From Dakar to Delhi: Influencing Policy Discourse on Men and Masculinities

A Story of Influence under the Programme ‘Gender, Power and Sexuality’

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**Introduction**

This paper discusses the process and progress of the Men and Masculinities stream of work within the Gender, Power and Sexuality (GPS) programme, supported by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). In relation to the overarching programme’s emphasis on linking local voices to global arenas to influence policy discourses on gender justice and sexual rights, the paper reviews the contribution made by engagements with the Men and Masculinities field and reflects on challenges faced and lessons learned.

For over a decade, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) has been supporting fine-grained research, innovative programming and critical self-reflection within the field of engaging men and boys in work for gender justice (hereafter referred to as the “Men and Masculinities field”). In a 2007 Sida-supported international symposium in Dakar, IDS convened researchers, activists and donors to chart a course for “Politcising Masculinities: Beyond the Personal” (Esplen et al. 2008), whose themes and debates were brought together in a book of the same name (Cornwall et al. 2011). The Dakar symposium highlighted the need for the Men and Masculinities field to engage men in addressing the structural determinants and institutional manifestations of gender injustice, whilst forging alliances across movements to more explicitly connect work on gender justice and sexual rights with broader struggles for social justice.

In an effort to take forwards this agenda, IDS developed a two-year UNFPA-funded project with civil society partners in India, Kenya and Uganda to mobilise men to challenge sexual and gender-based violence within institutional settings (the “Mobilising Men” project) (Greig and Edström, 2012) The partnerships that were established under the Mobilising Men project, with the Centre for Health and Social Justice (CHSJ) in India, Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN) in Kenya and the Refugee Law Project (RLP) in Uganda, have been sustained and strengthened within the Gender, Power and Sexuality (GPS) programme, constituting the work of its Men and Masculinities stream.

The central aim of the GPS programme has been to influence norms and institutions at global and local levels to more effectively tackle the challenge of achieving gender justice. The work of the programme was organised around three core themes, with respect to which the Men and Masculinities stream identified its following objectives:

- **Narrative**: To challenge the discursive framing of both “men” and “masculinities” within development policy and programming that hinders progress toward gender justice.

- **Analysis**: To improve understandings of masculinities as they shape the “structures of constraint” that limit the achievement of gender justice and of strategies to address masculinities that can bring about and sustain change within these “structures of constraint.”

- **Alliance**: To strengthen networking and alliance-building between actors within the Men and Masculinities field and organisations working on issues of gender justice and sexual rights in different policy arenas, to become more effective in influencing global and local policy processes.

This paper presents an analysis and synthesis of programmatic and reflective learning documentation from across the life cycle of the Gender, Power and Sexuality programme. Furthermore, partners within the Men and Masculinities stream each documented stories of influence, distilling key moments from the process of linking local voices to global policy arenas that they have been a part of. This has been complemented by group discussion and deliberation between the partners, on the key issues emerging, and interviews with wider stakeholders to the Men and Masculinities stream. Finally, participation by IDS and CHSJ in a cross-programme learning workshop in July 2014 enabled the differences and commonalities in generating influence between and across themes to be identified, and provided an opportunity for further consolidation of the Men and Masculinities component.
1. Changing the narrative

Activists and advocates working on struggles for gender justice and sexual rights have long been concerned about the depoliticisation of their struggles as they are taken up by the Gender and Development (GAD) ‘industry’. Such concern has only intensified with the increasing emphasis within GAD policy-making and programming on the need to “involve” men and boys as “the other half of gender”. This simplistic binary of “women” and “men” abstracted from other relations of power and inequality underpins this depoliticisation. It sets up stereotyped dichotomies of woman/passive/victim vs. man/active/perpetrator that undermine efforts to understand and undertake gender justice work in relation to people’s complex experiences of power and oppression, as structured by gender inequalities in their interaction with other social inequalities based on class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, dis/ability, and age.

From the outset, the work of the Men and Masculinities stream within the GPS programme has sought to challenge this stereotyped binary narrative and develop a transformative agenda for gender justice work with men and boys that engages with the politics of addressing patriarchal power and promoting more positive masculinities. This effort has been shaped by learning and debate between masculinity theorists, feminist movements, sexuality activists and human rights organisations who have made visible the importance of explicitly challenging the power inequalities at the root of gender inequality, and the role of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity in oppressive gender orders and relations. That men and boys are central within these gender dynamics and therefore essential in transforming gender relations is clear.

The Politicising Masculinities symposium in Dakar in 2007 was a pivotal moment and a milestone in this journey and catalysed a methodology of dialogues across contrasting perspectives that has been central in this work stream and to the way in which we see change towards social justice being catalysed. As such, it can be seen as the starting point – or ‘source’ – from which this stream and journey flows.

1.1 Men, masculinities and sexual and gender-based violence

Exposing and exploring the operations and functions of sexual and gender-based violence within systems of oppression has been a significant thread within the fabric of our Men and Masculinities work. Complicating the narrative of female victimhood and male perpetration that remains so common within development policy discourse has been central to this exploration. Whether it be the work of the Refugee Law Project (RLP) in Uganda with male survivors of sexual violence or the Centre for Health and Social Justice (CHSJ) in India supporting a transgender group in Kolkata to campaign against misogynist violence targeting women and ‘feminine’ men, the civil society partners within the Men and Masculinities stream are engaging with the complex realities of sexual and gender-based violence as they are lived by people of differing gender identities and sexual orientations. In so doing, they are taking account of the intersecting nature of inequalities based not only on gender, but also age, sexuality, race, ethnicity, ability, and class, and the ways in which such inequalities shape people’s differing relationships to and experiences of sexual and gender-based violence.

Linked to this intersectional analysis of and response to sexual and gender-based violence in the lives of women, men and people with non-conforming gender identities has been an emphasis on engaging with violence as an instrument of institutionalised power and control. An important premise for the Men and Masculinities stream within the GPS programme has been that further progress in gender work with men will require better, contextualised understandings of the institutional dimensions to sexual and gender based violence (against women, men, transgender, girls and boys,) as well as men’s potential to make a difference, including in eliminating obstacles to implementing laws, policies and programmes to respond. Mobilising men to play a proactive role in confronting such violence by both supporting and challenging institutions and duty bearers to break the cycles of violence in social and political practices has been an essential part of our work.
Hence, institutional accountability has emerged as an important focus of work for the Men and Masculinities stream, with its civil society partners in India, Kenya and Uganda engaging their own organisational resources in research, programming and technical advice to strengthen institutional accountability for gender justice. In Kenya, Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN), through its cross-sector stakeholder collaborations, has drawn attention to the fact that, despite progressive legal frameworks, the implementation of policies and enforcement of laws remains a major challenge for preventing and addressing sexual and gender-based violence. A lack of accountability and corruption in state institutions has meant that perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence during the post-election violence in particular have not faced prosecution. MEGEN has been working to improve information access and to inform strategies of relevant actors (including activists and policy makers) in addressing this issue.

As an addition to the GPS partnership, MEGEN and IDS have undertaken a research and stakeholder engagement study to explore how men contribute to the collective effort of addressing sexual and gender-based violence. Recommendations for working with the police and the judiciary emerged, such as a call for strengthened capacity building efforts for the police service to restore public trust and build stronger institutional commitment. Another recommendation was for actors engaged in work on sexual and gender-based violence to build on promising dialogues and collaboration between men’s groups, women’s organisations and groups serving sexual minorities to jointly advocate for policy change and building collaborative programmes and strategies (Edström et al.2014a). CHSJ and RLP will also be undertaking similar analytic case studies on the roles of men in movements and their contribution to addressing sexual and gender-based violence through collective action in late 2014 and 2015 as part of the same DFID-funded programme of work, leveraging resources to build on the existing partnerships.

In Uganda, the Refugee Law Project (RLP) has delivered training on sexual and gender-based violence with relevant government stakeholders and service providers in order to build institutional commitment and a clearer understandings of the issues of gender and violence (including legal and conceptual issues around sex and the law). They have recently shifted their approach to more direct engagement with police within their institutional settings. An important emphasis of such engagement has been to highlight the invisibility of men’s and boy’s experiences of sexual violence, and the extreme marginalisation and isolation faced by male survivors. This qualitative shift has been in line with a direct influence on the police force’s national training curriculum on sexual and gender-based violence. This led to the challenging of the gendered victim-perpetrator binary and also the analysis of power and violence as condoned and perpetrated by state authorities within the curriculum. The establishment of a special unit to address violence against men and boys was a significant achievement, to which RLP will play a technical advisory role (which they are already playing informally,) with a view to also bringing sexual violence cases into this domain. Ensuring resources are provided for the effective functioning of this unit will be critical, and are not yet in place.

In the case of the Centre for Health and Social Justice (CHSJ) in India, one example of holding duty-bearers to account is the support to an activist group working in Universities on rights literacy and implementing sexual harassment guidelines within the institutions. Another is the work with Dalit members of local government, in Panchayat and rural local government, to better play their roles as duty bearers.

1.2 Bringing local voices to global arenas
Changing the narrative on men, masculinities and gender justice has, in part, been about enabling new voices to be heard and hidden stories to be told. Raising these voices and sharing such stories within opinion-forming and policy-making ‘spaces’ at national and global levels has been a key strategy for the Men and Masculinities stream, a strategy which in turn has been shaped by the diverse relationships and experiences of all of the partners involved. The stories presented here draw on these experiences, highlighting the ways in which the different layers of our work have
come together to exert influence, from local to global arenas, on public opinion and policy discourse for gender equality and sexual rights.

The “Mobilising Men” project, a collaboration between IDS, MGEN (Kenya), CHSJ (India) and RLP (Uganda), developed tools to support the role of men as activists in confronting sexual and gender-based violence within institutional settings. The experiences, analyses and lessons generated by Mobilising Men have provided an important platform within the GPS programme for challenging the policies and cultures at the local and national level that perpetuate sexual and gender-based violence, as well as for leveraging this learning to influence policy discourse within global arenas.

Continued support for civil society partners engaging men as activists in gender justice struggles in India, Kenya and Uganda was given through small grants within the programme. Notwithstanding the very modest scale of this financial support, the programme’s partners have sustained their engagement with men’s activism for gender justice, and continued to refine tools and strategies for mobilising men which have enriched the ongoing conversation about “what works?” in gender justice work with men. The table below summarises some highlights and examples of the role of local activists and how their lessons have been communicated to new spaces for influence.

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<th>Role of local-level activism</th>
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| Many men do not see themselves as having a role in confronting issues of violence, and are not aware of the need to interrogate their own identity within the social order. In response, MGEN have been engaging men as agents of change in order to promote the growth of a community of men who are committed to the institutional and cultural change necessary for social justice. They are also engaging women’s rights and social justice movements in dialogues to support the fostering of these initiatives to achieve equality and human rights for all. | • MGEN’s work with the Survivors’ Support Teams (SST) in the Juja area has continued in order to re-establish a concrete group to go beyond the funded project time and develop alliances with institutions and local services in the Juja area.  
• The project brings together people from the local government, the police, health professionals, university staff, Boda Boda (moto) drivers and social workers amongst others.  
• There are very limited resources, but the support enables them to respond to cases of abuse. In addition, the project has now become co-funded by the We Effect and the Juja SST has gone ahead and registered as a CBO, which has been a great unanticipated success. |
Centre for Health and Social Justice (CHSJ), India

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| CHSJ has worked with male activists and leaders within Panchayats, political parties, student groups and human rights organisations on approaches for challenging the violence women face in institutional settings. The project focused on three main sectors: university campuses, where SGBV is widespread; local government, which play a key role in policy enforcement; and human rights work with Dalit communities and transgender persons who face intersecting discriminations and forms of gendered violence. External gender equality champions provided a mentoring role and created safe spaces for carrying out the process/campaign for change. | • CHSJ has directly supported two activist groups. One is working in Universities on rights literacy and implementing sexual harassment guidelines, in the institutions. These activities were carried out in various departments of two universities and with two colleges of CHSJ staff affiliated with the universities.  
• Support has also gone to work with Dalit members of local government, with capacity building in Panchayat and rural local government to better play their roles as duty bearers.  
• Contact and links have also been kept open with an organisation of Transgender persons, ‘Kolkata Rista’, through meetings and ensuring their participation in the national Men Engage network. This has been important for ensuring that those most marginalised are reached through this programme, and that intersecting inequalities of caste and gender identity are recognised. |

Refugee Law Project, Uganda

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| Through RLPs work in Uganda, peer support groups play a critical role in the process of emotional and psychological healing for male survivors of sexual violence. Support groups have helped address the isolation and marginalisation of men who have experienced sexual violence. The relationships established through the networks have contributed to a sense of community and belonging. Group solidarity and shared understanding has also enabled survivors to politicise their experience and raise their voices in building awareness of the issue and mobilising a response. | • RLP in Uganda has worked with two activist groups: Men of Hope and Men of Peace support groups, on awareness raising and advocacy activities. During the GPS programme a South-South Institute on Sexual Violence and Men and Boys in conflict was organised. This was a five days institute; the first in sub-Saharan Africa, bringing together 30 male survivors of sexual violence.  
• This event made the news in both BBC and Al Jazeera (and one activist was interviewed on Al Jazeera).  
• Survivors also organised a meeting for 20 local councillors, in order to educate them on sexual violence and needs of survivors. This included local and higher level councillors who in return pledged their support and offered free radio airtime. A recent increase in referrals to RLP from local councillors is an indicator of progress in the work. |
1.3 Communicating local experience through creative media

A significant way in which we have sought to change the narrative on men, masculinities and gender justice has been to use creative media to tell compelling stories, for example in relation to men’s experiences of and responses to sexual and gender-based violence. The Men and Masculinities stream of the GPS programme is contributing to an archive of such stories, with programme partners documenting case study profiles of unconventional male engagements with gender justice issues for publication and dissemination – for example “Narratives of Change,” a video from Uganda.¹

Stories of personal transformation support local mobilisation: As part of the GPS programme, Men and Masculinities partners are also linking with other colleagues and streams of GPS work through IDS. For example, after inviting colleagues in the Sexuality and Development stream to a joint planning workshop, hosted by RLP in Kampala in August 2012, an additional collaboration was agreed with Men of Hope.² Training on film-making provided by the Mirror Institute and IDS Sexuality Programme to Men of Hope resulted in the production of “The Bench,” a powerful five minute docu-drama which is a key advocacy tool used by Men of Hope in their outreach activities. In India, CHSJ shared stories of change from male ‘champions’ taking action to address sexual and gender-based violence during their mobilisation work with men in order to generate confidence in those who were setting out on their own journeys of change. During capacity building workshops with student activists, film was used as a tool to foster experiential learning about harmful and positive masculinities.

Documentary films proved useful in provoking discussion about the realities of institutionalised sexual and gender-based violence and the responsibilities of duty bearers, as well as of male activists within educational institutions and the community as a whole, to eliminate such violence. Facilitated discussions after film screenings were used to increase analysis of the participants’ future role in ensuring safer spaces for women and transgender persons within their institution.

Sharing local realities can spark a connection with global actors: Films have also been used to bring the local realities of sexual and gender-based violence directly into global policy arenas. The Refugee Law Project’s film “They Slept With Me” was shown, amongst other events, at a roundtable discussion attended by global policymakers and civil society activists on Addressing Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys in Conflict (Plan, RLP and War Child UK) in May 2014.³ In this workshop, the film provided an opportunity to understand more about the issue, and the very immediate social, political and economic implications from the experiences of male survivors of sexual violence.⁴ Enabling human connections in this way strengthens opportunities for influence as issues of injustice, exclusion, democracy and human rights are communicated much more powerfully than when the same questions are presented in the abstract. This can be extremely useful in policy-making processes where decision-makers are far removed from the realities they seek to address, and where the perspectives of those most affected are often drowned out. Significantly, two activists from Men of Hope and Men of Peace also participated directly in this workshop through a video link, sharing their own experiences as survivors of sexual violence and translating the implications of this into recommendations for global policy. Both the film used at the Roundtable discussion in London and an earlier film by RLP – “Gender

¹ See ‘Narratives of Change’, a video from the Refugee Law Project in Uganda at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbAr4gTa1kE
² Men of Hope is a refugee led support group of male survivors of sexual violence in Uganda.
⁴ Reflections from Men and Masculinities stream researchers attending this high-level workshop held at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in London, 14 May 2014.
Against Men” – have been shown at several international meetings and are also regularly used in teaching on Gender and Development at IDS. The latter is a film on sexual and gender-based violence against men in the conflicts of the Great Lakes Region and was winner of best documentary, Kenya International Film Festival 2009.5

Engaging the media can lead to unexpected change through shifts in public discourse: An important strategy for policy influence, conceived as part of the GPS programme’s theory of change, has been the use of mass and social media to open up diverse pathways for change. Working with and through a range of media platforms and processes has proved invaluable in challenging dominant discourses on men, masculinities and gender justice, and in stimulating debate in private, public and institutional spaces which can build momentum for change, sometimes in unexpected ways. Whist some partners have been highly effective at reaching out through media from the local to the global level, others have focused more on local engagements.

CHSJ in India targeted local newspapers and radio to put pressure on public authorities to take effective action on cases of violence within educational institutions, as one component of its work with student activists to challenge sexual and gender-based violence within schools and colleges.

In Uganda, RLP has achieved significant visibility in national and global media over the course of the programme. This media presence has enabled RLP to raise the voice of local activists, as illustrated in the 2013 Al Jazeera article focusing on the experience of Alain Kabenga, of Men of Hope.6

The Men of Hope group has also been actively engaging the media at the national level, for example publicising its recent report marking their second anniversary (“Male Survivors of Sexual Violence Demand for Better Services in Kampala”), which led to an article on IRIN news on 30 April 2014 (“Uganda’s anti-gay law reinforces homophobia, xenophobia, says report”), which was also disseminated on allafrica.com.

The Refugee Law Project also played a significant role in the UK Government’s Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative, launched at the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict on 10-13 June 2014, resulting in high levels of visibility in the UK media, including articles in London’s free newspaper for commuters, Metro, and The Times.8

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2. Deepening the analysis

2.1 Unpacking structures of constraint by Undressing Patriarchy

The Men and Masculinities stream of the GPS programme has sought to deepen the conversation among practitioners, researchers and policy-makers about current dynamics and trends within systems of patriarchal power, paying particular attention to the institutional roots and expressions of sexual and gender-based violence. We see this as being key to better understanding the “structures of constraint” that inhibit progress toward gender justice, and thus informing the development of transformative programming to address such structures.

A pivotal moment in our collective journey within the GPS programme was a stimulating review and planning meeting, hosted by RLP in Kampala in August 2012, at which it was decided that revisiting analyses of and responses to patriarchy could make an important contribution to the dialogue on drivers and structures of constraint. Together with invited colleagues working on Sexuality and Development, the Kampala planning meeting plotted the longer historical trajectories of our intermittently intersecting journeys, and agreed on the need for an international symposium as a follow up to the Politicising Masculinities symposium in Dakar 2007. Entitled Undressing Patriarchy, it was envisaged that this follow-up event would convene practitioners, researchers and policy-makers to dig deeper into the structural forces, constraints, dynamics and drivers of unequal gender orders.

The energy motivating this effort came from key leaders within RLP, MEGEN, IDS and CHSJ. Partners’ various contributions enabled the sharing of lessons and tools from advocacy, activism and research, highlighting the influence of social, economic and political power and interconnected structures of constraint in this process. Other important contributions came through ongoing conversations across the GPS programme, including colleagues from Pathways to Women’s Empowerment, BRIDGE and the Sexuality programme, all engaging in this cross-stream initiative. The Undressing Patriarchy symposium, held at IDS in August 2013, also opened up a more concrete dialogue with a broader range of colleagues in sexualities work, feminist movements and donor agencies, including Sida and UNFPA. In bringing together contrasting perspectives on the changing realities of gender norms and relations within shifting political and economic conditions, across many countries and voices, we learned about changes in livelihoods and social status dynamics, homophobia and gendered dynamics around sex and work, in ways which put into question more familiar narratives and development sector framings (Edström et al, 2014). Reflections shared by Sida highlighted the significant learning that was enabled through this deliberative space, especially in terms of interacting with southern activists and practitioners, and engaging with the cultural nuances of knowledge and perspectives on the issues. This in turn challenged some of the conceptions established within a western framing of the debate.9

This work to deepen the analysis of masculinities in relation to evolving gender orders and modernising patriarchies, shaped in turn by geopolitics and macroeconomic dynamics and trends, has relied on the diversity and specificity of programme partners’ experiences with working with particular constituencies of men in their local contexts. In turn, this analytical work has positioned the partners in this collaboration in a stronger position of leadership within the Men and Masculinities field, in part due to the critical and reflective approach used throughout the programme, combined with a shared vision of gender justice based on inclusion, human rights and social justice.

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9 Interview between IDS researcher Thea Shahrokh and Paul Dover Senior Gender Advisor at Sida, 26th June 2014.
2.2 Capturing and sharing learning for wider dissemination

If the Undressing Patriarchy symposium sought to deepen the analysis and dialogue on structures of constraint and transformative programming for gender justice, then the subsequent symposium report and collation of key papers in the form of a special edition IDS Bulletin, co-edited by colleagues at IDS, RLP and CHSJ, sought to take this conversation into a wider global forum for influence. It should be noted that whilst the IDS Bulletin is not normally open-access, we managed to negotiate the one promotional publication slot in the year when the Bulletin is freely available online, thus maximising access. The success of this approach for reaching a wider audience is also influencing the wider institute (IDS) on the need to go ‘open access’, as reflected in IDS’ news update ‘What digital content did our audience view like and share in 2014?’:

“...One of the most downloaded items of IDS content this year was our IDS Bulletin entitled Undressing Patriarchy: Men and Structural Violence. All articles in this issue of the Bulletin were open access (digital, online, free of charge, and free of most copyright and licensing restrictions). This makes a big difference to the number of people both reading and sharing the research, which is why we’re bringing production of our flagship journal back in house from 2016 and issues will be available to all for free.”

Within the Bulletin, CHSJ and MEGEN drew upon their experiences of programming and practice to share what they have learned from working with men and boys at the community and institutional level, and the changes they have seen. The Refugee Law Project used the Bulletin as a platform to reinforce their efforts with UN Agencies to scrutinise international policy framings


on sexual violence in conflict that contribute to the silencing of the issue of sexual violence against men and boys. The IDS article from Jerker Edström provided an exploratory framework for ‘undressing’ patriarchy that further illuminated the structures of constraint to gender equality, by connecting male centeredness, privilege and supremacy to key feminist insights on women’s marginalisation, discrimination and subordination, as well as male ordered knowledge power.

Beyond the specific issues concerned, the learning shared through the symposium report and Bulletin also focused on the reflexive approach taken to generate key insights, along with a methodology for cross-movement dialogues, through, as the Symposium invitation put it, “unconventional dialogues, between unusual suspects in unlikely encounters.” Many articles within the Bulletin are also deeply reflective about the challenges and inherent obstacles involved in engaging men to seriously consider challenging patriarchy, and the implications of this for the work of the Men and Masculinities field as a whole.

2.3 Strengthening research and evidence for informed policy and practice

Notwithstanding the significant growth experienced by the Men and Masculinities field in recent years, work with men and boys on issues of gender justice remains small-scale and modestly funded. Meeting this challenge of scale requires a structural approach that looks beyond the scaling up of particular programmes to sector-wide integration of gender justice work with men and boys. Within the donor community Sida continues to play an important leadership role in articulating how development policy must take a more structural direction in addressing gender inequality issues, and it was Paul Dover, a gender policy specialist who worked for Sida, who has most clearly articulated the need for this structural approach to expanding work with men and boys. In his piece for the aforementioned IDS Bulletin, Paul argued that:

“It is within structural approaches to scaling up that development cooperation with its sector support and strengthened results focus can be most effective in mainstreaming men and boys work towards gender equality. There is evidence from pilots within health, education and women’s economic empowerment of positive results from integrating a gender equality approach that includes men and boys;”

However, he emphasises that this evidence base needs to be strengthened (Dover, 2014: 97).

Setting a research and evidence-building agenda that can inform male engagement policy-making and programming on the structural determinants of gender injustice was identified by the Undressing Patriarchy symposium as an urgent priority. Even as participants at the symposium appreciated the framing of work with men and boys in terms of the structures of constraint to gender justice, it was clear that the next step must be to develop the evidence base on how such structures of constraint can be addressed, and the implications for work with men and boys. As Paul Dover noted in his IDS Bulletin article, work with men and boys tends to remain at pilot level and good results are generally not integrated into policy and are not scaled up, with implications for how policy makers and donors conceive of work with men and for how it is funded (Dover, 2014). Making visible new knowledge and practice to inform policy is an important part of ensuring that the process of change towards gender justice is transformative and sustainable. It could also provide decision-makers with the tools to break down the structures of constraint that restrict their own positionality on gender equality from within their own ‘male ordered’ systems of power.

Given the above, it is noteworthy that programme partners are developing practical tools to produce data that can be used to improve programming and guide policy-making. The Refugee Law Project is now working with US-based Johns Hopkins University to develop a screening tool that can be used during intake interviews in refugee settings to identify male and female survivors

12 Op cit. 9.
of rape, so support services and referrals can be immediately provided. As well as enabling an increased number of men and boys who have survived sexual violence to access services and support, this screening process is generating data that makes visible not only the scale of sexual violence experienced by refugees but also the degree to which men and boys are targeted by such violence. In turn, this data is being used in advocacy at the national and global levels to improve the response to sexual violence experienced by women and men, as well as girls and boys, within refugee communities, and RLP argues that this is where the real change in the evidence base regarding levels of sexual violence in conflict will come from (Dolan, 2014).

IDS has also received subsequent research funding from DFID for a learning and evidence project on the roles of men and boys in gender equality entitled Engendering Men: Evidence on Routes for Gender Equality (EMERGE). In the Call for Proposal for this project could be seen the influence of insights and recommendations from the reports of both the Politicising Masculinities symposium and the Mobilising Men project, suggesting that DFID has taken onboard some of the key messages from these initiatives and has mobilised resources for further evidence gathering to explore the specific implications for policy and practice. Winning this proposal has enabled IDS to take further a new and concrete opportunity to more directly influence DFID’s gender policy and programming. Furthermore it has strengthened the collaboration within IDS between its Men and Masculinities programme and BRIDGE, which is important for engaging with a more self-critical consideration of feminist perspectives. This has also provided an opportunity for network extension to MenEngage partners Sonke Gender Justice and Promundo, reflecting successful engagement and relationship building throughout the GPS programme.

This quest for evidence informed policy on working with men and boys for gender equality is also an allied concern among GPS partners in terms of how knowledge or evidence production is mediated and consumed. As outlined by Das and Singh (2014: 76) in their Undressing Patriarchy Bulletin article:

“There are multiple hierarchies of what constitutes evidence, what constitutes the language of evidence production and dissemination, who has the capacity and resources to produce valid evidence. Based on all these exclusionary criteria only a limited set of practices finally gets reported in the realm of evidence. Since the core business of these efforts is to challenge hegemonies, we need to think about how knowledge is produced and disseminated in this particular field”.

13 Read more about Engendering Men: Evidence on Routes for Gender Equality (EMERGE) here: http://menandboys.ids.ac.uk/emerge
3. Strengthening alliances

3.1 Expanding the conversation

Programme partners within the Men and Masculinities stream have continued to strategically contribute their learning and experience within spaces for policy debate at the global level. Through these forums there is a great opportunity to not only showcase work done with men, but also to bring a critical perspective to the Men and Masculinities field and challenge colleagues and policymakers on issues of patriarchal power, sexual and gender justice. Some of the key spaces for influence targeted by the GPS programme are identified in the table overleaf.

The 2nd MenEngage Global Symposium, held in New Delhi, November 2014, provided a further opportunity for IDS and its partners within the Men and Masculinities stream to influence the discourse on engaging men and boys in work for gender justice, in part by working to bring new voices and constituencies into the conversation on the objectives and strategies for such male engagement. As the host for the MenEngage Global Symposium, GPS programme partner CHSJ prioritised the inclusion of other social justice movements with whom the Men and Masculinities field must be in conversation in order to effectively confront the harms of patriarchy and promote more positive masculinities; including prominent transgender, feminist and Dalit rights movements. As host, CHSJ was also able to promote the involvement of other GPS programme partners in symposium planning structures and processes. This involvement included input into the Concept Note that guided the overall design of the symposium and the participation of GPS partners in the Programme and Abstract Review committees who shaped the actual content of the symposium (Hawkins, 2013).

Staff from IDS as well as from partners involved with the GPS programme’s Men and Masculinities stream played an active and visible role within the symposium itself. This proved to be a crucial time and space, as some 1,000 participants from 96 countries attended, roughly doubling engagement since the first global MenEngage symposium in 2009. In a sense, if Politicising Masculinities represented the ‘source’ of the stream and Undressing Patriarchy represented the key pivotal ‘turning point’ for coming together to deepen our analysis of structures of constraint, building alliances was our methodology throughout, and the 2nd MenEngage Global Symposium in New Delhi became the ‘destination’ for our efforts at influencing the debate globally (hugely facilitated by a no-cost project extension with Sida).

At the opening of the symposium, IDS and partners hosted a Satellite Session – “Getting Under the Skin: Unconventional dialogues on patriarchy and change”14 – creating a conversation between activists, academics and policy makers; including feminist economists, sexual rights, men and boys and bi- (Sida) and multi-lateral (OECD) development agencies, moderated by Jerker Edström and written up in a ‘blow-by-blow account’ in a blog by Thea

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14 Details of the Satellite session ‘Getting Under the Skin: Unconventional dialogues on patriarchy and change’ can be found here:  
Shahrokh. 15 Furthermore, Jerker Edström presented at two panels and hosted/moderated the IDS Satellite (see above), Thea Shahrokh presented a poster, and all collaborated with our partners, challenging perspectives and promoting our outputs from the Sida GPS programme. As part of IDS Satellite Session ‘Under the Skin’ SMERU elaborated on the unpaid care work from the Indonesian context presenting perceptions of four Indonesian males on masculinities and unpaid care work. Whilst this is part of the ‘unpaid care’ stream of the GPS programme of work, it represents a real engagement across the feminist ‘care economy’ stream and the ‘men and masculinities’ stream which has emerged since the Undressing Patriarchy symposium in 2013. In addition Phil Otieno from MEGEN (Kenya) and Satish Singh from CHSJ (India) spoke about mobilising men to challenge gender inequality in institutional settings. Onen David from RLP, Uganda, spoke on a morning Plenary session about sexual and gender-based violence and the issue of men as invisible victims in the Great Lakes region of Africa. During the conference, IDS also piloted a live functionality on the Interactions website. 16 IDS also published a Virtual IDS Bulletin, ‘Challenging Patriarchy: Unsettling Men and Masculinities’ on the eve of the Global Symposium, which traces the MDG period, linking perspectives of well-known feminists with queer and masculinities research and activist perspectives. 17

As we have engaged and targeted partners, donors and networks on a feminist politicising of the Men and Masculinities discourse over the last few years, it is encouraging to note that the formal declaration that emerged from the 2nd MenEngage Global Symposium (entitled “Men and Boys for Gender Justice: Delhi Declaration and Call to Action”) 17 is clearly far stronger in its critique of patriarchy as being central to the productive engagement of men and boys in gender justice, as compared to declaration produced by the 1st MenEngage Global Symposium, held in Rio de Janeiro in 2009. However, there remain significant gaps in terms of the specific directions and strategies identified, implying that this is clearly an ongoing struggle and underlining that change at these fundamental levels happens over the longer term.

Whilst we feel that we – and, connectedly, the sector more broadly – have made significant progress in terms of linking across movements on issues of sexuality and unpaid care work (and women’s invisible double burden of work inside and outside the home,) much remains to be done. This includes changing the prevailing policy and programming discourse on men’s roles within the care economy, which continues to focus narrowly on issues of fatherhood and childcare rather than domestic work more broadly, or indeed the larger challenge of redefining how to approach the gendered aspects of production and social reproduction in sustainable development. A further area of work to develop for the future is also that of men’s engagement in equalising public and political participation to give women (and others less privileged) equal voice in politics and public decision-making.

### ‘Men and Masculinities’ engagement in policy forums across diverse sectors for equality and rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>AWID Forum 2012</strong></td>
<td>The guide “Mobilising Men in Practice: Challenging sexual and gender based violence in institutional settings” was launched by partner organisations and IDS at the AWID Forum 2012, Istanbul. All partners presented the guide and gave personal perspectives and lessons from the work. Dialogues were facilitated to explore alternative approaches, engagements and converging objectives on sexuality and violence work or work by men in relation to hidden care economies. Such dialogues also included attending sessions where partners of other work-streams under the GPS programme presented, such as on the BRIDGE-organised session on ‘No Gender Justice without Economic Justice’, which involved critical interventions from the men and masculinities partners.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>International AIDS Conference (IAC) 2012</strong></td>
<td>IDS planned direct collaboration with external strategic partners (esp. the MenEngage Alliance, Promundo and Sonke Gender Justice) and direct programme partners to lead in co-developing a joint submission for a satellite session on progressive work with men on masculinity, sexuality and violence prevention in HIV, which was accepted and was part of the official conference programme on the opening day. The Satellite Session – entitled “Gender and HIV: What’ve Men Got to Do with It?” – was attended by an estimated 100 participants and was followed by a lively discussion. The session generated in-depth debate and a media report of the session appeared in the Metro Weekly on the day after the event, which was handed out in print form and readily available to many of the conference’s ca. 27,000 participants.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) 2013</strong></td>
<td>UNFPA and MenEngage Alliance Reception: Engaging Men and Boys to End Men's Violence Against Women and Promote Gender Equality. The Masculinity stream at IDS engaged with UNFPA, Sonke Gender Justice and Promundo in co-delivering an evening side-event at CSW, New York, which was focused on the prevention of Gender Based Violence. The side event explored how men are represented and engaged in work and policy on sexual and gender based violence and the venue was packed to over-capacity. Edström presented on experiences from the Mobilising Men programme.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sida ‘Development Talks’ on Working with Men and Boys 2013</strong></td>
<td>Seven participants from the Undressing Patriarchy symposium (including from the US, South Africa and Bangladesh) took part in Sida’s ‘Development Talks’ on Working with Men and Boys in Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment. This event brought together some 100+ Scandinavian policy makers, programmers and activists, alongside a range of international partners. In the Morning session Jerker Edström spoke about ‘scaling up’ our analyses of patriarchy in four dimensions in ‘The Male Order Development Encounter’. The plenary discussion with development cooperation representatives and parliamentarians from Sweden, Norway and Finland, provided an opportunity to connect policy recommendations on men and boys with the need to visibilise the unpaid care economy within development strategies on a gender-equitable basis.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) 2014</strong></td>
<td>Drawing on findings from GPS programme research partners a side event, ‘Myth and Reality: New Alliances to Challenge Stereotypes and Build Gender Equality beyond 2015’, explored the steps needed to take to create strong and sustainable alliances for gender justice to influence global policy processes. The argument presented was that in our actions to challenge gender stereotyping, real and sustained change is unlikely without a collective effort from social justice movements to leverage gender transformation in their practice and in their influencing positions.</td>
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</table>

### 3.2 Fostering collaboration

Throughout the programme, we have aimed to build or strengthen alliances for change for several reasons, such as to create the conditions and spaces for unconventional debate, through unusual encounters to provide critical reflection and progressively influence policy discourse, or to build partnerships for social justice, through alignment of common objectives through mutual critical exchange. This has been done both by ‘reaching out’ – such as approaching women’s organisations and advocates at the CSW or at the AWID conference – and by ‘inviting in’ others through using IDS’ comparative advantage (or position) for ‘convening power’. Both are needed and mutually reinforcing, but it is particularly in the latter where links can be strengthened though inclusive planning and using participatory methodologies in these spaces for dialogue.

16
In reflecting on what kinds of alliances we have seen as needed for change, in the work on men and masculinities we have aimed particularly for critical, respectful and engaged links between key actors in the ‘masculinities sector’ and feminists from women’s movements and organisations, as well as with sexual rights groups. Several tensions and barriers present themselves in this; some productive, others less so. For example, in arguing for specific work with men and boys, the sector risks falling into the same trap as some of the simplistic essentialist approaches to work with women and girls as vulnerable victims, reinforcing a gender-binary framework and getting caught in unproductive zero-sum arguments about ‘funding for’ women or men. Without a deep understanding of feminist perspectives, the sector also risks becoming overly male-centred, resisting more fundamental transformation of gender orders. Overcoming these tendencies is complex in a context where the structures of the international development sector itself is often predicated on these binaries and monitoring gender in terms of the ‘sex’ of beneficiaries, but continued open and critical dialogue to shift these framings appears to be the most plausible route to change.

Furthermore, for gaining traction, relevance and direction in systemic change, these alliances need to be established from local to global levels, as well as involve activists, thinkers/academics and policy makers. At the local level, for example, creating dialogues in alliance across sectors can prove very useful in terms of breaking down barriers for change and building trust between diverse social actors, as illustrated in the example from Kenya.

Working in alliances, building new links as well as building on and strengthening existing relationships, is very much part and parcel of the methodology and this evolves over time. For example, as we engaged critically with the ‘men and boys field’ we have targeted key members of the Global MenEngage Alliance from the early days of the Sida-supported Politicising Masculinities event in 2007 (and the 1st MenEngage Global Symposium on Working with Men and Boys, Rio 2009) before the inception of the GPS programme. Whilst not working on projects together previously, we have engaged with these ‘targets to influence’, due to their positionality as gate-keepers for the broader sector and consistently invited them to events, co-organised smaller panels etc. as a way of creating an ongoing critical conversation. In the last year IDS has also partnered directly with Sonke Gender Justice and Promundo-US on a DFID-funded evidence gathering and framing project, in order to deepen the conversation through collaboration.

This engagement has been deliberately with a view to increasing the dialogue between the men and masculinities sector and feminist voices and organisations, as well as sexual rights activists and other social justice actors to create challenging conversations. Similarly, we have aimed to create an ongoing dialogue with policy makers. The role of individuals in this should not be underestimated, as for example key consultants in the field, such as Alan Greig, or engaged policy makers continuously engaging in the dialogue, such as Sida’s policy advisers, Paul Dover and Carolina Wennerholm, or UNFPA’s Leyla Sharafi. Paul Dover highlighted that between donors it is important that we establish some opportunities for cross-donor engagement on these issues to

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**Case study on alliance building at the national level: trials and tribulations in Kenya**

While a lot has been done with regards to engaging men and boys, there were still lingering disconnection between women’s organisations and men’s organisations working towards gender equality. This was largely due to perceived suspicions and misconceptions around male involvement in gender equality efforts.

The stakeholder mapping workshop that was held as a part of the DFID study was thus used as a platform to bring together organisations and individuals to discuss, strategise and build consensus towards collaborative efforts for specific common actions for engaging men and boys in gender justice initiatives. The three days activity explored topical issues ranging from: a broad exploration of issues in men’s engagement in addressing SGBV in Kenya, identifying actors, their influence and obstacles and analyses of priorities for action, for information sharing and for research (for more about the workshop, refer to: “The Shifting Roles of Men in Collective Action on SGBV in Kenya- Report (Edström. et al 2014b)."
critically reflect on development policy synergies and dissonances. Where people are working collectively towards a shared agenda there is possibility of transformation for all.\textsuperscript{19}

In reflecting on the work over the last three years (and from before), it seems clear that the influence wielded – in terms of (a) challenging simplistic and binary stereotypes, (b) raising recognition of a feminist analysis of structural constraints and (c) fostering willingness for reaching out across sectors and movements – works over time, is subtle but also real. Influence is happening through gradual engagement in debates and contribution to steering those debates, rather than simple messages or evidence being presented to which clear attribution can be established in terms of changes in policy or discourse. Figure 1, below, represents a visual description of the journeys of partners’ ideas and joint activities over the project, from its sources to the destination of the 2nd Global MenEngage Symposium, in Delhi November 2014.

![Figure 1: GPS ‘Men and Masculinities’ partners’ journey of ideas and joint activities.](image)

### 4. The process of change: lessons learned

It is important to constantly try to be clear about what we are trying to change, whilst also recognising that this is an emerging process where people are brought together by common frustrations, co-constructing new understandings and underpinned by shared political commitments to equality. For example, we have often focused on an issue like sexual and gender-based violence as one that mobilises us, but then becomes an example of deeper problems of unequal gendered power dynamics, to be explored and challenged.

Given key issues and policies as ‘sites of debate and contestation’, it is also the ‘Who?’ and the ‘How?’, which matters, rather than simply ‘What?’ Our approach has never been so much about influencing specific policies directly, but more aimed at collectively shifting the attitudes and ideologies of other influencers. For example, the implementation of the Kenyan Sexual Offences Act, the controversies over Article 377 in India or the Ugandan Anti-homosexuality Bill are all key policy struggles, as is how the issue of men and gender equality is neglected in international policy, but rather than targeting specific policies (which our partners of course also do), we have sought to also engage with other influencers, who can help in changing outlooks, understandings.

\textsuperscript{19} Op Cit, 19.
At the level of *narrative*, we have together and separately continued to challenge prevalent discursive framing of both “men” and “masculinities” within development policy and programming, which tend to deflect from deeper questions of gender justice, specifically in order to re-politicise gender in conversation with and about men. In this process we have learned that:

- A too restrictive focus of ‘masculinity’ in engaging with men and gender can get in the way, whilst challenging simplistic binary categories and dislocating masculinity from men can open up new perspectives on how men relate to gender equality and power.

- Mutual learning and sharing forums is a useful strategy for changing narratives and that promoting these through public events, publications and the media spreads the word.

- These conversations evolve over the long term, between repeated events, like our symposia, specific meeting and conferences over the years.

The example of how the narrative and framing of the Declarations of the Global MenEngage symposia between 2009 and 2014 have shifted illustrates some ‘contribution’ to this shift from the programme and partners connected to it.

In order to *deepen the analysis* of masculinities as they shape the deeper structures of constraint to gender justice – and of strategies to ‘address masculinities’ that can bring about and sustain change within these structures of constraint – our critical approach to research, evidence and practice has been one of interpreting, critiquing and reframing evidence, as well as leveraging other research to ask new and better questions. In particular, we have increasingly learned that:

- A structural analysis of gender must incorporate intersectionality and the ways that different forms of injustice (or different forms of oppression - such as racist or homophobic) imbricate within unequal gender orders.

- This calls for holding each other and the powerful to account, whilst identifying common objectives and targets of structural injustice to address across these intersections.

- ‘Triangulating’ perspectives on gender injustice across feminism, the masculinities field, queer outlooks and other social justice angles can be critical for deepening the analysis of gender as power.

In this programme we have aimed to strengthen networking and *alliance-building* between actors both within the Men and Masculinities field and with organisations working on issues of gender justice and sexual rights in other arenas to more effectively influence global and local policy processes. A key lesson has been that:

- Credibility and ‘voice’ needs to be clearly rooted in local processes and networks, whilst extending internationally for global sharing.

The work of RLP in the arena of sexual violence and conflict, linking in with sexual rights, or CHSJ’s work on ensuring feminist organisations and networks were well represented at the 2nd Global Symposium in Delhi are two examples where cross-movement alliances have effectively worked from local to global level and why overlapping networks add incredible value to the outcomes. We have also learned that:

- Collaboration and partnering with ‘targets to influence’ can be useful both to achieve any influence and to leverage the message further, whilst also recognising that

- There are real limits to alliances and that sometimes leaving alliances ‘looser’ can help us retain flexibility for updating the course of travel.
In an obvious sense, alliances are only as useful as the job they achieve with respect to specific objectives. As our deeper long-term objective is the dismantling (or reform) of unequal patriarchal gender orders, this must guide new alliances, the influencing of – and re-investment in – key existing ones, taking into account the depth of political commitments to that objective.

Figure 2. is an attempt to presents the relationships between the actors, processes and spaces of change linking between local voices and global arenas for equality and rights in the Men and Masculinities stream of the GPS programme.

**Figure 2. Linking local voices and global arenas for equality and rights in the Men and Masculinities stream of the GPS programme**

*Key: Linking between local voices and global arenas for equality and rights*

- Blue fill boxes: Initiatives driving change
- Dashed blue line: Partners and actors in the process
- Blue line: Levels of change
- Arrow: Feedback loops
- Green dashed line: Spaces for change
References


