting gender equality from a child rights-based approach.

Gender-based violence has been a focus of movements, research, films, etc in the South Asian region but if we were to carefully look at all this material being generated on the issue there is very little that focuses on children and young people. International research has clearly demonstrated that amongst young boys, ideas of masculinities become the most impelling force for risk taking behaviours, violence, unsafe sexual practices and misogyny. The socialisation process of boys sows the seeds of gender inequality very early in life.

Rationale

To build meaningful partnerships with men/boys to achieve gender equality and a less violent world requires the creation of spaces and opportunities for men/boys to start questioning gender norms and roles – and to develop healthier relations with women/girls. While some individuals and groups have sought this understanding, they have often worked in relative isolation from each other. There has not been a concerted effort or opportunity

for an exchange between groups of individuals to map successes and failures (what works and what doesn't work), or discuss strategies and methodologies for working with men and boys especially in the area of building a partnership towards addressing violence against girls and boys and for promoting gender equality in South and Central Asia.

It is in this context that Save the Children Sweden-Denmark have made a commitment to address gender discrimination and violence against children by working with men and boys to challenge unequal gender and power relations and hegemonic forms of masculinities through a child rights approach. Save the Children Sweden-Denmark is also committed to link various forms of discrimination and address it holistically from a child rights programming perspective where addressing the root causes of rights violation, such as conventional forms of masculinities is a key challenge. To achieve these goals boys and girls have to be involved in designing and monitoring these interventions and to address duty bearers such as family members, community leaders, governments and the private sector to challenge traditional violent forms of masculinity and to promote equality in gender relations.

Goal

Boys and men in partnership with women and girls (from various backgrounds ethnic group, cast, religion, class, ethnicity, HIV/AIDS, sexual preference, etc) take an active role in challenging dominant forms of masculinities and patriarchal structure for addressing child rights violation in general and violence against children in particular.

Strategic Direction

Research and Analysis

☐ Conduct/update a regional mapping of initiatives on working with men and boys on issues of masculinities and gender equality

☐ Conduct a research on what works on 'working with men and boys (methods and tools) for promoting gender equality and to end violence against children.

☐ Conduct a research on working with men and boys to end violence against children (child sexual abuse, commercial sexual exploitation of children, trafficking, physical and psychological punishment, etc).

☐ Conduct a research on good practice of working with men and boys on masculinity which demonstrate the impact on children's lives in relation to a reduction of violence against children.

☐ Assess how masculinity issues are reflected in the State Party reports, alternative report and concluding observations through the reporting mechanisms of CRC, CEDAW, etc.

(Note: the above research is aimed to stimulate further research.)

Capacity Building

☐ Capacity building of Save the Children staff and partners, networks, government officials, academia, etc through:

☐ Development of methods and tools on working with men and boys on masculinity issues ('general' and theme specific) from a child rights perspective.

☐ Learn from existing programmes (visit programmes, secondments and study tour)

☐ Sectoral (for example education, health, justice, etc.) capacity building of working with boys and men of different backgrounds

Supporting Innovative Project (s)

☐ Initiate and support pilot projects on working with boys and men on masculinity issues.

Networking/Alliance support

☐ Establish a South and Central Asia Network of like minded organisations and individuals (national networks) working with men and boys on masculinity issues.

☐ Network and build constituency with donor organisations, women' organisations, human rights organisations, child rights networks (including thematic networks), academia, media etc on working with men and boys on masculinity issues from a rights-based perspective.

☐ Link up with other regional networks and global networks on gender and masculinity.

☐ Networking with children's organisations especially boys organisations to promote gender equality and further issues of masculinities

Advocacy/Campaign

☐ To conduct regional and country level campaigns to make the issues of masculinities visible and part of the developmental agenda.

☐ To conduct media campaign on depicting positive forms of masculinities like fathering, non-violent men/boys, etc.

☐ To make the governments more accountable to address gender-based discrimination by allocating resources for working with men and boys.

☐ Integrate masculinities issues part of the UN Study on Violence against Children, Yokohama Mid Term Review,

Communication and Information

☐ To develop a website on experience of working with men and boys in South and Central Asia.

☐ To create an E-group on working with men and boys on masculinity to address violence against children

☐ To create a regional resource hub in a strategic location in the region

☐ To develop a documentation and dissemination strategy

Monitoring and impact assessment

☐ To develop clear indicators for assessing and evaluating the impact of advocacy, communication and programme initiatives.

☐ To develop mechanisms for regular monitoring of the strategy/programme.

☐ To carry out an evaluation on the impact of the strategy in 5 years time.

☐ To monitor government's commitments on gender and masculinity issues.

Action Plan 2004

☐ To develop a regional strategy and an action plan on working with men and boys on masculinity issues for addressing violence against children for year 2004.

☐ To initiate an updating of a regional mapping of initiatives on working with men and boys on issues of masculinities and gender equality in South Asia.

☐ To initiate a process of collecting and further developing tools and methods on working with men and boys.

☐ To start linking up with organisations, networks and government officials for assessing their interest on taking the agenda of working with men and boys to address violence against children forward.

☐ To develop a website on experience of working with men and boys in South and Central Asia.

India

To start the planning process for conducting a national wide campaign on working with men and boys on masculinity issues.

Bangladesh

☐ To update the mapping on working with men and boys and specifically look for organisations working from a child perspective. To present the mapping and discuss it with Save the Children Alliance members and partner organisations for further actions.

☐ To undertake a research on men and boys perceptions of acid throwing in collaboration with the Bangladesh Acid Throwing Foundation. This research will inform interventions that entail working with men and boys.

☐ To initiate discussion on masculinity issues with Save the Children members, partner organisations and key networks and organisations (women's rights, human rights, child rights organisations).

☐ To integrate masculinity issues with Save the Children Sweden-Denmark strategy process, upcoming research/mappings and other initiatives.

☐ To write an article based on the outcome of the workshop and disseminate it in the region and to the headquarters.

Since the workshop in March, these ideas have been concretised and work is progressing along anticipated lines.

Appendix 2
Gender-based violence

☐ Lena Karlsson and Ravi Karkara

What is gender-based violence?

Gender-based violence means violence inflicted or suffered on the basis of gender differences, such as infanticide, honour killing, acid attacks and female genital mutilation, also including forms of self -violence such as anorexia and bullemia. Gender-based violence can manifest itself through various forms of abuse such as sexual abuse and exploitation as well as physical and psychological forms of abuse (such as verbal abuse, intimidation and mental torture).

Gender-based violence is commonly used as a means of violence against girls and women. Nevertheless, the concept also applies to boys, as particular groups of boys are also affected by violence because of their gender. Boys are more prone to accidence and street violence than girls and they are at a higher risk of becoming addicted to drugs and/or become involved in criminal activities. Factors such as age, caste, social class, ability, religion, ethnicity, also affect the likelihood to face various forms of gender-based violence.

Gender-based violence throughout the lifecycle

Prenatal:	**Sex-selective abortions, battering during pregnancy, coerced pregnancy.**
Infancy:	**Female infanticide, emotional and physical abuse, differential access to food and medical care.**
Childhood	**Child marriage, genital mutilation, sexual abuse by family members and strangers, differential access to food and medical care, child prostitution, trafficking for various purposes**
Adolescence	**Dating and courtship violence, economically coerced sex, sexual abuse in the workplace, rape, sexual harassment, forced sex.**
Reproductive	**Abuse by intimate partner, marital rape, dowry abuse and murder, partner homicide, psychological abuse; sexual abuse in workplace; sexual harassment; rape**
Old age	**Abuse of widows** **Sex-selective abortions, battering during pregnancy, coerced pregnancy.**

Examples of manifestations of gender discrimination and gender-based violence in South Asia

□ Son preference
□ Millions of girls missing through neglect of foeticide
□ More malnourished girls than boys
□ Unequal female/male school enrollment
□ High incidence of violence against women, girls and boys
□ High incidence of maternal deaths
□ Low level of female decision making in both private and public sphere

South Asia is considered the most gender insensitive region in the world and it is one of the few regions where men out number women.

Gender-based violence is related to power relations and grounded in ideas of masculinity and femininity (prescribed norms and definitions of what it means to be a male of a female).

Violence is often used for controlling women and girls fertility and for preserving unequal power relation. It is also used to make girls/women and boys conform to expected gender roles and responsibilities and to punish girls and boys who have 'misbehaved' according to norms of the patriarchal society.

Gender-based violence is rooted in the pressure and the effect of dominant forms of masculinity around the world and in specific cultural manifestations. The personal experience of violence can also facilitate learning and reproduction of violence.

Afghanistan: 54% of adolescent girls below 19 years of age are married compared to 9% of boys of the same age.

Bangladesh: 300,000 children (the majority are girls) have been trafficked to brothels in India.

India: Out of 8,000 foetuses aborted in a Bombay clinic, 7,999 were female.

Maldives: A girl/woman who has been raped may be charged for illicit sex if she is unable to prove rape.

Nepal: 77% of violence perpetuators are family members – the majority are men.

Pakistan: More than 1,000 women/girls are annual victims of 'honour killings'.

Sri Lanka: The conflict has led to the displacement of 800,000 persons, among whom girls and women are at more severe risk of abuse and exploitation.

Source: A Reference Kit on Violence against Women and Girls in South Asia, UNICEF 2001

Gender socialisation and reproduction of inequalities

In all societies in the world are girls and boys treated differently and there are different expectations of girls and boys from the family and community members. (How they should be, what they should think/want, what they should choose, etc.)

What shapes most children and adolescent, regardless of other circumstances, is the impact on their lives of their societies gender-based expectations. Different forms of messages and stereotypes are conveyed to girls and boys through media, religious leaders, parents, school, peers, etc. Teachers, for example, often have different expectations of girls and boys and the text-books often promote stereotypical images of girls and boys. Children learn their gender roles and what is expected from them.

Young women learn that females are regarded as emotional only considered adults if married and even then expected to be submissive to men in decision making. Girl's expected roles and responsibilities are usually associated with their future roles as mothers and wives.

Young men learn that it is considered masculine to be strong and dominant, sexually active, not to show emotions, and to exercise authority over women and children. Boys are often expected to support their parents financially through their lives.

In most societies boys learn from an early age that conflict can be resolved by physical violence and this socialisation encourages violent measures to resolve problems, putting young males at particular risk.

Tree of socialisation

Power relations, ideas and perceptions are reproduced from one generation to another. We internalise the views and values of the societies we are part of and it shapes attitudes, perceptions, behaviour and decisions later in life.

Girls and boys learn culture while also contributing to its continuity and its transformation.

Socialisation ideas and practices are a key part of culture; adults use culture to explain or justify child-rearing and socialisation practices, even practices involving unequal treatment, such as gender discrimination and abuse.

Gender-based violence against children is related to the overall violence in the society. It is complex because of the various forms it takes and by the multitude of causal factors. Violence is rooted in power relations (such as patriarchal structures), cultural values and beliefs.

Gender-based violence results from an interaction of personal, situational and socio-cultural influences and it is a result of unequal power relations between males and females. Political, economic and social structures, - laws and policies, institutional, and interpersonal relations all play a central part in defining gender roles and relationships.

Tree of Socialisation and Gender[7]
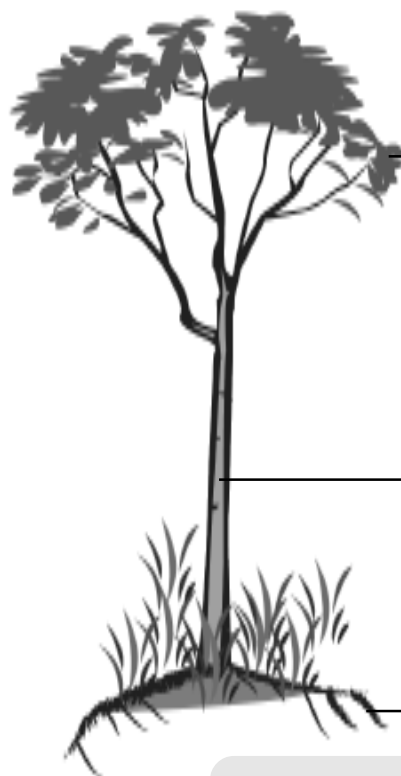
Leaves and Fruit: Leaves and fruits depict peoples' attitudes in the society and in this case adult's behaviours towards children (mostly oppressive). This is transmitted into a seed, which germinates into a new tree that continues to oppress and discriminate children due to age, gender, ethnicity, disability, etc.

Trunk: The trunk holds together social institutions (family, religion, education, etc.) that transfer social values, norms and beliefs. Most social intuitions see children as learners of adulthood, and as a result give little or no importance to girls' and boys' voices.

Roots: The roots hold the society's norms, values and beliefs that shape us and define the social fabric of people's behaviours towards each other, including the sharing of resources. These norms are generally patriarchal, putting children in a 'power less' position vis-à-vis adults, as a result excluding and discriminating against girls. Children are not expected to participate in family or community decision-making processes.

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[7] Ravi Karkara and Lena Karlsson, *Socialisation for Encouraging Children's Participation: Report on Child Rights Programming,*, Save the Children UK, 2003.

Factors which perpetuate gender-based violence and discrimination

Individual factors
□   witnessing marital violence as a child
□   absence or rejecting father
□   being abused as a child
□   alcohol and drug use

Family
□   marital conflicts
□   male control of wealth and decision making in the family

Community
□   poverty, low socio-economic status, under employment
□   association of delinquent peers

Society
□   norms granting men control over female behavior
□   acceptance of violence as a way to resolve conflict
□   notion of masculinity linked to dominance, honour or aggression
□   rigid gender role.

Gender hierarchies and gender inequalities, both reflect and perpetuate gender-based violence. Gender-based violence manifests itself primarily as men's violence against women and girls and in a wide variety of forms. At the same time research indicates that gender-based violence is also the most accurate descriptor for violence against men and boys: fighting among boys, sexual abuse of boys, violence against men and boys who are not thought to be conforming to the norms and expectations for masculinity and even as a co-determinant of war.

An understanding of how socially constructed gender identities lead boys to use violence to resolve conflict is helpful in looking for solutions to prevent violence.

What can be done?

A gender framework to understanding violence starts by recognising both violence and conflict as gendered activities within a patriarchal system of ideology and institutions. This means as social actors, girls and boys - men and women all experience violence and conflict differently, as victims and as perpetrators. Men are not only the main perpetuator they are also affected by gender-based violence.

Save the Children is committed to work on child rights programming. The overall vision is to achieve greater benefits for children by operating coherent programmes based on child rights principles.

'Child Rights Programming means using the principles of child rights to plan, manage, implement and monitor programmes with the overall goal of strengthening the rights of the child as defined in international law. [8]

Working against violence from a CRP perspective means:
□   Addressing the root cause of violence and addressing un-equal power structures (patriarchal structures) and power relations between children and adults, etc.
□   Putting children at the centre, recognising them as right holders and social actors.
□   Giving priority to children and child friendly environment and child friendly information on violence, discrimination, gender relations and sexuality.
□   Recognising government as primary duty bearers accountable to address and take action against violence.

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[8]   *Child Rights Programming:: How to Apply Rights-Based Approaches in Programming: A Handbook for International Save the Children Alliance Members.* Save the Children.

Immediate causes of gender-based violence against children	Root causes of gender-based violence against children
□ Gender stereotypes in media and curricula. □ Lack of life-skills and sex-education □ Denial/ignorance by adults on gender-based violence and gender discrimination □ Inappropriate laws and ineffective implementation of laws and policies which addresses gender discrimination. □ Poverty, ignorance and low levels of education	□ Lack of children's participation in society at large □ Patriarchy and dominant forms of masculinities, roles of men, (boys' sexual behaviour) □ Unequal power relations (gender, age, class, disability, caste, religion, etc) □ Overall violence in society, including violence against children □ Unequal sexual relations between men and women, boys and girls □ Stereotyped gender socialisation

□ Seeing parents and family as the primary caregiver and protecting and supporting them in this role.

□ Using participatory and empowering approaches working in partnerships and alliances for promoting rights of the child for addressing violence against girls and boys.

To work from a child rights programming approach implies providing long term goals, which are clearly set out in international legal frameworks and encouraging legal and other reforms, such as the establishment of regular monitoring mechanisms that create a much greater likelihood of sustainable change. The most relevant duty bearers (responsible actors) must be identified and measures must be taken to advocate and support them in their role to prevent, protect and address violence against children.

Some of the important duty bearers (responsible actors) that should be addressed for preventing and combating gender-based violence against children include the State Party, parents, community leaders, NGOs, teachers and education authorities, local government, law enforcement bodies, the private sector, media, UN bodies, police, lawyers, social workers, psychologists, training institutes, policy makers, politicians and the international community.

To achieve full and equal rights for girls and boys will result from changes in social values, public policy and practice. It is important to look at the history of violence and how interpersonal violence is placed within structures, cultures and histories of violence that both men and women have produced and reproduced

When addressing gender-based violence it is important not only to consider working with individual girls and boys, women and men but also address human rights, discrimination, patriarchal structures and gender socialisation.

Since unequal power relations between males and females are recognised as a main cause of gender-based violence, women and girls alone cannot be expected to change cultural norms and attitudes that are abusive towards them – it is therefore important to work in partnership with men and boys to challenge gender discrimination and violence against girls and boys.

Individual level

□ Do serious self-reflection to understand the violent streak in you

□ Make a pledge to yourself to stop being a perpetuator or a victim of violence and share your resolutions with others

□ Be proactive- stop being a silent spectator to violence

Gender-based violence - relevant CRC Articles

Article 19 states that State Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measurement to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse. Article 34-36 addressed sexual exploitation and abuse.

Article 34 and the Optional Protocol to the CRC commit state parties to make and implement national laws against the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. *Article 35* obligates states to take all appropriate measures to prevent the abduction, sale and trafficking of children.

Article 39 commits states to promote the physical and psychological recovery and social integration of children who have been victims of any form of neglect, violence, exploitation, torture or other degrading treatment or punishment

Article 24.3 which requires States Parties to take:
All effective and appropriate measures with a view of abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children.

Article 28.2 which requires States Parties to take:
All appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention

Article 37.a of the Convention, which wants to guarantee that:
No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Neither capital punishment nor life imprisonment shall be imposed for offences committed by persons below eighteen years of age.

Freedom of expression in *Article 13* and the right to be heard in *Article 12* are of particular importance when a child wants to speak up about violence and abuse. Children who have been abused and exploited have the right to be taken seriously, to be met with respect and to receive assistance. Good channels for reporting and effective disclosure procedures are essential measures for the protection of children against sexual exploitation and abuse.

Violence violates the child's basic right to life and development as stated in *Article 6* and the best interest of the child, set out in *Article 3*. It affects children from various backgrounds in different ways and is often linked to discrimination. It must be addressed through a non-discriminatory and inclusive approach, and therefore *Article 2* is also relevant. State Parties are the main duty bearers and they must undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of the rights. *Article 4* is therefore a key article for protecting, preventing and addressing violence against children.

□ Recognise and make others aware of the serious and multiple consequences of violence.

□ Challenge persistence notions of masculinity and condone violence and oppression.

Organisational level

□ Address violence from a rights-based approach (including power and gender analysis)

□ Question narrow definitions and perceptions of gender roles and relations, including 'masculinity'.

□ Increase the knowledge on gender issues among professionals and in the school curriculum. Educational material for men on reproductive health issues and on the unacceptability of violence and abuse is necessary.

- Promote programmes for men on parenting and responsible sexual behavior. Stress the benefits for all members in society of men playing a more active role in nurturing their children and abandoning the culture of violence as a proof of masculinity.

- Share and analyse good practices of working with boys and men to promote gender equality and to prevent gender-based violence and abuse.

- Find men who already behave the way in which we want more men to behave and engage them in support to programmes addressing violence and abuse. These men can also become good role models for other men.

- Advocate the government to make laws against gender-based violence and to implement the laws.

- Networks with HR and women's rights organisations and influence them to incorporate gender-based violence against children.

- Calling on and organising boys and men in the society to protest against violence and abuse and to take initiatives for more equal gender roles and relationship.

Appendix 3

Breaking the silence: why boys and men should speak out against violence

□ Rahul Roy

Most of South Asia today is a cauldron of conflict and violence. Ethnic strife, environmental conflict, terrorism, economic conflict, communal violence, sexual and domestic violence have become endemic to the entire region. Perhaps the most significant facet of these conflicts, if we were to implicate gender into their reading, is the fact that men are the central actors of this entire spectrum of violence. Why do men invariably find themselves at the centre of violence? Is it that men are biologically or as some people have argued 'hard wired' towards violence? Are women biologically non-violent? Amongst the many significant contributions to our understanding of gender was the theoretical and practical assertion by the women's movement in the 1960s that biology could not be the destiny for women. Since then few have doubted that women were gendered culturally, historically and situationally. And much of feminist politics and theorising has been around breaking the social and economic subjugation of women. The belief that you can change your destiny has remained central to feminist praxis. Why then is it so difficult for us to acknowledge today that there is a problem in the way men are constructing themselves, acting upon the reality confronting them, with violence as the dominant method of resolving conflicts?

Masculinities, the gender system that makes men, remains the least researched, the most unrecognised pool of darkness of South Asian reality. Women's lives, histories and struggles have seen an upsurge of research and representation but the same cannot be said of men as gendered entities. We know very little of the mechanics of men's behaviour patterns in different social and life settings. We certainly know the obvious—the visible, hegemonic masculinity that bristles and valorously displays its wares but what about various other masculinities, those that remain silent, hidden, de-legitimised, disenfranchised, pushed under, often defeated and mostly unrecognised? If women are not biologically non-violent then men cannot be biologically violent and if all men are not violent then many men must be non-violent. What is the story of these men, these masculinities that shun violence? How do different forms of masculinities relate with each other? Are they locked in some

form of permanent conflict? Why are some forms of masculinity more assertive and more public? Or why is hegemonic masculinity, hegemonic in the first place? Are various forms of masculinities definite, unbreakable and permanent or do they form historically, decay, change and transform? We can go on and on posing questions that remain largely unanswered within the South Asian context. However, these questions need to be asked because only then will we recognise the paucity of ethnographic and historical work that can provide a rich tapestry of the story of the gendering of men's lives, histories, situations and conflicts. It has been argued that the invisibility of masculinities to men is the dividend they gain from occupying the vantage positions in the patriarchal pyramid. It cannot be doubted for a moment that this invisibility, this zone of silence, is a political space. A space that hides the struggles to become a man, the insecurities of the impermanence of manhood, experiences of power and powerlessness, the hard realities of scrounging for work and conflicts that defy comprehensible resolutions.

Where do we go from here? The reality is grim to say the least but international research has demonstrated that there do exist those gaps, openings and fractures where ideas of gender equality and non violence can find the space to breathe within the suffocating structures of masculinities. But for this to happen there have to be concerted attempts from all parts of the civil society - academics, activists, artists, writers, development practitioners, film makers - to unearth, validate, recognise and make visible men's behaviour patterns that stand in direct conflict to the violence prone, hegemonic patterns of masculinities. As with the women's movement there will be two elements to this effort - of theorising, understanding and unravelling and of simultaneously developing the practice of challenging, confronting and constructing

alternatives to hegemonic masculinities. And one of the most critical entry points for this battle will be the minds of young people and children. Besides various other issues this is also a battle of ideas, that needs to enter young minds and be nurtured into a vision of a world of equality that shuns violence as the only means of resolving conflicts, of settling differences.

Violence against women and girls, and violence, in general, is an issue which almost all parts of the region have been forced to confront. We know that violence, as a phenomenon is endemic to social structures that are based on a hierarchy of power. Violence is one way in which unequal power structures get articulated, or, if we are to talk in strictly gender terms, violence is the language in which genders communicate, with mostly men having the right to speak.

It has been suggested that gender-based violence is a policing mechanism unleashed to perpetuate gender inequalities and keep in place gendered orders. It is rooted in rigid discourses of what constitutes the masculine and the feminine and the power relationships between men and women, boys and girls as well as other men. It is for this reason that for the past two decades, all efforts at building a more gender equitable world have focused on violence against women and girls as a fundamental area of concern and activism

There is urgent need to broaden this enquiry and activism to include young boys if we want to promote ideas of gender equality and justice. It is now known that amongst young boys, ideas of masculinities become the most impelling force for risk-taking behaviours, violence, unsafe sexual practices and misogyny. The socialisation process of boys sows the seeds of gender inequality very early in life. Defining sexual initiation and activity in the language of conquest or achievement as

opposed to intimacy, objectification of girls/women as sexual objects, devaluing of girl's/women's contributions to family/social life, learning violence as the language for resolving conflicts, are the early lessons of manhood on which young boys attempt to build their lives. It is important to note that these lessons have implications not just for women and girls in their lives but also for their own health and relationships with other men and boys.

The narrow path of traditional masculinities might provide young boys with a sense of entitlement to power but it also chips away the possibilities of building healthy and equitable relationships with girls/women as well as other boys/men and traps them into a web of trauma and inadequacies. However, on the positive side, the fact that not all boys are violent gives us hope for changing the world we live in. All young boys are socialised in ways that promote gender inequality and violence but not all boys adopt these gendered behaviour patterns and most do not act out these roles all the time. This experience could be the resource for building interventions and partnerships with young people on gender-based violence.

Unpacking Masculinities

Researchers have identified six themes that emerge from the study and activism around masculinities that can help us in better understanding the gendered behaviour patterns of men as also in identifying the entry points for intervention. Often the concept of male sex role is utilised to discuss and explain gendered behaviour but it is an inadequate concept because it does not go beyond the social experience of learning the norms of conduct and is ill equipped to discuss the diversity in the experience of masculinities and for understanding the power and economic dimension in gender.

Such an approach moves beyond the abstractions of the 'sex role' to a more concrete examination of how gender patterns are constructed and practised.

MULTIPLE MASCULINITIES: Social sciences research has clearly demonstrated the impossibility of talking about masculinity in the singular. There is no one universal pattern of masculinity, plurality of men's gendered behaviour patterns can be located in all cultures and through all historical periods. Different cultures and different periods of history, construct masculinity differently.

For instance, if we were to take the phenomenon which gets associated the most with the term masculinity, that of violence, we can see that different cultures have a different attitude towards violence. Some cultures celebrate violence and make heroes of soldiers while others would go to extreme levels to eschew violence. It is also difficult talking about entire cultures. There are many cultures. The Dalai Lama's presence in India has given us an opportunity to see from close his brand of non violence which is now celebrated all over the world as one of the most significant non-violent political movements.

The plurality of gender patterns is not restricted to different cultures and more than one kind of masculinity can be found within the same cultural setting. Within any community, worksite, neighbourhood or peer group, there are likely to be multiple understandings of masculinity and thereby of gender response and choice. To put it simply if you were to look at the men around you, whether in an office, a class room, a factory or any other work or institutional setting, they would a be a fairly varied bunch as far as gendered response is concerned.

HIERARCHY AND HEGEMONY: But how do these different kinds of masculinities relate with each other? Different forms of masculinities do not peacefully reside alongside each other, they share a relationship with each other which is fraught with tensions, struggles and alliances. Again if we were to look at the men surrounding us, there would most probably be a celebration of certain kinds of masculinity and rejection of the other. Most men as also women have very interesting stories to narrate about the pressures of performing or enacting certain gendered behaviour patterns that find a peer or institutional acceptance, in schools, families or work sites. We know that young boys in schools are put through a lot of pressure to appear strong and tough and different from the so called weaklings or 'feminine' boys.

COLLECTIVE MASCULINITIES: Though we tend to talk more about gender conduct as an individual trait and thus describe behaviour patterns as 'masculine' or 'feminine', there is a collective nature of masculinities that often gets ignored. The collective articulation of masculinities is best exemplified by institutions like the army, police, schools, gangs, corporations, factories as also sports practises. All these institutions nurture, harness and unleash a collective aggressive masculinity that is created organisationally by the structures of these institutions, by their systems of training and their hierarchy of levels and rewards.

ACTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS: Masculinities, or for that matter any gendered behaviour pattern, do not exist prior to social behaviour, either as bodily states or fixed personalities. Rather, masculinities come into existence as people act, as they make choices or as it has been suggested, as they perform. They are accomplished in everyday conduct or organisational life, as patterns of social practise.

Gender is about making a choice, consciously or unconsciously, it is about doing in everyday life.

This is important if we are to explore issues like violence. Violence, for instance is not a fixed masculine character but rather a resource to construct particular kinds of masculinities.

INTERNAL COMPLEXITY: One of the key reasons why masculinities are unstable is that they are not simple, homogenous patterns. Patterns of masculinities reveal contradictory desires and logics. Masculinities almost always has multiple possibilities concealed within them, the complexity of desires, emotions or possibilities is important to observe and understand because they are the sources and resources of tension and change in gender patterns.

DYNAMICS: From the fact that different masculinities exist in different cultures and historical periods we can conclude that masculinities are able to change. The layering of masculinities displays the sources of change and the hierarchy of masculinities the motives for change.

The dynamics of masculinities refers to the fact that particular forms of masculinities are composed historically and may also get decomposed, contested and replaced. There is an active politics of gender in everyday life. Sometimes it gets articulated into a public expression but more often it is local and limited. However, there is always a process of contestation and change, and in some cases this becomes conscious and deliberate.

Definitions

One issue that almost always crops up when we discuss masculinities is of definitions. How do you define masculinities? Several definitions have been offered that attempt to locate masculinities within the twin concepts of power and violence. However, it has been argued that most definitions of masculinity are simplistic and rest on rather static

notions of gender identity. The issue is further problematised by the existence of what is being termed as 'female masculinities', which refers to the practise of gender behaviour patterns by women that are traditionally associated with men. Thus, it is difficult to restrict the concept of masculinities to the male body. Realising the difficulties of offering a definition the effort in social science has been to map masculinities as actual patterns of conduct or representations.

Bob Connell argues that however problematic the concept of masculinities, we always presuppose a distinction when we talk of men and women and we do need to comprehend in language men's and women's involvement in the domain of gender and thereby distinguish conduct which is oriented to or shaped by that domain from other forms of social conduct. Masculinities may not be the perfect term to provide an exclusive understanding or exploration of men's gendered behaviour patterns but it remains the most useful term available to us at present.

The word most often used in the context of masculinities is power. Most often masculinity is defined as the experiencing of power. However, Michael Kimmel (Kimmel, 1997) defines masculinity as more about the experience of entitlement to power, in that a man's experience of power depends on where he stands on the social ladder in terms of class, caste, sexual orientation, physical appearance, the region he comes from, etc. This has important implications because it extends the theoretical boundaries of understanding masculinities beyond men as custodians and wielders of power to men negotiating often-contradictory flows of power and their sense of entitlement to power.

This is not to suggest that men have no power. Men as a group have power over women and over other men by virtue of class, caste, race, sexual orientation, etc., however, the experience is never absolute. If on one axis, vis-à-vis his wife, a man experiences power, he could experience powerlessness on another axis, if, say, he is lower in the caste hierarchy than the men of the dominant caste

Strategies for Change

This brings us to the last point: why should we be bothered about masculinities, why should it be a focus of research and activism?

A purely intellectual answer to this would be that we do need to broaden our understanding of gender and till now the research, at least in this region, has concentrated on women's lives and histories and that unfortunately is not the entire picture as far as gender is concerned. So this could be the sole purpose of research to increase our knowledge about an area which remains an area of darkness.

For those involved in studying masculinities a more practical reason to indulge in this research is because it has been identified as a rather toxic part of our social life. Violence, ill health, accidents, high levels of injury outside the home, conflict, rape, domestic violence are all patterns of behaviour which have been associated with men.

It has been suggested that research on masculinities could throw up and demonstrate the possibilities of change. As stated earlier in this paper masculinities are not static and they are locked in a perpetual state of conflict and greater insights into these conflicts could provide us with indicators of change.

Most often the question of why men should change is answered, quite justifiably, by citing the immense price women have to pay because of the existing gender inequalities in the world at large and the

violence women have to face. This seems a valid enough answer because we want to build a world free of gender inequalities and oppression. But the question of **why** men should participate in such an exercise still remains unanswered. Why should they change a behaviour pattern which has been honed by centuries of patriarchal organising of our social, economic and political lives and is popularly thought to benefit the male sex?

The key to answering this question of why men should change lies in understanding the nature of relationship between masculinities and power.

This brings back the question: Why should men change? They should change precisely because the power position they seek through their lives is never going to be absolute. In fact, in the march towards achieving the grade of 'men' they are going to lose touch with many 'human' emotions and construct for themselves a web of trauma and pain from which there is most often no exit. How do we develop a language, provide a platform, and generate concepts which assist men in making the journey women have made? The women's movement generated a language which helped women's subjective experience of being women become an objective, collective experience which is so very essential for any change. Can we dream of a similar experience for men? It has been argued that only when the subjective experience of the contradictory nature of power flow becomes an objective reality for men that we can hope for a real dismantling of the patriarchal gender system.

This, however, is easier said than done. Reports from South Asia seem to suggest that talking to men about violence has met with varying degrees of failure. I think, probably, the answers are there in the experience of the women's movement. I remember in the early eighties my women friends would throw us out of closed door meetings where they were sharing their experiences of growing up as women. I think a similar approach needs to be adopted by men for drawing out other men.

One big problem which we all face in a situation of dialoguing with men is that of language. And by language I mean both the act of speaking as well as the words to be used while speaking. I feel we need to evolve a language which is specific to the experience of men just as the women's movement evolved its own language.

We have often heard the demand for the breaking of silence, but this is mostly in the context of women. It is equally critical for men to break their silence. This silence, this inability to be self-reflexive, to put words to feelings, is, I feel, in the long run extremely dangerous because this silence represents a failure of self comprehension, an inability to make oneself the subject of discourse. And unless we do that we will not change. When we don't know our subjective self where is the question of change?

Masculinity as a gender system today stands problematised because of the pressures from the women's movement. This might be difficult to imagine now but sooner or later, men as a group will thank the women's movement for having pushed them into a journey of self-discovery.

Appendix 4
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☐ compiled by Gyani Thapa

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Appendix 5
Session plan

DAY 1

Time	Session	Content/objectives	Methodology/Instructions/ Approximate Time-	Facilitators
9:00 - 10:00	Welcome	Objectives: • To become familiar with each other and quick introductions • Introduction of the facilitators team • Explain full agenda and magnify Day 1's agenda and working modalities • Logistic Announcements	Welcome, • A group game - ice breaker • Quick Introductions • Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Announcements with visuals	Lena and Ravi Ravi/Asif Rahul /Ravi Gyani/Rajaram
10.00 - 11.00	Gender-based violence	• To understand the prevalence and magnitude of gender-based violence in the region. • Understand the cycle of violence and socialisation and reproduction of in-equalities	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Group work on GBV?	Lena and Ravi, Region
11.00-11.20	Tea/Coffee/ Juice Break			

Time	Session	Content/objectives	Methodology/Instructions/ Approximate Time	Facilitators
11.20-12.10	Why Men/Boys should break the silence	• Understanding the role of men and boys to break the cycle of violence	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation	Rahul, Region
12.10 - 13.00	Rights perspective	• Rights perspective to Strengthening Partnerships with Men and Boys to Promote Gender Equality and End Violence against Girls and Boys • UN study on violence against children - opportunity	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation	Ravi and Lena, Region
13.00-14.00	Lunch			
14.00 - 1500	Growing up in Jehangirpuri - a working class colony of Delhi	• Methods and tools: Understanding forms of violence and experiences of masculinities by young men	• Screening film 'When four friends meet!' • Verbatim • Discussion	Sanjay, India
15.00-15.30	Tea/Coffee/ Juice Break			
15.00 -16.00	Working with the Police in Islamabad	• Describe methods and tools for working with the Police for being more gender sensitive from a human rights perspective addressing child sexual abuse and other forms of violence	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Discussion	Saghir, Pakistan
16.00 - 17.30	Organising Men In A working class colony in Malaysia	• Describe tools and methodology for organising men	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Discussion	Paul, Malaysia
17.30	Synthesis	• Key lesson learnt		Lena, Region

DAY 2

Time	Session	Content/objectives	Methodology/Instructions/ Approximate Time	Facilitators
9:00 - 10:00	Men and boys in anti acid attacks	• describe methods and tools on working with adolescent boys to stop acid attacks and address gender discrimination	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Discussion	Saira, Bangladesh
10.00 - 10.45	Boys and education	• Share issue of masculinities and education in Schools across South Asia	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Discussion	Emmanuelle, Region
10.45 - 11.15	Tea/Coffee/ Juice Break			
11.15- 12.00	Working with children on violence/ sexual abuse	• Describe methods for working with street boys to highlight issues of violence and increase gender equality	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Discussion	Rita, India
12.00 - 13.00	Child Brigade	• Describe methods for working with children's organisation in Dhaka city issues pertaining to masculinities and gender discrimination	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Discussion	Asif & Luna, Bangladesh
13.00-14.00	Lunch			
14.00 - 1500	Regional overview of organisation working with men	• To share key examples of work on masculinities in the region	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Discussion	Ranjani, Region
15.00-15.30	Tea/Coffee/ Juice Break			
15.30-17.30	Panel	• Countering Violence Through Community Action	• Panel	Gilbert, Bimla, from India, ? Nepal and Rajanai
17.30	Synthesis	• Key lesson learnt		Lena, Region

DAY 3

Time	Session	Content/objectives	Methodology/Instructions/ Approximate Time	Facilitators
9:00 - 10:00	Building An Alliance of Men against Violence	• To demonstrate the value of building an alliance	• Verbatim / Power point/ OHP Presentation • Discussion	Satish
10.00 - 10.45	Group work on Methods	• Selection of methods and tools	• Group work on methods and tools that work for working with men and boys to increase gender equality	Rahul, Asif and Ravi
10.45 - 11.15	Tea/Coffee/ Juice Break			
11.15- 12.00	Group work on Methods		• Contd. • Presentation and Sharing	Do
12.00 - 13.00	Group work on themes	• Selection of methods and tools for working with men on specific issues of violence against children	• Group work on working with men and boys on: • CSA, GBV, CSE + Trafficking, Education Etc.	Ranjani, Ravi and Paul
13.00-14.00	Lunch			
14.00 - 1500		• Selection of methods and tools for working with men on specific issues of violence against children	• Contd. • Presentation and Sharing	
15.00-15.30	Tea/Coffee/ Juice Break			
15.30-17.30	Action	• UN Study • Future plans	• Country based • Regional input	Rahul and Ravi
17.30	Close	• Overall synthesis		Lena

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