



# WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2012

## GENDER EQUALITY AND DEVELOPMENT

### BACKGROUND PAPER

# MASCULINITIES, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND DEVELOPMENT

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**WDR12 Background paper**

**Masculinities, Social Change and Development**

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## ***A. Purpose and introduction***

### **Background**

There is increasing awareness of the costs that gender inequality imposes on individuals and societies, and the resulting implications for development prospects. Gender disparities, many of which begin at childhood, have significant adverse long-term effects on both individuals and societies. Many long-standing differences in gender roles and expectations, while based on institutions and norms that may have been functional in the past, need to be modified if development progress is to be accelerated in a time of rapid technological and social change. Evidence from around the world suggests that societies that promote more equal opportunities for men and women also have higher growth, lower poverty, and better development outcomes.

Despite this growing body of evidence on the benefits of gender equality to individuals and countries, there is much to be done to bring a gender perspective to the analysis and design of development policies. Development practitioners face gaps in knowledge both in how and why gender equity matters for development and in the understanding of how best to take account of gender differences in policy design. Gender inequality also continues to be “naturalized,” in the sense that despite the evidence, policy makers and program designers develop programs that disregard this important constraint to development.

The WDR aims to bridge these gaps by examining the links and tensions that exist between forward-looking development objectives and gender-related institutions, and the role of policies in resolving them. This background paper builds on and synthesizes the growing body of multi-disciplinary theory, evidence and data on development and gender equity while identifying key knowledge gaps. The report tackles the question of how best to address gender inequalities and will assess the extent to which promoting greater equity can enhance the effectiveness of development policies and development outcomes more broadly. It seeks to document the principal sources of gender disparities, and interpret these from a dynamic angle regarding context and across the life-cycle. It examines the changing roles of men and women in private and public spheres; changes in family structures and demographics; changes in labor force participation and access to productive resources; and changes in economic, social, legal and political rights.

How are men affected by gender roles and expectations? This background paper provides a critical review of the literature on the impact of social norms, gender roles, gender stereotypes, and expectations on men of all ages, from boyhood through older adulthood. The review draws from multiple disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, geography, demography, and to a lesser extent economics (which will be addressed more fully in another paper), trying to avoid using the specific jargon from any of these fields. The emphasis throughout is on marshalling rigorous evidence in an analysis of patterns and trends in masculinities and men’s behavior; the impact of norms and stereotypes on men’s behaviors; and the processes of change: how changes occur in gender norms and behaviors, and which changes can be catalyzed by policy change.

The conceptual framework guiding the paper draws from the framework guiding this *World Development Report* as a whole. The ultimate outcomes of interest are:

- Endowments – the skills and resources an individual has in their possession;
- Returns on those endowments – the degree to which these endowments translate, as a result of conditions in markets, into increased income and wellbeing for a given individual;
- Agency – the extent to which a person can decide and take action on one’s own behalf and for one’s own wellbeing.

The review focuses on how policies, formal and informal institutions and markets work together to shape household preferences, incentives and constraints to generate these three outcomes of interest. For example, the fact that markets pay more to men creates disincentives for women that set household priorities and preferences regarding who works for pay and who stays at home. Gender norms, roles and inequalities play an important role in preference formation.

This next section provides some brief background on gender and gender norms, and how they are expressed in the dominant, or ‘hegemonic’ masculinity that is so common in most places in the world. The domains that are key to defining this masculinity, and the interrelationships between these dimensions of manhood are presented. The paper ends with a look at the processes through which change in gender norms and masculinities come about, and how these might be engaged through policies.

#### ***Gender roles and relationships***

Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female. It encompasses the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men (UNDP, 2008). Ideals about the appropriate attitudes and behaviors for men and women are learned, socially-constructed norms that vary across local contexts and interact with socio-cultural factors, including class, race, poverty level, ethnic group, and age (Connell, 2000; Kimmel, 2000). At a local level, and a broad societal level, the situations in which men’s and women’s roles are formed vary and change over time (Connell, 2000; Connell, 2005; Kimmel, 2000; Connell, 1994)

#### ***Hegemonic masculinity***

Worldwide, the majority of men and boys internalize the pressure to live up to rigid ideals about how they should behave and feel as men. These rigid ideals include ideas that men should take risks, endure pain, be tough, be independent providers, and have multiple sex partners to assert their manhood (WHO, 2000; WHO, 2007). The pressure to publically define themselves as masculine providers may lead boys and young men to exaggerate their masculinity to assert they are “real men” (Pollack, 1995). Exaggerated expressions of masculinity may include heightened substance abuse; use of violence; negligible health-seeking behaviors; disruptive income-generating activities; and sole decision-making within households.

The term “real men” usually references hegemonic masculinity — the prevailing measure of masculinity by which men assess themselves and others. Prevailing concepts of masculinity are specific to socio-cultural contexts and influenced by several factors including social class, ethnicity, sexuality, poverty, and globalization (Connell, 1994; Kimmel, 2000). For example, a group with one version of masculinity within a social class or ethnic group may exert greater power over another, just as heterosexual

masculinity is often dominant over homosexual and bisexual masculinity, for example (Marsiglio, 1998; WHO, 2007; Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Additionally, young men of higher socio-economic classes often hold more power and access to goods and opportunities than young men of lower socio-economic classes, which in turn has implications for men's health risks and vulnerabilities (Ricardo, Barker, Nascimento, & Segundo, 2007). Furthermore, in a time of increased globalization, hegemonic masculinity is also shaped by patterns of trade, investment, and communication, significantly shaped by developed countries (Connell, 2005).

Rigid, dichotomous ideals of how men and women should act establish unequal power distributions that frame human relationships, and thus, have implication for development goals. For men and boys, norms about appropriate attitudes and behaviors influence their development and their relationships with women, children, and other men (Connell, *Men and the Boys*, 2000; The World Bank, 2006) The concept of hegemonic masculinity—the dominant form of masculinity, or the prevailing concept of masculinity by which men measure themselves and other masculinities – is important to understand because it identifies social pressures and societal expectations boys and men face. An understanding of hegemonic masculinity also helps policymakers and development managers understand how some boys and men adhere to alternative, more gender-equitable masculinities (WHO, 2000). In many societies, hegemonic masculinity is associated with heterosexuality, marriage, authority, professional success, ethnic dominance, and/or physical toughness (WHO, 2007).

***Masculinities: more than one way of being***

The formation of gender identities for men, as with women, is a dynamic process that is malleable to change over time, and shaped by varied factors (Connell, 1987; Connell, 1998; Kimmel, 2000). The construction of gender identities is unique to each individual—not all boys and men adhere to hegemonic masculinity or other male norms that adversely affect women and girls, boys and men, and development goals. Around the world, boys and men do challenge rigid ideals of manhood and actively participate to promote social change in their households, in their communities, and through their participation in public discourse (Barker et al, 2011).

In addition to varying at the individual level, masculinities also reflect distinct cultural patterns that differ significantly around the world. There exist, “indigenous definitions and versions of manhood, defined by tribal and ethnic group practices, and newer versions of manhood shaped by Islam and Christianity, and by Western influences, including the global media” (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Researchers have characterized some of this regional variation in work done over the past 15 years (on masculinities in Africa, see (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005; Morrell, 2001).

***To mitigate the adverse dimensions of dominant gender norms, to reduce the costs of gender disparities and to more effectively design public policies and development programs, an understanding and assessment of men's gendered identities should inform policy formulation and program design.*** As a consequence of its variability and changeability, we know that the harmful aspects of masculinity and gender identity can be challenged. Policies and programs can challenge and address them, providing alternatives and reinforcing the most positive aspects of masculinities in a given setting. Many norms associated with being a man—being an independent provider, protecting and supporting those to whom men direct their loyalties among them—are largely positive. Indeed, the positive aspects of masculinity can and should be supported and reinforced. Problems arise when power imbalances exist or when one gender is deemed superior, limiting the endowments, return on those endowments and the agency of both (Barker, 2005).

The following section of this paper examines in more detail how some stereotypes and prevailing concepts of masculinity to which men measure themselves and other masculinities shapes men's behaviors and outcomes, as measured across *four domains of masculinity*. These are elaborated further below, and include 1) the centrality to masculine identity of physical dominance and strength; 2) the importance and meaning to men of becoming fathers, being active parents and providing care; 3) the experience of school and its implications for masculinity as well as how masculinity limits and shapes schooling; 4) the importance of work to what it means to be a man, and the ways in which masculinity in large part determines the nature and acceptability of that work. We include also a special discussion of the centrality of political, economic and religious *leadership* as a key dimension of masculinity.

### ***B. Patterns and trends, impact of norms and stereotypes***

A growing body of evidence has demonstrated that some differences in gender norms, roles, and expectations greatly influence the health and social advancement of women and girls, as well as men and boys (e.g., (Greene & Barker, In Press)). For example, in many parts of the world, the polarizing views of women as *passive caretakers* and men as *in charge providers* influences women's and men's perceptions of their roles in society (Parker, 1999). These illustrative norms, stereotypes, and expectations shape the inequitable distribution of household chores, childrearing duties, income-earning expectations, and risk-taking behaviors that disproportionately affect women's and men's access to resources including education, employment, and ownership rights. Around the world, such divisions of labor have development implications for women, children, and men themselves (Buvinic, et al, 2002). For example, studies in Latin America have found that women dedicate up to 85 percent of their time to domestic responsibilities, whereas men are expected to financially provide for their families (Alatorre, 2002; Barker, 2008). In 2010, the World Bank's analysis of gender disparities in African labor markets found that the wage gap and barriers to formal markets are not simply the result of discrimination in the labor markets, but the result of multiple factors including education, cultural values and attitudes in the household (World Bank, 2010).

Research has demonstrated that parents, communities, and institutions routinely promote an achievement-oriented masculinity for men and boys; moreover, almost universally, cultures socialize boys and young men to be aggressive and competitive—skills associated with competent providers and protectors—whereas women are socialized to be docile caretakers (Campbell, 1995). Men and boys who deviate from prevailing male norms in their attitudes and behaviors are susceptible to ridicule and critique (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; WHO, 2007). When men and boys do not have access to alternative spaces where they might question their beliefs and attitudes in the company of men who adhere to alternative masculinities, the dominant, social expectations remain reinforced at individual, community, institutional levels.

What elements are at the core of what constitutes masculinities, and how have these elements changed over time? Masculinities are constructed in various arenas, including hegemonic images related to physical and emotional strength, a disregard of domestic tasks, and a strong commitment to financial success and high status in employment. This section reviews the most pervasive gender norms, roles and stereotypes regarding men and the explanations behind them, and to the extent possible, examines major changes in these over the past 20-50 years. To the extent possible, the review contrasts different countries, culture, religions and/or regions as relevant. It also touches upon broader trends like greater cultural and economic integration of the world through globalization.

A few caveats are in order with regard to the data and evidence on these themes. First, few studies exist on the theme of masculinities. The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) has recently added significantly to what we know. Most data on norms and roles are not quantitative, making it challenging to track trends over time. Even where quantitative data exist, the measurement of masculinity is in its infancy, further complicating comparisons over time. Culturally specific and relevant measures tend to be captured by qualitative data; these qualitative data tend to focus on a single setting, making comparison more difficult. The paper will therefore make its main points through the use of key examples rather than providing a comprehensive assessment of every pattern and trend.

#### *Key domains of masculinity*

What it means to be a man has changed over time, but five key areas can be reasonably taken as core domains of any practical definition of masculinities:

1. Physical dominance as expressed in strength, violence, risky behavior, and ultimately, in poorer health outcomes constitutes the first important domain in which masculinities are defined
2. Family formation, having children, caregiving and domestic roles constitute the second.
3. Schooling and education is the third important domain in the definition of masculinity: the length of time in school, the educational experience and its relevance for future work.
4. Employment – the nature of work, the extent of the commitment, the degree to which men provide for their households, and so on – is a fourth key domain for defining masculinities.

These domains matter because they can expose men to certain risks of health and wellbeing, impede their capital formation, and limit their relationships with others in their lives.

#### *Masculinity and the WDR Conceptual Framework*

How are men changing and being affected by change in these key domains that contribute to defining what it means to be a man? How is each of these areas affected by norms and stereotypes? How do gender norms and stereotypes shape men's behaviors and outcomes as individuals and members of households? What are the effects of norms and stereotypes on men's practices? For instance, how do gender roles, norms, stereotypes and expectations affect men's decisions around education, school to work transition, when and where to work, family formation, accumulation of assets, political participation, etc.?

The patterns among these domains of masculinity relate readily to the framework guiding the *World Development Report*. Social norms, including gender norms and the demands of masculinity are fundamental to household decisions to invest more in some family members than in others, and to shaping men's preferences.

*Endowments* – Men's human capital development is impeded by the pressures they experience to be physically strong, dominant, violent and take risks. As we will see, these pressures impede their ability to study and make the most of schooling in some settings. Global health statistics amply illustrate the consequences for morbidity and mortality and the patterns of difference between males and females for health.

*Returns on endowments* – Masculinity can limit notions of acceptable work and measure of success by earnings. This employment-based sense of self can work until there *is* no work, when men are left feeling depressed and unworthy. The pressures of the provider role are a burden for men, reducing



household solidarity for their contributions. When “socially acceptable work” is narrowly defined, men face very difficult circumstances.

*Agency* – Men may or may not be aware of the costs of dominant masculinity to their health and wellbeing. Likewise, they may or may not appreciate the extent to which their ability to make decisions that benefit them – their agency – is constrained by their adherence to rigid norms of masculinity. When young men are forced by their peers to have drunken sex with sex workers, how much is individual agency at play? When men eschew jobs in growing sectors like nursing because this is “women’s work,” to what extent can we say they are demonstrating agency?

Earlier research using the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale, for example, has found that adult and younger men who adhere to more rigid views about masculinity including men’s dominant role over women or women’s “responsibility” for domestic tasks are more likely to report having used violence against a partner, to have had a sexually transmitted infection, to have been arrested and to abuse drugs or alcohol (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Table 1 presents the norms and practices in each of these areas of measurement reflect aspects of a system of mutually reinforcing views of what it means to be a man.

**Table 1: Percent of men agreeing with GEM scale item by Country**

| GEM Scale Items by Areas of Measurement   | ----- % Agree----- |       |         |       |        |        |
|---|--------------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|--------|
|   | Brazil             | Chile | Croatia | India | Mexico | Rwanda |
| <b>Gender role attitudes</b>  |                    |       |         |       |        |        |
| Woman's most important role is to take care of her home & cook                      | 53.6               | 54.4  | 35.8    | --    | 55.6   | 83.1   |
| Changing diapers, giving kids a bath & feeding kids are the mother's responsibility | 9.9                | 45.6  | 28.7    | 85.6  | 25.7   | 61.2   |
| A man should have the final word about decisions in his home                        | 42.8               | 40.0  | 20.3    | 81.0  | 23.8   | 65.9   |
| <b>Violence</b>   |                    |       |         |       |        |        |
| A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together               | 4.1                | --    | 5.8     | 67.5  | --     | 53.6   |
| There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten                                  | --                 | --    | 12.0    | 64.8  | --     | 20.5   |
| <b>Sexuality</b>  |                    |       |         |       |        |        |
| Men need sex more than women do   | 50.1               | --    | 32.4    | 57.1  | 26.5   | 69.7   |
| Men don't talk about sex, they just do it   | 48.6               | --    | 25.2    | 58.1  | 30.7   | 57.8   |
| Men are always ready to have sex  | --                 | --    | 34.3    | 61.2  | 41.7   | 54.2   |
| I would never have a gay friend   | --                 | 46.0  | 30.6    | --    | 28.9   | --     |
| It's important for men to have male friends to talk about his problems              | --                 | --    | 89.7    | --    | --     | --     |
| <b>Masculinities</b>  |                    |       |         |       |        |        |
| To be a man, you need to be tough   | 44.3               | --    | 41.0    | 85.8  | 7.7    | 19.2   |
| Men should be embarrassed if unable to get an erection                              | 37.0               | --    | 46.2    | 90.9  | 13.0   | 59.0   |
| If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to         | --                 | --    | 68.8    | 91.7  | 38.0   | 35.0   |
| <b>Reproductive Health</b>  |                    |       |         |       |        |        |
| It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant                            | 36.2               | 46.5  | 15.5    | 40.2  | 22.0   | 49.4   |
| I would be outraged if my wife asked me to use a                                    | 20.5               | 32.9  | 12.0    | 47.0  | --     | 38.8   |

condom

-- These items were not used in the final construction of the GEMS in this country

Source: International Men and Gender Equality Survey, ICRW & Instituto Promundo 2011

Research has shown how inequitable and rigid gender norms influence men's practices on a wide range of issues (Marsiglio, 1998; Kaufman & Brod, 1994; Rivers & Aggleton, 1998; Kimmel, 2000; WHO, 2000; Barker & Ricardo, 2005). This section of the review focuses first on why these elements are important in and of themselves, i.e., via their direct impact on men's well being; and then on why they are instrumental in shaping other important outcomes for women and children.

### 1. Masculinities and men's well-being: Physical dominance as expressed in strength, violence, risk-taking and health

The results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) confirms a strong association between rigid norms about what it means to be a man and men's negative health practices and vulnerabilities (Barker, Contreras, Heilman, Singh, Verma, & Nascimento, 2011). The survey indicates that a key factor associated with men's health vulnerabilities is their work-related stress. They are unlikely to talk about their worries, and more likely to drink and engage in other destructive behaviors when stressed. These findings echo the evidence in the literature that conforming to stoic and rigid notions of masculinity contributes to suicidal behavior and depression (Möller-Leimkühler, 2003; Emslie, Ridge, Ziebland, & Hunt, 2006).

Research shows that culturally dominant forms of masculinity, which often urge men to practice strict emotional control and cultivate a sense of invulnerability, serve as barriers to health- and help-seeking

behavior, or encourage some men to engage in practices detrimental to their own health and that of their families. Moreover, the study affirmed that, in particular, economically and socially marginalized men such as men who migrate for work, and men in hazardous occupations face specific, gendered health risks (WHO, 2007). Women have higher life expectancies than men in all but several countries in South Asia (WDI 2010). The evidence confirms that death and disability rates related to alcohol and substance abuse are considerably higher for men than for women, making substance abuse and addiction predominantly male phenomena worldwide (Pyne, Claeson, & Correia, 2002; WHO, 2004).

The requirement of physical strength appears to be a nearly universal component of a dominant masculinity (Katz, 1999). The physical version of hegemonic masculinity has been promoted by globalization via film, toys and other goods (Katz 2003). In his analysis of the images of manhood portrayed to boys (Katz, 1999), Katz points out the unrealistic evolution of action figures' biceps, in many cases depicted as larger than the dolls' heads. He also notes that these toys reinforce the ubiquitous

**Table 2. "I would never have a gay friend"**

| Country | Disagree       | Agree          | Total           |
|---------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Brazil  | 601<br>80.35   | 147<br>19.65   | 748<br>100.00   |
| Chile   | 641<br>54.00   | 546<br>46.00   | 1,187<br>100.00 |
| Croatia | 1,022<br>69.38 | 451<br>30.62   | 1,473<br>100.00 |
| India   | 151<br>9.73    | 1,401<br>90.27 | 1,552<br>100.00 |
| Mexico  | 712<br>71.13   | 289<br>28.87   | 1,001<br>100.00 |
| Rwanda  | 608<br>27.41   | 1,610<br>72.59 | 2,218<br>100.00 |
| Total   | 3,735<br>45.67 | 4,444<br>54.33 | 8,179<br>100.00 |

Source: IMAGES data, ICRW and Instituto Promundo 2011

association of masculinity with violence, even if this violence is sometimes heroic.

**Violence and masculinity**

IMAGES data show that in both India and Rwanda, men were likely to approve of men’s use of violence against women, and in both countries, a majority affirmed the belief that men need sex more than women do (Barker et al 2011).

**Table 3. "I would be ashamed if I had a homosexual son"**

| Country | Disagree       | Agree          | Total           |
|---------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Brazil  | 425<br>57.05   | 320<br>42.95   | 745<br>100.00   |
| Chile   | 656<br>55.97   | 516<br>44.03   | 1,172<br>100.00 |
| Croatia | 552<br>37.45   | 922<br>62.55   | 1,474<br>100.00 |
| India   | 123<br>7.93    | 1,429<br>92.07 | 1,552<br>100.00 |
| Mexico  | 755<br>75.58   | 244<br>24.42   | 999<br>100.00   |
| Total   | 2,511<br>42.26 | 3,431<br>57.74 | 5,942<br>100.00 |

Source: IMAGES data, ICRW and Instituto Promundo 2011

Homophobia appears to be an unfortunate correlate of dominant masculinity in many settings. Same-sex sexual behavior appears to put a man’s manhood at risk, and in some settings, so do even friendships or tolerant attitudes toward gay men. Table 2 shows the extent to which men agree with the statement, “I would never have a gay friend.” The IMAGES data show that 43% of men in Brazil, 44% in Chile, 63% in Croatia and a high of 92% in India said they would be ashamed to have a gay son (see Table 3). Seventy-three percent of men in India said they would hit their sons if they found out they were gay.

A high proportion of men said that being around homosexual men makes them uncomfortable, including 21% of men in Brazil, 56% in Chile, 63% in Croatia and 89% in India. Brazil and Chile had the least homophobic responses, while Croatia and India had more homophobic responses.

An analysis by age showed that younger men were less likely to hold homophobic attitudes in Brazil,

Chile and Croatia (statistically significant differences). In India, Brazil and Croatia, men with higher levels of education were less likely to hold homophobic attitudes (statistically significant).

**Violence in conflict and post-conflict settings**

Conflict derails the lives and livelihoods of women, men, and children around the world. Since middle- and low-income countries are most affected, the implications for economic and social development initiatives are significant. According to the World Health Organization, 22 of the 34 countries furthest from reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are in conflict, emerging from conflict, or have been recently affected by high levels of armed violence (UN Millennium Project, 2005). Of these *fragile countries*, only 28 percent are on pace to achieve the MDG goal for gender equality by 2015 (U.K. Department for International Development (DFID), 2010). In Africa, about one in three persons were directly or indirectly affected by conflict, as of 2002 (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). For policymakers and program managers who work in these settings, an understanding of the relationship between masculinities and conflict, and the different vulnerabilities women and men face is needed to protect human rights and advance development goals (UNDP, 2002).

Women and children, the majority of those persons displaced by conflict, are more susceptible to gender-based violence and public sexual abuse and exploitation (Le Billon, 2000; Geneva Declaration

Secretariat, 2008). In a conflict setting, physical and sexual violence against women and young girls occurs with greater regularity and often becomes a political instrument, of which the most extreme applications are rape and forced pregnancy (El Jack, 2003; UNDP, 2002; Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2008). Although men are the significant majority of combatants, some women and girls also directly perpetuate violence as combatants or indirectly condone violence as supportive caretakers through armed struggles (UNDP, 2002). For women and girls who survive conflict-related trauma violence, their position within social, economic, and political environment often negatively impact their access to formal markets, their ability to public resources, and their agency once hostilities cease and post-conflict reconstruction begins (Handrahan, 2004; Thompson, 2006). Therefore, reconstruction initiatives and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programming in post-conflict settings should engage women and men in efforts that promote gender-equitable attitudes and behaviors.

#### *Masculinities and varying vulnerabilities to conflict-related violence*

Conflict-related violence negatively affects women and men in different ways. Gender norms that establish unequal access to and distribution of power between women and men, and within groups comprised solely of women or men, influence how women and men experience violence as victims and perpetrators (Moser & Clark, 2001).

For men and boys, norms about the appropriate attitudes and behaviors for men influence their relationships with women, children, and other men before, during, and after conflict—however, conflict often poses a heightened threat to salient versions of manhood, or hegemonic masculinities (World Bank, 2006; Carpenter, 2006; Piza-Lopez, 2008). Almost universally, the dominant *social requirement* for men includes a responsibility to achieve a level financial independence, employment or income, and have a family (World Bank, 2006).

During a conflict, men's abilities to fulfill their social roles as protectors or providers are challenged by economic instability, livelihood destruction, and pending insecurity. In some cases, men migrate to urban centers where they are displaced from their communities and often cannot access formal markets to provide for themselves or their families (Cockburn, 1999; Stavrou, 2000). Other young men and boys are susceptible to leaders of armed movements who stress aggressive, violent versions of masculinity to recruit young men and boys; participation is often framed as a *right of passage* that asserts one is a *real man*, and indoctrination may involve traumatic acts such as violence against family members or other ethnic groups (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Where men are socialized to associate their *manhood* with heterosexual experience and where violence, coercion, and forced sex are considered common occurrences in sexual and intimate relationships, the messages that link conflict-related violence and use of arms to the fulfillment of their manhood influence men's and boys' attitudes and behaviors (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

Approximately 300,000 child soldiers fight worldwide, of whom the overwhelming majority are boys who live in Africa (Verhey, 2001). That boys make up a majority of child soldiers is a commonplace understanding in some communities, according to qualitative research on gender and armed conflict in northern Uganda and Sierra Leone (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Of course not all men directly affected by conflict perpetuate violence. Even though young men are the main perpetrators of gender-based violence, research has documented that young men and boys are also victims of sexual violence (same-sex rape, for example) and form the majority of victims of armed conflict (El Jack, 2003; UN Millennium Project, 2005).

#### **Masculinity and risk-taking**

Traditional ideas of masculinity are strongly associated with a wide range of risk-taking behavior around the world. Indeed, in some spheres, risk is core to what it means to be a “real man” (Mane & Aggleton, 2001). Cultural pressures fuel men’s need to demonstrate their sexual potency, their drug and alcohol use, and even physical recklessness.

The sexual arena is one in which this relationship holds true. Extensive analysis of national surveys of men aged 15-54 in 39 developing countries shows that men initiate sex earlier than women (usually before the age of 20) and that they have more sexual partners before and during marriage (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 2003). Cultural pressures encourage many men to seek multiple sexual partners, to exercise domination over their (usually female) sexual partners, to avoid condom use and to hesitate to seek out reproductive health services. These pressures can also give rise to anxieties about sexuality and sexual performance, and to discourage discussing related problems (Horizons 2004). Alcohol and drugs are often used to *encourage* risk-taking in sexual relationships and to reinforce male bonding (Fordham, 1995; VanLandingham et al, 1993). All of these factors jeopardize men’s health.

### **Masculinities and alcohol and drug use**

Of course, alcohol and drugs themselves harm men’s health, independent of the ways in which they catalyze unsafe sexual relationships. More men drink than women; and men drink more than women (Room, et al., 2002). A multi-country analysis of national survey data from 10 developed nations found that everywhere, men were more likely to drink than women, drank alcohol in greater quantity and more frequently than women, and were more likely to face alcohol-related health and social problems than women (Wilsack et al 2000).

Research in the United States found that adolescent boys used alcohol and other drugs to enhance their social status (Bonnie & O’Connell, 2003). In many settings, men’s drinking encourages solidarity and stimulates courage. It is a key peer group ritual as well as being a recreational activity (Coombs & Globetti, 1986). When men become drunk, fights and homicides are rationalized (Pange, 1998), and women are encouraged to tolerate men’s drunkenness as a natural part of their being men (Caetano, 1984). Drinking and getting drunk “serve as framing devices for men to make the transition from the structured, non-eroticized domestic sphere to the transgressive world of commercial sex and the affirmation of stereotypical masculinity it confers,” (Sonke 2010; Fordham, 1995). Indeed, research in Costa Rica found that a dominant masculinity, including sexism and homophobia, were associated with heavier drinking (Madrigal & Schifter, 1992; Medina-Mora, 1999). Drug use and drug dealing can serve as ways of constructing a powerfully masculine identity (Collision, 1996).

### **Box 1. Masculinity and sexual violence**

Gender-based violence includes acts of sexual violence and abuse perpetuated or condoned by the state in which the female is usually the victim (UNFPA, 1998). Rape is the most extreme expression of gender-based and is derived from harmful norms that establish unequal power imbalances between and among women and men. Rape occurs in marriages, in intimate relationships, and in times of armed conflict. For example, a multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence reported that the proportion of ever-partnered women who had ever experienced physical or sexual violence, or both, by an intimate partner in their lifetime, ranged from 15 percent to 71 percent, with most countries falling between 29 percent and 62 percent; the same study found that nearly one third of Ethiopian women had been physically forced by a partner to have sex against their will within the 12 months prior to the study (WHO, 2005). Sexual violence occurs in the absence of conflict; however, rape has long accompanied armed conflict, and has been widely used as an organized weapon of war in settings such as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Chechnya (Human Rights Watch, 2004; International Rescue Committee, 2004; UNFPA, 2005). In the Rwandan conflict, for example, an estimated 200,000-500,000 women were raped (Elbe, 2002). Shifts in traditional gender roles are also linked to sexual violence in refugee camps, where men "lose their sense of usefulness and worth" (UNFPA, 2005: 41).

In any context, rape cannot be understood in isolation from the gender norms, beliefs, and social structures that influence women's and men's vulnerability to sexual violence. While women are disproportionately victims of forced sex worldwide, men and boys who may be perceived as acting outside of gender norms that dictate rigid ideas of masculinity—to be strong, sexually assertive and active—are also subject to sexual violence and rape (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). In Kenya, for example, approximately 40 percent of men who have sex with men reported being raped by someone outside their household (Niang, et al., 2002). Research and statistics on men's victimization by rape is limited, but men also are victims who denounce rape and other sexual violence in their relationships and in their communities—to include in countries affected by conflict in the Baltic States, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Central Asia (UNFPA, 2005).

War and conflict can leave men with, "either an eroded sense of manhood or the option of a militarized masculine identity" where violence and killing help a man maintain a sense of power and control (Sideris, 2000) cited in (Bouta et al, 2005). Their roles as combatants permit men to obtain money and to wield power over others, achieving the status of "men" in their own eyes and in the eyes of society (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). The erosion of male identity during post-conflict unemployment "can be exacerbated when there is a sense that men have somehow failed as 'providers' by 'losing the war' or have been powerless to prevent the displacement from taking place" (Barker & Pawlak, 2011; Holtzman & Nezam, 2004; World Bank, 2006)

### **2. Family formation, fathering and other caregiving and domestic roles**

The strict gendered division of labor, with women in the private sphere of the home, and men in the public sphere of the workplace, has slowed change in the norms that shape domestic roles. Domestic roles are closely associated with women, and carrying them out can involve a loss of face for men. In data from the International Men and Gender Equality Surveys, for example, significant proportions of men view changing diapers or cooking as strictly feminine roles – see Table I, presented above (Barker et al, 2011). The household division of labor when children are adolescents is an important determinant of their ideal division of labor at age 19 (Cunningham, 2001).

We know a great deal about increases in women's labor force participation in recent decades, but less about men's caregiving and domestic roles. This is not only because men have been relatively slow to

take up domestic roles, but also because of the way data are collected and the historical neglect of domestic roles in time-use studies.

Research on virtually every setting, however, shows that men are, on average, not greatly increasing their role in household work and unpaid care (Barker & Pawlak, 2011). Men are missing out in not engaging more in their domestic and family roles. First, research has shown that being involved in the lives of their children brings psychological and health benefits to men (for review, see (Dykstra & Keizer, 2009). Further, research on child development demonstrates lasting benefits to children of their fathers' involvement, in terms of their confidence and school performance (Ruhm, 2000; Sarkadi, Kristiansson, Oberklaid, & Bremberg, 2008). It is unsustainable for women to continue to shoulder the entire responsibility of domestic and caregiving work as their paid labor also increases. A recent multi-country study across countries of varying income levels found that, "the mean time spent on unpaid work by women is more than twice that spent by men, with unpaid care work done by women in India and other low-income settings being 10 times greater than that done by men" (Budlender, 2008), in (Barker & Pawlak, 2011, p. 14).

In Latin America, where men's participation in the paid labor force has stagnated or declined, the domestic labor of co-resident men has not significantly increased (Barker 2006). Even in the Nordic countries, where supportive policies exist to increase male involvement, men cannot be said to have plunged into their fathering roles. Indeed, it was not until Norway linked use of a fraction of its year-plus parental leave policy to fathers – they would have to take time off or the couple would lose the leave – that men more systematically began taking paternal leave to care for an infant (Barker, et al., 2010). Researchers have been quick to note, however, that men may contribute to the "domestic enterprise" in other important ways, including through providing financial support, accompanying children to activities outside of school or home (National Center on Fathers and Families, 2002; Brown & Chevannes, 1998).

While financial support is important, it is often the only contribution many fathers make to rearing their children. Greater marital instability, and often long-term migration for work, have reduced men's co-residence with their partners and children, limiting their ability to contribute in ways other than financial. Analysis of survey data from 43 countries has shown that as many as 3 out of 10 fathers aged 25-39 do not live with their children (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 2003). This is especially common in urban areas where men have migrated looking for work. When men remarry, the chances that they will contribute to their earlier family decline, as they experience new demands on their time and financial resources.

Many non-residential fathers, however, do remain connected with their children (see, for example, (Hofferth & Anderson, *Are All Dads Equal? Biology Versus Marriage as a Basis for Paternal Investment*, 2003; Cabrera et al, 2008; Hofferth et al, 2007). Research shows that their relationships with the mothers of their children are an important determinant of the degree of that parental involvement. As one study puts it, "non-residential fathers have somewhat more choice with respect to how much of an investment they make in their children and how often they make it (MacDonald & Koh, 2003), and they may not expect to benefit as much from future income or other support from their children" (Barker & Pawlak, 2011)

An attitudinal survey conducted in 23 European countries found that while women working outside the home frequently reduce their hours to part-time when they have children, men are unlikely to do this (International Social Survey Programme, 2002). Note: the data available to us rarely triangulate the views of partners when one spouse or the other assesses their domestic contributions. The same is true

in the United States, where women spend significantly more time than men in care work (Bianchi, et al, 2000). Where both men and women work full time, the disparities between them with regard to caregiving and domestic roles are smaller (Duyvendak & Stavenuiter, 2004). Men tend to maintain their full-time employment and take parental leave for brief periods of time, even choosing to receive short-term cash benefits rather than taking their leave (World Health Organization, 2007).

Some change is happening, however. In Norway, where policies to promote paternal leave have been instituted, a significant increase in men's participation in domestic activities has occurred over the past 20 years (Holter, Svare, & Egeland, 2009). In Sweden, the past decade has seen a reduction in men's hours of paid work (Statistics Sweden, 2003). In the UK, men's time spent in childcare increased from 44 minutes per day in 1987 to 90 minutes per day in 1999 (Duyvendak & Stavenuiter, 2004).

In an analysis of women's and men's participation in the labor force, Gerson (2002) focuses on the moral dilemmas between autonomy, care-taking, and traditional roles have been changing over two generations. Gerson argues that while these distinct moral roles may once have made sense, the underpinnings of these separate roles of male breadwinner/female caretaker are eroding. Where men are concerned, "Men, like women, have more freedom to enter or leave a relationship, making it easier to avoid long-term commitment. Yet, they are also less able to compel a female partner to stay in a relationship or to confine her- self to the home... As group, men thus now have more opportunity to flee moral obligations to support women and children, but they also face new pressures to become more involved in caring for others" (Gerson 2009: 11).

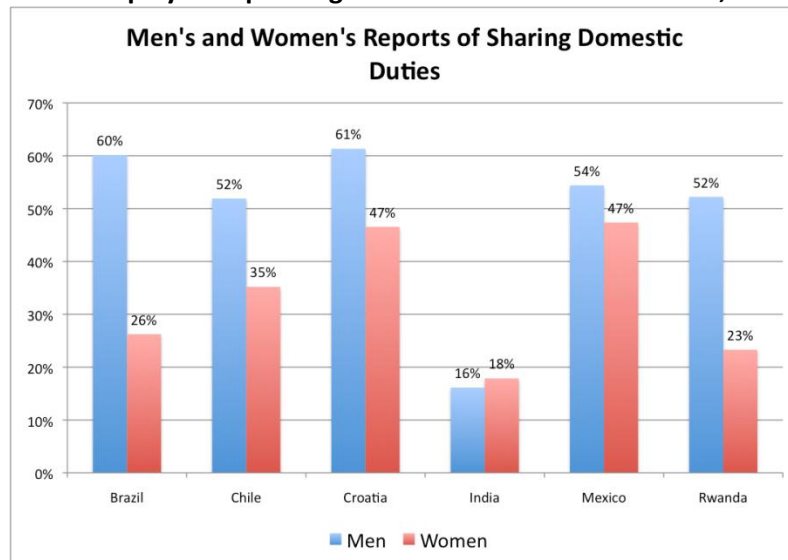
Better-educated men are more likely to put more time into domestic roles and caregiving (Hernandez, 1996; Garcia & Oliveira, 2004; Barker & Verani, 2008). What is it about education that makes a difference here? These men's schooling may have expanded their sense of norms and weakened stereotypes, through their exposure to broader ideas and more diverse people. They are also likely better off economically, which may have its own effect on the ability or inclination to challenge norms.

Data from the IMAGES study show that nearly half of men in the seven countries covered say they play an equal or greater role than their female partner in one or more household duty, though these duties are generally the ones traditionally associated with men, i.e., repairing the house, paying bills and buying groceries. Sixty percent of surveyed men in Brazil, 52% in Chile, 61% in Croatia and 54% in Mexico and 52% in Rwanda say that they play an equal or greater role in one or more household duties. However, only 16% of surveyed in India reported that they played an equal or greater role in household duties. Women, however, reported differently regarding their male partner's involvement in at least one household task. Only 26% of surveyed women in Brazil, 35% in Chile, 47% in Croatia and 18% in India and 23% in Rwanda said men play an equal or greater role in household tasks – see Table 1 above (ICRW; Instituto Promundo, 2010).

More rigid views of men's roles are, not surprisingly, correlated with rigid attitudes toward women's gendered roles. IMAGES data showed that in relation to roles at home, sexuality, reproductive health and gender-based violence, Rwandan and Indian men consistently supported the least equitable norms among the settings studied, showing the most inequitable attitudes (Barker et al 2011). As many as 80% of interviewed men in India and 61% in Rwanda agreed that "changing diapers, giving kids a bath and feeding kids are the mother's responsibility." Sixty-one percent in Rwanda and more than 80% in India agreed with the statement, whereas, only 10% of surveyed Brazilian men agreed (ICRW; Instituto Promundo, 2010).



**Figure 1. Men’s and Women’s Reports of Men’s Participation in Domestic Duties: Percent who report that men play an equal or greater role in household duties, excluding childcare**



In recent years in both developed and developing countries, there has been increasing dialogue around the rights of non-heterosexual individuals and couples. From international outrage at Uganda’s bill on imposing the death penalty for homosexuals, to the decriminalization of homosexuality in India in 2009, to the vote to permit same-sex marriage in Argentina in 2010, to the suicides in the United States among adolescents bullied for being gay or departing from gender and other norms, these prominent instances in divergent settings have prompted discussion on sexual orientation, gender identity and rights. These discussions are contributing to questioning, if not challenging, hegemonic masculinity and rigid gender norms.

### 3. Education and school experience

The predominant gender-related norm around schooling was for many years to invest in boys’ schooling because they will earn more in future and bring that investment home again. For boys, education has been a longer-term investment strategy on the part of the family. Girls are engaged in chores, and get pulled out of school when needed for family enterprises, including agriculture. Girls are kept at home and drawn in to make use of the family’s productive assets. Historically (over the past 30 years), therefore, boys have been privileged in schools. As primary school has become virtually universal, however, boys have been faring less well compared to girls in some settings. Boys’ school experience in the Caribbean provides a stark example of the marginalization of boys in schools and the strong connections with masculinity. But first, a quick overview of global trends.

Globally, a significant increase in enrollment and attendance of all children, especially girls at the primary level has led to an almost complete catchup of girls’ primary schooling with boys’. Increases in mean grades completed between 1990-1999 and 2000-2006 were about twice as large for girls as for boys. Boys retain an advantage over girls in mean grades completed in South Asia (7.2 versus 6.3), West Asia/North Africa (8.2 versus 7.3) and West/Central Africa (5.8 versus 4.6).

Although more boys than girls enroll in primary education, girls are more likely to progress to higher grades (Grant & Behrman, 2010). Indeed, as a recent review of developing country data has shown, “...among children who have ever attended school, the schooling attainment of the average girl is now

equal to or greater than that of the average boy in most regions of the developing world” (Grant & Behrman, 2010, p. 86). The Grant and Behrman analysis of Demographic and Health Survey data shows that in Latin America and Southeast Asia, this cumulatively translates into advantages for girls of significantly greater percentages having completed primary school, and a half-year of schooling by the time they reach their late teens.

Gender disparities also exist in the grade repetition and advancement rate for primary and secondary education: boys are more likely to repeat grades and girls tend to progress in a more timely manner than boys (UNESCO - Institute for Statistics, 2010). Overall boys are more likely than girls to repeat a grade of primary schooling in 90 of 113 countries; this pattern holds for secondary education. Depending on the setting, these disparities may reflect poor performance or suggest boys receive greater attention than girls within an education system.

Ninety-two out of 131 countries reporting sex-disaggregated data at the tertiary or higher education levels show higher gross enrollment ratios for women, as indicated by an adjusted gender parity index (UNESCO - Institute for Statistics, 2010). The gender parity index (GPI) is a measure used to assess gender differences in education indicators. Higher female enrollment ratios are common in developed countries, including Australia, Canada, most European countries, and the United States, where gross female enrollment ratios are generally 25–50 percent higher than male enrollment at the tertiary level (UNESCO - Institute for Statistics, 2010). In the United States, women dominate higher education: the cohort aged 30 to 44 has more college-educated women than college-educated men. “In 2010, for every two men who received a B.A. there were three women. Women now earn 60 percent of master’s degrees, about half of all law and medical degrees, and 42 percent of all M.B.A.s.” (Rosin, 2010, pp. 1, e-publication)

Statistical analyses have also highlighted gender disparities in the drop-out rates of boys and girls worldwide. Where disparities exist, boys tend to drop out more than girls in 76 of 125 with available data (UNESCO - Institute for Statistics, 2010). In the United States, boys are more likely to drop out or to repeat at least one grade, and their grades are systematically worse than those of girls (Mulrine, 2001; U.S. Department of Education, 2008). In the United Kingdom, the significant gap between girls’ and boys’ performance on the O-level exam taken at age 16 shows is even more accentuated among poorer boys and girl (Kraemer, 2000: 1610). In the United States, while just about half of high school graduates are men, but 66 percent of the male graduates and 72 percent of the women enroll in college or other degree-granting institution immediately after high school (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). Thirty-four percent of all 18–24 year-old males and 37 percent of all females in the same age group enroll in tertiary education. The net result is that men make up a smaller proportion of students than women in degree-granting institutions.

One might well ask, what do school enrolments and completion have to do with masculinity? If the male norm is to be successful and earn money, what explains high levels of school drop-out? Is it only because it is more profitable to be out of school working, or are returns on schooling low? But what about idle youth? How I being out of school a challenge to the norm? What is going on in the United States, Europe, urban Latin America, urban South Africa and the Caribbean that explains the intensity of dropping out among boys?

The experience of boys in the Caribbean has been so devastating that it has served as the focus of much international debate on this issue (Reddock 2009). A crisis in boys’ education in the region began to come into focus in the 1980s, and was so intense that it is credited for having given rise to masculinity

studies there. Initial explanations focused entirely on institutional and family factors, including the preponderance of female teachers, the large number of female-headed households with no male role models for boys, the opening up of educational opportunities for girls, and co-educational schools where boys were being distracted by girls (Reddock, 2009). It is important to note that most of these factors relate solely to women (Parry, 2004). They do not really address in any way the differences in the experiences of different boys and the fact that education is clearly not viewed as essential for many males. A significant wage gap exists between men and women in Jamaica, and serves as a disincentive for males to remain in school.

Other connections between masculinity and education include: underperformance as an aspect of the actual definition of masculinity in Jamaica (Figueroa 2004). The fact that men and boys dominate public spaces where women and girls are not welcome or comfortable draws them into that space with their peers. Since boys are not required to perform many household tasks, they do not have to discipline themselves or manage their time in the way girls do. Finally, there is major worry in the Caribbean about cultivating manly men (Chevannes, 1999). Homophobia “prevents especially working class but parents of all classes from challenging accepted yet detrimental forms of male gender socialization” (Chevannes, in Reddock 2009: 20). Boys who drop out sometimes engage in readily available work: the sale of drugs and light arms.

#### **4. Masculinities and employment**

Until recently the development community has mostly focused solely upon gender norms as they relate to disparities in employment for women. Since women and girls are often socially, culturally, politically, and economically disadvantaged, the attention on how some gender norms for women, negatively affect women’s equitable access to legitimate employment, to formal markets, to revenue-generating opportunities is warranted (World Bank, 2010).

Addressing gender disparities in employment and promoting growth necessitates a complementary focus on gender expectations for men and boys. Even though work-family roles have changed over time, the traditional versions of masculinity worldwide are still greatly defined by a social norm for men to be *breadwinners and protectors* for their families (Barker et al, 2011). Male norms around provision vary across cultures and often include a responsibility to be a paternal, authority figure within a household, as is the case in Arab, African, and Western families (Nsamenang, 1987; Nosseir, 2003). Men internalize the social pressure to secure financial independence and establish the moral foundation for their families, which in turn, impacts their attitudes and behaviors; norms, attitudes, and behaviors are also reinforced as men and boys interact with peers in their households and their communities (Connell, 2005).

Why might men in some settings be slower to change their gender ideology as it relates to work? A unique cross-national assessment sheds light on how specific variables within a labor market, including dependency on spouse and rigidity of a labor market, influence men's gender ideology (Cha & Thebaud, 2009). Most data in the study are from developed countries, but several regions are represented. The study concludes that labor markets are an important determinant of "gender phenomena," and point to several key findings: First, sharing the breadwinning role in a flexible labor market “does not necessarily undermine traditional notions of men’s main responsibility in the provider role,” while rigid labor markets, in contrast, provide incentives for the male-only breadwinner role. There are consequences for men in their interpersonal relationships with their spouses of departing from the norm in these contexts. As the authors state it, "Men’s gender ideology is distinctly related to their individual

breadwinning experiences, not just the degree to which women have an overall presence in the labor market. [It]... is negotiated through the private experience of norm contestation and resolution within the family” (Cha and Thebaud 2009: 237).

Mere employment is often not the end goal for young men. The gender distinction between masculine and feminine jobs is pervasive around the world. Jobs that require men to demonstrate their *physical strength or assert authority* – manual labor and corporate leadership – are preferred opportunities for men (Cha & Thebaud, 2009). Even when men work in spheres traditionally viewed as women’s work, studies have identified gender distinctions. For example, in the Congo, a study of migrant male domestic workers identified a difference between perceived masculine jobs, such as cooking and field work, and feminine ones such as cleaning (Bartolomei, 2010). The pressure to provide, coupled with changing expectations to be ever-present caregivers as more women enter the labor force, influences men’s roles in their households and societies. Some men report feeling threatened by these social changes because such changes make them feel more susceptible to discrimination, primarily by their male peers who reinforce dominant versions of manhood – to be the *real man* (Barker & Pawlak, 2011; Sarti & Scrinzi, 2010). Nevertheless, studies of men who do *women’s work* show that the discrimination experienced by some male workers is outweighed by the benefits which are associated with being a man, with regard to work and a wider career (Williams, 1995). Additional evidence from migrant male domestic workers in Italy, India, Ivory Coast, and Congo reveal that not all workers viewed themselves as “failed patriarchs,” suggesting that migration has an affect on gender relations (Bartolomei, 2010).

The IMAGES survey findings confirm the prevailing, socially expected role of men to be gainfully employed providers (ICRW & Instituto Promundo, 2010). The study shows that a high percentage of men, regardless of their current employment status, reported having experienced significant stress related to not having enough work or income: 34% (Brazil), 57% (Chile), 53% (Croatia), 62% (India) and 88% (Mexico). Among currently unemployed men, between one-tenth and one-half of men interviewed report having considered leaving their family at least once because of work-related stress. Employment provides a huge share of men’s sense of themselves. Men experiencing work-related stress are more likely to report depression, thoughts of suicide, having been arrested, and having used violence, among other expressions.

#### *The impact on men of growth in female labor force participation*

As women have joined the paid workforce in ever-greater numbers, many men have – and many have not – welcomed more equitable roles in social and family life (see e.g., (Segal, 1990)). In low-income countries, greater income for women can often lead to more respect from male partners, in addition to a reduction of their victimization from violence (Barker & Pawlak, 2011). In some instances, however, men resist women’s greater power and status and react with violence. Men who lose their jobs as a consequence of economic instability and the loss of their provider roles are not embracing domestic responsibilities or warmly accepting women as full partners in the workplace.

In her review “The End of Men,” author Hanna Rosin paints a dismal picture of men’s economic prospects in the current global economy (Rosin, 2010). Rosin cites research in India that finds women in poor parts of the country learning English faster than men to find jobs in global call centers. She describes the situation in China, where more than 40 percent of private businesses are owned by women. And she reviews the situation in the United States, where over the past forty years, women have gone from contributing below 6% to contributing 42.2% of family income, on average. Four in 10 mothers, many of them single mothers, are the primary breadwinners in their families.

Female labor force participation rate has increased steadily over the past four decades in developed and developing countries. Of the 151 countries listed in the 2005 World Development Index, 109 experienced an increase in female labor force participation rates over the period 1990–2003. Female rate has risen substantially while the male rate has fallen. Of the 109 countries recording an increase in female participation, 84 countries also experienced falls in male participation rates (World Bank, 2006).

The recent global recession has catalyzed this steady trend in women's engagement in the labor force, profoundly affecting men working around the world. The recent crisis has had a disproportionate impact on men because of its effect on traditionally male-dominated sectors, such as construction and manufacturing (Rosin, 2010). The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that more than 80% of job losses in the United States have occurred among men. Job losses continue to decline further and faster than those traditionally dominated by women (public-sector employment, healthcare, and education) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Women occupy 13 out of 15 job categories projected to grow the most in the next decade in the U.S., whereas men dominate just two categories: janitor and computer engineer. The list of growing jobs is heavy on nurturing professions, in which women, ironically, seem to benefit from old stereotypes and habits. Theoretically, men are qualified for these jobs, but they have had difficulty adapting, in part because "women's work" is viewed as low status. Nursing schools have tried hard to recruit men in the past few years, with minimal success. Teaching schools, eager to recruit male role models, are having a similarly hard time. The range of acceptable masculine roles has changed comparatively little, and has perhaps even narrowed as men have shied away from some careers women have entered (Rosin, 2010). In research on male migrant workers working as domestic help, Sarti and Scrinzi (2010) ask whether their participation has the effect of raising the status of the work itself. Their findings are inconclusive, and suggest that men working in female-dominated work may experience discrimination that outweighs the general benefits of being men as regards work and a wider professional development.

#### *Masculinities, occupation and health*

A recent review on men and their health has arrayed significant data on the connections between men's work and the health risks to them (Sonke & WHO 2010). There are clear relationships between the gendered division of labor and occupational risks to men of injury via road traffic accidents (for truck, taxi and other drivers), via environmental accidents (for miners, workers exposed to chemicals), falls (for construction workers, quarry workers), and injuries from equipment (for industrial workers, and these can include amputations, loss of sight, and so on). Sonke's research reports that the link between men's gender identity and bravado heightens the risk of occupational injury: masculinity can become associated with a willingness to do work that others would be afraid of doing. Connection between domains: work, risk-taking and health.

#### *Some evidence of a backlash toward women*

This review has discussed trends and the impact on men at some length. How do these changes in men matter for women? In some settings, a backlash can be observed against gender equitable social change. When men feel threatened by change, whether in their economic or social roles, they may lash out and look for ways to return to the old ways. In India, for example, threatened masculinity has led men to take recourse in an idealized nationalism, criticizing outside, feminist influences and calling for a return to a traditional equilibrium (Centre for Health and Social Justice, 2009; Gangopadhyay, 2010).

Among Wolof peanut farmers in Senegal, a crisis of masculinity has arisen with a decline in patriarchal control of women, children and other household dependents in response to economic liberalization and the emergence of rural weekly markets (Perry, 2005). “Male household heads, in wrathful fashion, condemn women for their individualism, selfishness, and open sexuality. Men's discourse of social decay contrasts with the more neutral narratives produced by women, who stress household solidarity and the pragmatics of household survival in response to economic insecurity (Perry, 2005). Domestic authority has been in the process of significant renegotiation.

Some studies have found increases in domestic violence in response to men's change – or loss – of place and power relative to women. Research in Bangalore, India found that the odds of experiencing domestic violence were 80% higher among women who began paid employment over the period, compared to women who remained unemployed. In a direct correlate, women whose husbands were stably employed at the first period and had experienced employment difficulties at the second were nearly twice as likely to experience violence.

### ***Relating this evidence to the WDR framework***

#### **a. Endowments**

As we have shown, gender roles, norms, stereotypes and expectations shape men's decisions regarding education and the nature of their educational experience. In the most straightforward economic terms, men are faring less well than they could, and in many cases, are faring worse than women, with regard to education and job training. They are dropping out of school and failing to thrive in school, which translates into fewer years completed. Girls and women are improving relative to men and boys, and are making the most of educational opportunities.

These norms both support and undermine the quality of their education, depending on the setting. In South Asia, for example, girls are asked to engage in many chores that both compete with their studies and essentially subsidize the schooling experience of their brothers. In Jamaica, in contrast, boys' preference formation for schooling operates quite differently. The low returns to schooling, a limited definition of masculinity that does not easily include the focus required to be successful in school, and the correlation of boys' violence and other risk behaviors contribute to undermining boys' performance and completion of school. The consequences of boys' disengagement with school in the Caribbean will be felt for many years to come. Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey show that holding inequitable attitudes norms is associated with delinquency and criminal behavior (Barker et al, 2011).

#### **b. Returns on endowments**

How do gender roles, norms, stereotypes and expectations shape and constrain men's transitions to employment?

Many young men are not emerging from school with useful or relevant knowledge that translates into employment, whenever it is they finish their studies. Many become idle or frustrated at the lack of opportunity. Many of these young men were important drivers behind the recent political changes in Tunisia. Others express their frustrations in violence. Men's labor force participation rates are kept unnecessarily low by their apparent unwillingness in many settings to adapt to changing economic circumstances. They are slow to take advantage of the growth of jobs in traditionally female-dominated

sectors. The decline in male-dominated jobs is especially acute in the work available to men with lower levels of education.

Non-residential fatherhood is a financial drain on men. At the same time, men seem to be missing out on the non-economic benefits of fatherhood. Their work and their view of themselves prevent them from engaged fatherhood. Even when they have choices, they seem to choose away from involvement, resorting to a more traditional division of labor. Violence and drinking impede returns on endowments and expose men to risks to their health and lives. Accidents, risk and disease reduce the returns on the education and training men have received.

### **c. Agency**

To what extent are men able to make decisions about their own lives, especially decisions that depart from dominant concepts of masculinity? Men are not as free to make choices in all areas of their lives as one might think or expect, given their ostensible social, political and economic dominance. The “performance” aspects of masculinity compel men to spend energy trying to impress their peers. Indeed, one might say that when men adhere unquestioningly to hegemonic masculinity, they actively endanger each other. From research in Thailand, for example, we learned that men drive each other to risky sexual behavior, pushing on one another heavy consumption of alcohol and excursions to sex workers.

Men are constrained by social norms and a narrow sense of what it means to be a man. Well-respected research on social norms has confirmed that in some settings, young men who think their peers participate in binge drinking and perpetuate GBV are more likely to adopt or condone these behaviors (Berkowitz & W, 1986). Recent research on social networks confirms not only the importance of young men’s perceptions of what their peers are doing, but also that young men in the US consistently overestimate how much their peers engage in that behavior. Violence is a major constraint to men achieving their full capacity and represents just the tip of the iceberg of male social control.

### **C. Processes of change**

This section reviews the processes of change in norms, roles, stereotypes and expectations: how did changes happen? What policies were conducive to changes? What other elements were critical in triggering changes? What is the role of non-governmental actors, local, national and international? What is the role of information and of the globalization of information?

Norms in general are “sticky” and resistant to change, because they are lived and perpetuated by everyone in society. In talking about the processes of change, it is important to note that not only men, but women – as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters – shape boys’ and men’s compliance with masculinity demands. Men and women alike are fundamental to upholding hegemonic masculinity. Research in Bangladesh, for example, shows the lingering commitment of mothers-in-law to a traditional view of their daughters-in-laws’ roles (Schuler et al, 2008).

The recent IMAGES and other data on violence in India, for example, show how women see themselves as “deserving” of discipline (violence) when they fall short in their roles as wives and mothers (Barker, Contreras, Heilman, Singh, Verma, & Nascimento, 2011). These are the same women who are central to raising their sons and daughters to replicate traditional gender roles. Women are fundamentally important in the gender socialization of boys and men, in other words, in the “making of men” (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). As teachers, as sexual partners, as mothers, women reinforce their expectations of

appropriate male roles – and discourage attitudes and behaviors they do not see as masculine -- in their engagement with men and boys.

Many conditions look as though they cannot change but actually can. How can hegemonic masculinity be challenged without attacking it head on? Results from IMAGES suggest that younger generations are changing, secondary schooling matters. Men with more education are more equitable and have lots fewer negative behaviors, and those who saw their fathers doing care work.

A few major factors seem to be contributing to change in masculine roles and what it means to be a man:

***Development itself*** can resolve some gender role differences and inequalities. The gender gap in boys' and girls' schooling, for example, has nearly vanished at the primary level with near universal primary education. The calculus of which norms "work" for people changes as economies become less agricultural, as more people attend school, as more people live in cities, and so on. But many gender inequalities do not change because of interrelated policies, formal and informal institutions and markets that impede these social changes. Research shows, for example, that despite the defense of child marriage as an integral part of their culture by community leaders, parents and others, elites in virtually every country have abandoned the practice (Barker & Pawlak, 2011). People can and do change, they do so when it is in their interests and scope of their ability to do so.

***Globalization*** impacts masculinities everywhere. The expanding reach of global markets, transnational media, labor migration powerfully influences men, women, and children. As dominant versions of masculinity have changed throughout history, the current expansion of markets and democratization of access to information, to advertising, to television themes, and so on can expose men and women to new, varied ideals of gender roles and expectations. For example, even though women's advocates can view systemic masculine domination in the media as symbiotic with tenets of religious nationalism, many unquestioningly embrace capitalism/globalization – and the integration of women more fully into those systems and processes – as the means to women's empowerment. On the positive side, the community-level reach of contemporary globalization also exposes men to more gender-equitable, or at least more varied, expressions of masculinity (see Derne, 2005 for the effects of globalization in Fiji and India).

***External crises*** can create the conditions for change. A major political or social crisis, war, natural disaster, or other event can galvanize people and catalyze change. In Nicaragua, for example, Hurricane Mitch in 1998, created the conditions for a national dialogue on domestic violence. The NGO Puntos de Encuentro developed a campaign whose slogan was, "Violence against women is a disaster that men can prevent," building on the need for solidarity that Hurricane Mitch had left in its wake.<sup>1</sup> Conflict and migration have had destabilizing effects that can create opportunities for constructing new ways of being. Another example is the impact of economic crisis. In the Philippines, for example, structural adjustment has had profound effects on men's and women's economic roles. The expansion of women's role in generating income for their households has increased their household power and influence in relation to men (Chant, 1996).

***Community activism for social change*** is an important catalyst for sustainable societal change. Around the world communities have mobilized to promote gender equality and to advance social

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<sup>1</sup> For more information see <http://www.nicaraguasc.org.uk/archive/violence%20ag%20women/cvaw.htm>.



changes. Advocacy efforts have resulted in favorable community council decisions that both protect women's rights and acknowledge men's unique needs and vulnerabilities. Tostan's human rights curriculum, Promundo's peer group education tools, and the White Ribbon Campaign have strengthened civil society organizations by providing them with the resources needed to inform stakeholders and facilitate social change in their communities across five continents. Civil society organizations around the world have carried out mass media campaigns to promote positive images of men's involvement in the lives of children and of actively engaged fathers, to counter prevailing negative versions. Examples include UNFPA, Salud y Genero, The Fatherhood Project, South Africa (Barker & Ricardo 2005). The media have been used to catalyze cultural change: Soul City (South Africa) uses diverse media strategies, including television, radio and newspapers, to disseminate information and promote reflection on pressing health and social issues. Results from IMAGES add to a growing body of evidence that more men are advocates for social change than before. Men seem especially ready to denounce gender-based violence, and to counter the backlash against efforts to fight it. In addition, in environments where fatherhood has been supported and promoted, men seem willing to expand their engagement, e.g., in Chile where men are now largely present at their birth of their children as a consequence of legal change.

**Policy and legal change** – examples abound of policy change, though most policies make no attempt to address male expressions of gender norms. What is more, it can be challenging to trace social or norm change back to policy change. Collaborators on the Men and Gender Equality Policy Project recently conducted a comprehensive analysis of the treatment of men in policies to address gender equality.<sup>2</sup> In the Scandinavian countries, explicit efforts to achieve gender equality through policy tools have been effective in increasing men's engagement in family life (Barker et al 2010).

#### **D. Policy challenges, entry points for reform, and the WDR Framework**

Despite all the evidence amassed here on the connections between masculinities, economic development and wellbeing, men largely don't figure in gender-related policy. A number of policy challenges impede their integration into policies.

Work with men and boys has been implemented through isolated programmatic approaches rather than through coordinated implementation of national policies and guidelines. A recent analysis of the contributions policy regarding *men's* roles can make for increasing gender equality highlighted a number of challenges in this area (Barker et al, 2010). First, men remain mostly invisible in discussions of gender equality. In a formative publication on men and policy published by the World Bank in 2006, scholars and development practitioners assert that, with few exceptions, men are rarely explicitly acknowledged in gender policy documents (World Bank, 2006). Where men do appear, they often remain seen as obstacles to women's development. When they are visible, they are most often included in policies in response to perceived problems or crises. Public policy is thus generally geared to limit, constrain or punish men's behavior.

Much less often is policy framed as providing an opportunity to change constructions of masculinity in a positive way as part of a broader effort to overcome gender inequality and promote gender equality for the public benefit for all – women and girls, and men and boys. Public policies often build on or perpetuate traditional stereotypes of men. A review of gender policies has found that men are

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<sup>2</sup> This review, titled What Men Have to Do With It can be found at <http://www.promundo.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/What-Men-Have-to-Do-With-It.pdf>.

conceptualized as problematic in most policy documents that address gender – in fact, these documents often reinforce traditionally dominant, non-equitable versions of masculinity associated with aggression, criminal activity, and violence.

The Men and Gender Equality Policy Project identified a number of challenges to engaging men in gender equality policies (Barker, et al., 2010). Two key obstacles include:

**Public policies are small in scale and limited in scope.** Community-level programming often exists in the absence of public gender policies that explicitly addresses the participatory role of men and boys. As a consequence, efforts to engage men in social and economic development have remained small in scale and limited in scope. Local interventions are necessary to address specific individual– and community–specific contexts. These efforts are often effective at the local level; however, a lack of an enabling policy environment does not support a strategic vision for scale-up and does not encourage broader social change. Lessons learned from local interventions can inform national gender policies.

**Gender policy design and implementation is not coordinated across key institutions.** Without a more concerted effort to explicitly reference women and men in gender equality policies, global efforts to achieve development goals including MDGs may be less successful. Challenges, however, are opportunities—little has been done to engage men in gender equality and that means the field is wide open. Policymakers and development practitioners can do much to enact institutional changes that help to alter harmful male norms.

**Entry points for policy reform include:**

**Frame the inclusion of men in public policies to achieve gender equality as a public good that benefits all.** Programmatic evidence shows that group education, counseling, and health promotion initiatives that encourage dialogue among men and between men and women can change men’s and boys’ attitudes and behaviors in more gender-equitable ways (WHO, 2007). Instead of presenting men as barriers, advocates should focus on men’s roles as responsible partners, highlighting the social benefits of working with men to promote gender equality in their relationships, in their households, and in their communities. Using local research, data, and testimonials to design mass media and advocacy campaigns helps facilitate policy dialogue and frame gender equality as a public good for everyone.

**Work with both men and women.** There is a growing consensus that it is necessary to work with both men and women, to work to change both masculine and feminine expectations to change harmful gender norms (Greene and Levack, 2010; Dworkin et al, 2010). As we know, “... gender roles are constructed and reconstructed—and must be questioned—by both men and women. Girls and women can contribute to traditional, harmful versions of manhood, just as boys and men can contribute to traditional, restrictive versions of womanhood. True and lasting changes in gender norms will only be achieved when it is widely recognized that gender is relational, that it is short-sighted to seek to empower women without engaging men, and that is difficult if not impossible to change what manhood means without also engaging young women” (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

Some public policies or interventions that are *women focused* may require complementary interventions for men to be most effective; sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and microcredit programs are two such examples. SRH initiatives should consider that women’s knowledge and access to contraception is higher when men’s knowledge is also increased, and microcredit programs cannot ignore how

microcredit challenges dominant household norms for men's and women's work-life balance and gender roles. Women's economic empowerment policies and programs have been one of the success stories in the international development and gender field, leading to multiple benefits for women, including evidence of reducing women's vulnerability to gender-based violence (Barker, et al., 2010); ILO 2010). However, the economic empowerment of women is not sufficient if men are not also engaged in collaborative decisionmaking and in a greater role in care giving in their homes.

***Work with the women's movement in engaging men.*** Failing to recognize or coordinate with women's organizations can increase tension and alienate key partners who primarily focus on women's vulnerabilities and are concerned about limited resources. Women's rights group in some countries such as India, Mexico, and Brazil have sometimes opposed the use of public funds for gender equitable programs such as paternity leave (Barker, et al., 2010). Including men and boys into conceptual frameworks and national strategies is not intended to divert attention or resources from women and girls to men and boys. Engaging men and boys honors, stems from, and aligns with the women's movement—specifically global, regional, national, and community initiatives designed to improve health and achieve gender equality (Rio Declaration 2009). Ensuring support and building partnerships with leading women's organizations helps to frame policy positions that resonate with policymakers.

***Working with young people to facilitate the elimination of harmful masculine attitudes and behaviors can catalyze social change.*** Research shows that children's and adolescents' views of gender roles and work-life expectations are shaped by their observation within the household and by their peers group (Cunningham, 2001; WHO, 2000). Thus an investment in educating youth about harmful gender norms across different spheres (home, school, local markets, sporting areas, places of worship) are an entry points to reform gender policies that support a new attitude in the next generation. Empowering a new generation of young people to be part of policy debates and gender justice activism is key to achieving change.

***Consider select health and human rights agreements as platforms for opening dialogue on engaging men.*** Men and boys can change their gender-related attitudes and behaviors that place women, men, and children at risk of gender-based violence and HIV. Many countries in Africa have also signed onto regional conventions in including:

- The Africa Charter on Human Rights and People's Rights (Banjul) (1986), which condemns discrimination against women;
- The Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004), which calls high-level policymakers to report in-country progress to achieve gender equality; and
- The Maputo Protocol (2005), which refers to the need to eliminate harmful attitudes and practices by working with women and men.

Policies could include, for example, gender-based violence policies that include primary prevention targeting men and boys; policies to engage men and boys in making public spaces free of violence for women and girls; and policies that promote women's economic and social empowerment combined with efforts to engage men to end gender-based violence should also be considered (Barker, et al., 2010). Male circumcision strategies and the antiretroviral treatment plans are also opportunities to discuss men's health and men's roles in facilitating health and well being of their families.

***Establish monitoring bodies and high-level commissions.*** Countries of the European Union with gender policies, including Finland and Norway, often have commissions that are responsible for organizing discussions on engaging men. Commissions, or monitoring institutions, play an important function: to ensure the scope and quality of national discussion on gender inequality and the move toward equality through a strategic, coordinated gender strategy that benefits all.

This review touched on the erosion of male identity as a result of conflict or unemployment when men feel they have failed as “providers” or have “lost the war.” There are obvious benefits of questioning hegemonic masculinities in the many instances where it incurs costs for men, women or both. The challenge lies in explaining the enormous benefits of change to men – from community members to union leaders to policy makers.

### **Linking policy challenges and entry points to the WDR Framework**

The WDR Framework illustrates the multifaceted interaction between households, markets, and institutions, both formal and informal. The social norms that establish unequal power relations between men and women described in this paper shape, and are shaped by, these structures. Moreover, the dominant versions of masculinity have considerable effects upon several micro- and macro- economic outcomes including the three specific outcomes of interest: endowments, return on endowments, and agency. The purpose of this section is to complement the policy challenges and policy *entry points* described above with approaches that more specifically relate to the framework guiding the World Development Report.

### ***Households, Markets, and Institutions***

Social norms, including gender norms and the demands of masculinity are fundamental to household decisions to invest more in some family members than in others, and to shaping men’s preferences. At the microeconomic level, the development community broadly accepts that unequal power relations between men and women affect the household division of labor, income, wealth, education, and productivity inputs. Research has found that gender norms and social perceptions are significant factors that influence household bargaining processes and different consumption and saving preferences between men and women (Seguino, 2002; Haddad, Hoddinott, & Alderman, 1997). Globally, the division of labor disproportionately enables men to access income-generating activities linked to formal markets (Agarwal, 1997), and women, who in most societies work longer hours than men when paid and unpaid work are included in analyses, are largely engaged in unpaid tasks linked to the care and development of people (family, children, provision of food, etc) and their capacity to work (Cagatay & Erturk, 2004).

Gender norms that ascribe to men and women different roles, abilities, and expectations are not confined to household-level institutions, such as the family. Gender is also relevant at a macroeconomic level, where national governments and development practitioners adopt an aggregate-level approach to policymaking. For example, labor and finance markets, the State, and other institutions sometimes reflect a gender-bias within a society through the design of fiscal policies and budgets appropriations that do not account for gender-based needs or inequalities (Elsen & Cagatay, 1999). Informal institutions, including the different social capital men and women possess and acquire, as well as the value ascribed to the social capital over time and within formal markets, reflect pervasive social norms for women and men (Stiglitz, 2000).

### ***Priorities for improving outcomes: Endowments, return on endowments, and agency***

**Endowments: Acknowledge that men’s attitudes, beliefs, and needs are neither isolated nor homogenous when drafting public policies for education and employment.** Men’s attitudes and decisions about their education and their employment opportunities are not shaped in isolation of social pressures, nor are they uniform. As results from IMAGES have demonstrated, attitudes and behaviors vary across countries and interact with other social hierarchies such as race, age, class, ethnicity, and caste. Provided that educational achievement is correlated with more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviors, education initiatives in many countries could do more to reframe the value of education in relation to dominant notions of manhood in their societies. Where development has done much to narrow the gender gap in primary education, a complementary focus on young men and boys—who overall are not achieving their full potential educational achievement—can yield great development gains and promote social change.

**Return on endowments: Create partnerships and incentives that broaden men’s roles in their society beyond the *provider role* for the benefit of all.** Men’s attitudes about employment are varied and change over time. Positioning employment as part of a broader social responsibility to be engaged fathers and partners is the public policy issue that merits attention. Comprehensive gender assessments can better shape community-level partnerships and public-private partnerships. As more young men migrate from their communities to urban centers to secure employment, governments and development practitioners should assess different needs when they design employment policies and services. As we have discussed, men are affected differently by crisis; instability often challenges men’s ability fulfill a dominant *breadwinner* role. Some men may assume power positions within armed groups and other may evade conflict. In stable or fragile states, large-scale partnerships and policies should be aligned with incentives that broaden men’s perspectives about their familial responsibilities and about traditionally *feminine* jobs. The case study about paternity leave for men in Norway suggests, work-related behaviors and the ‘performance’ aspects around masculinity that lead men to impress their peers, are susceptible to change through public policy efforts.

**Agency: Challenge the general presumption that public policies are gender neutral, and directly acknowledge and address the gender norms that limit men’s life choices and chances.** Gender norms, like race, age, and ethnicity, impact policy outcomes. And they can also be challenged – or reinforced – by policies. Women and men benefit differently from the implementation of any given public policy; however, there exists a presumption that policy objectives, including those macroeconomic policies, are gender neutral because of their macro-level design (Cagatay & Erturk, 2004). Policymakers and development practitioners should consider how public policies are predicated upon the distributive social relations and decisions before women and men, to include different versions of masculinities across different contexts. In recent years, with increased attention on engendering fiscal policy and budgets for sustainable development, key stakeholders have challenged this once pervasive assumption (Elsen & Cagatay, 1999). Land ownership reforms are another example of policies designed to promote equality in public policy and increase women’s agency. The focus on women and girls as a vulnerable population within policy dialogue has challenged the presumption that policies are void of bias. A complementary focus on how *men are also constrained by social norms* and narrow constructs of what it means to be a man should be integrated into policy dialogue and program design. Since research has demonstrated the influence women have in men’s socialization, efforts to broaden men’s agency should include women leaders and engage civil-society organizations.

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