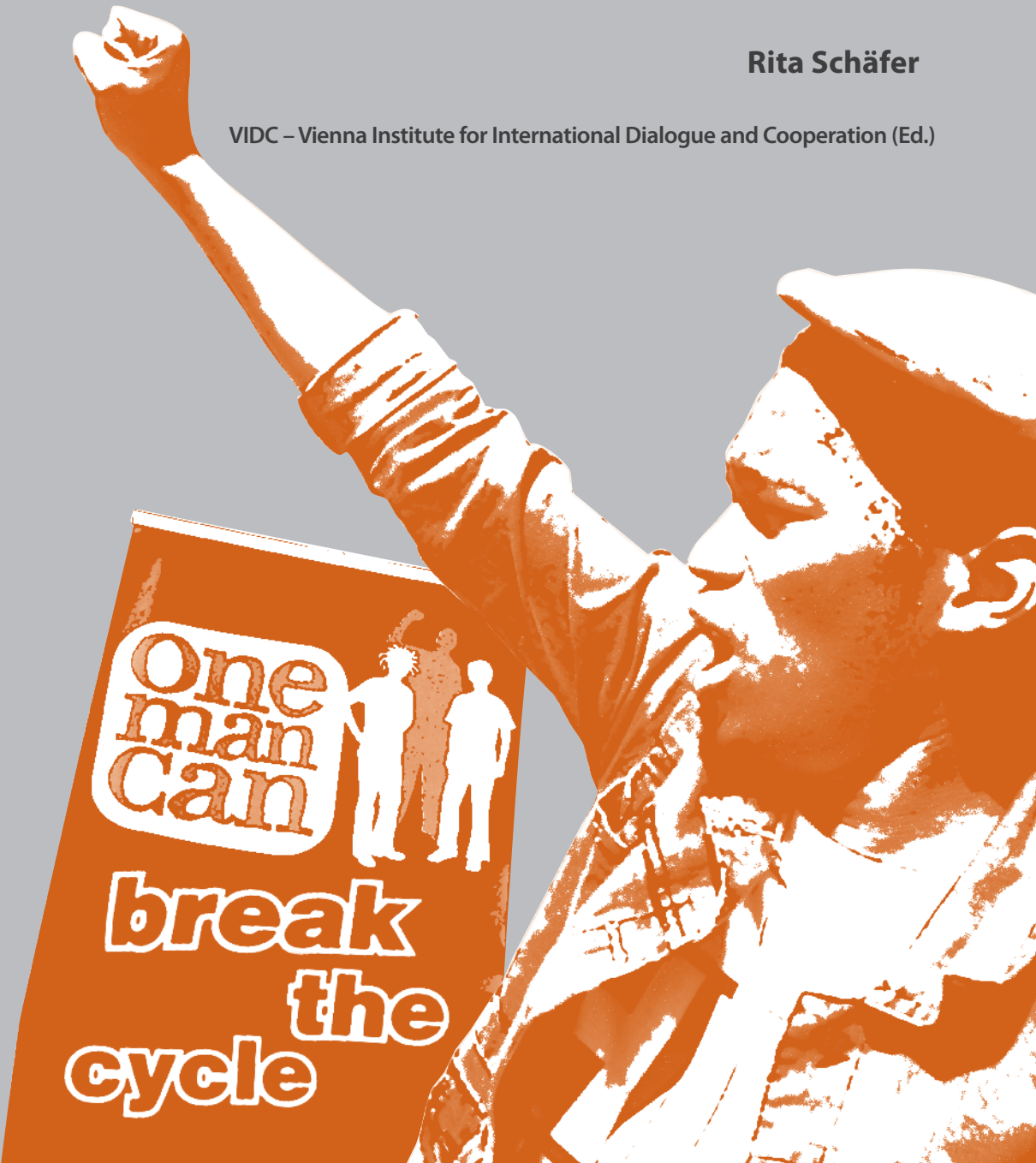


Men as Perpetrators and Victims of Armed Conflicts

Innovative Projects Aimed at Overcoming Male Violence

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Rita Schäfer

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Abstract

A more detailed analysis of various diverging war experiences of boys, male adolescents and men is essential for development cooperation in post-war societies and must be taken into consideration for project planning and implementation. Differentiated gender perspectives are required in order to put an end to tolerated, widespread gender-specific and sexualized violence. In addition, violence among male youth and men is a threat to often very fragile peacebuilding processes. Many of them were ex-combatants or soldiers and most of them face an uncertain future and unemployment after their release.

This study outlines the formation of the male identity before and after wars, thereby also touching on the problem of child soldiers. On the basis of country studies, projects and programs will be presented that have contributed to changes in behavior and attitudes among boys, adolescents and men after wars or armed conflicts.

The research focuses on innovative approaches from African countries. Additionally, examples from other continents will be presented. The selection of projects and programs represents the priority and cooperation countries of the Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC). Guidelines from the ADC and international treaties are referenced in detail. The many concrete examples draw on experiences at local, national and international level, as well as on theme-related studies from various organizations of the United Nations and numerous non-governmental organizations.

Moreover, the study examines projects for education and awareness raising on masculine gender identity, sexuality, fatherhood and health. Noteworthy are also the cultural, media and sports programs for community building among youth. The powers of traditional, religious and local authorities are expounded through examples, as they can promote or interfere with change processes.

Lastly, the study provides recommendations for the ADC. This study builds on previous work from the Vienna Institute for International Dialogue and Cooperation (VIDC) on gender and children in armed conflicts.

List of abbreviations

| | |
|-----------|---|
| ADA | Austrian Development Agency |
| ADC | Austrian Development Cooperation |
| AHCV/AMAV | Asociación de Hombres Contra la Violencia / Association of Men Against Violence |
| AMKV | Men's Association against Violence |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| AU | African Union |
| CANTERA | Centre for Popular Education and Communications |
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women |
| CEDPA | Centre for Development and Population Activities |
| CMN | Cambodian Men's Network |
| CSW | Commission on the Status of Women |
| DC | Development Cooperation |
| DCAF | Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces |
| ECOMOC | ECOWAS Monitoring Group |
| ECOWAS | Economic Community of West African States |
| EU | Europäische Union |
| FEMNET | African Women's Development and Communication Network |
| FMEIA | Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs |
| GEM | Gender Equality and Men |
| GHCV | Grupo de Hombres Contra la Violencia |
| GIZ | Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit |
| HSN | Human Security Network |
| IANYD | Inter-Agency Network on Youth Development |
| IASC | Inter Agency Standing Committee |
| ICC | International Criminal Court |
| ICRC | International Committee of the Red Cross |
| ICRW | International Centre for Research on Women |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |
| IMAGES | International Men and Gender Equality Survey |
| LRA | Lord's Resistance Army |
| MAGE | Men's Association for Gender Equality |
| MASVAW | Men's Action to Stop Violence against Women |
| MAVE | Men against Violence and Abuse |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| MEGEN | Men for Gender Equality Now |
| MRI | Men's Resources International |

| | |
|------------|--|
| MTC | Men's Traveling Conference |
| NFOWRC | National Forum for Women Rights Concern |
| NGO | Non-governmental Organization |
| PAHO | Pan American Health Organisation |
| PAPAI | Programa de Apoio ao Pai |
| PLA | Participative Learning and Action |
| RHRC | Reproductive Health for Refugee Consortium |
| RMCV | Red de Mujeres Contra la Violencia |
| RUF | Revolutionary United Front |
| RWAMREC | Rwanda Men's Resource Centre |
| SIDA | Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency |
| SIDH | Society for Integrated Development of Himalayas |
| TAC | Treatment Action Campaign |
| TASO | AIDS Support Organization |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDAW | United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women |
| UN DPKO | United Nations Department of Peace Keeping |
| UN OCHA | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |
| UN-INSTRAW | International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women |
| UNAIDS | Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNFPA | United Nations Population Fund |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |
| UNIFEM | United Nations Development Fund for Women |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| UWONET | Uganda Women's Network |
| VIDC | Vienna Institute for International Dialogue and Cooperation |
| WCRWC | Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

1 Introduction

This study examines the formation of male identity of boys and young men before and after wars, and by doing so, delves into the issue of child soldiers and the strong inclination of many adolescents and men towards violence after wars. In this context, it should be noted that there are hardly any projects on child soldiers so far that deal specifically with the formation of male identity during wars. Therefore, it is all the more important to analyze projects that capture this main group. Such projects will be presented through case studies that have contributed to changes in attitudes and behaviors of boys, male adolescents and men. The focus of this study is on innovative projects to overcome violence and changes in warlike masculinity in African post-conflict countries. Even though there are isolated conference reports that examine various organizations to promote networking, the focus on conflict- and post-conflict contexts is new. Due to the adoption of UN resolution 1998 in July 2011, this study has become even more relevant since it shows the importance of examining perceptions of masculinity formed by combat and the patterns of behavior of former child soldiers.

Another innovative aspect about this study is that it illustrates hitherto existing experiences at local, national and international levels, as well as the relevant work of various agencies of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations. The motives and origin of the founders of the organizations and its employees, as well as the planning, concrete implementation and evaluation of projects and programs, will be explained as long as there is information on it. The reactions of each of the target groups and the constructive examination of resistance are brought to the fore. The study also deals with educational and awareness-raising projects about male gender identity, about their own sexuality, about violent or consensual sexual experiences and about their own health. These are important topics in light of the high level of HIV infections and prevalence of AIDS in post-conflict societies. Social fatherhood is another subject area of analysis for which there are platforms set up according to projects and programs. Thus, it is important that the discussions include not only teenage fathers but also adult men.

Noteworthy are the programs for cultural matters (with various media, including local radio stations) and for sports (soccer and various types of sports). These are primarily focused on community building for youth through which team spirit and community support are fostered. The problems that arise with the powers of traditional, religious and local authorities –defining the “spoilers” and the “change agents” – are showcased.

“Best practice” examples are chosen from the priority and cooperation countries of the Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC). Other countries are also mentioned due to their exemplary project approach at the local level. Moreover, this study explores the lessons learned and the possibilities of transferring them to other contexts. The focus is on African post-conflict countries because of their many problems; however, other selected organizations and innovative project examples in other continents will also be referenced. The selection of donor organizations is based on especially well-documented projects, which in no way should detract from the work of other organizations and their projects and programs.

This study offers an overview of already existing approaches, which are often unknown outside of the country of implementation, and which are presented only very briefly in conference reports. Despite their importance for gender and development cooperation, the organizations and their projects and programs frequently lead a niche existence. They are hardly taken into consideration by planners working in peace and conflict, as well as for

youth, human and children's rights. Dialogue and the systematic exchange of experiences would become all the more important in order to capture the meaning of masculine identity and patterns of change to overcome violence in this area. Ideally, the analysis presented here can give impetus to this. The basis for this qualitative desk study are reports and background analysis by the respective organizations, or by those that have been commissioned to do so by donors, as well as a scientific study, secondary literature and context-relevant gender publications in the field of development cooperation. In addition, some empirical observations in South Africa and Zimbabwe also fed into the elaboration of this study. This study is not complete; however, it does present organizations, projects and programs, which are especially innovative, undertake (self-) evaluations and which are equally well-documented in available literature.

Building on the case studies, recommendations are formulated for the work of the Austrian Development Cooperation. The overall objective of this case study is to contribute to non-violent conflict resolution and its goal is to sensitize men and boys in post-conflict societies to differentiated gender perspectives that are focused on the formation of male identity and its variances. It builds on previous gender work of the Vienna Institute for International Dialogue and Cooperation (VIDC). These include projects, events and studies, especially those on "children and armed conflicts", on UN resolution 1325, on "gender-boxes", on post-conflict societies and on women's and land rights.

1.1 Structure

After a short background information (chapter 1.2), there will be a presentation of the international frameworks and the ADC-guidelines relevant for the topics (chapter 2). For the international contextualization, the relevant international conventions, legal norms and resolutions with regards to women's and children's rights in conflict will be discussed. In this respect, guidelines and hitherto funded activities (gender-guidelines, national action plan for UN resolution 1325), guidelines for the promotion of children and children's rights (children as partners, national action plans for children's rights), as well as for the work on human rights, for peacekeeping and conflict prevention, among others in post-conflict societies, will be looked at more closely. To which extent Austrian development organizations implement projects on gender sensitization of boys and men is another area examined in this study.

In addition, UN guidelines and programs for working with men and boys in the various UN agencies will be described (chapter 3). Here it is not just about conflict and post-conflict contexts, but also about gender and development cooperation in the broad sense, especially as these programs often lead by example in post-conflict societies. The fourth chapter presents the international non-governmental organizations' programs with men, youth and boys in post-conflicts societies.

Subsequently, chapter 5 will present innovative men's organizations and projects in African post-war and post-conflict countries, in particular those that attract boys and male youth, in more detail. This section focuses on the countries of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya and Sierra Leone, which are, in part, the priority and cooperation countries of the ADC. This is also pertinent for many of the project examples from Central and Latin America that also aim to reach boys and male youth. This will be examined in chapter 6. Case studies from Asian (post-conflict) countries in chapter 7 deal with this target

group. Chapter 8 is dedicated to the work with adolescents in South-Eastern Europe.

To conclude, chapter 9 lists examples of “best practices” and lessons learned according to their organization and thematic focus. Based on this, concrete recommendations will be made for the ADC. Chapter 10 includes a bibliography and a list with web links.

1.2 Background

A detailed analysis of the perceptions of masculinity and femininity, as well as the diverse and divergent war experiences of boys, male adolescents and men, is essential for development cooperation in post-conflict societies and for project planning and implementation. Hierarchies and conflicts between male adolescents and men of various ages, as well as ranks and statuses, must be taken into consideration as well. This is necessary in order to understand the combat logic; the tolerance for violence and the perpetual willingness to resort back to violence after wars. After all, many post-conflict societies exhibit high levels of domestic and sexual violence. Another focus of the analysis is the violence between adolescents and men, many of whom were ex-combatants and soldiers and who, for the most part, have been released to an uncertain future marked by unemployment and a lack of prospects.

The propensity to violence exhibited by adolescents and young men after wars often causes problems for those responsible for peacekeeping missions, reintegration and rehabilitation programs, especially when there is a lack of understanding of what male identity means in armed violence. After an official peace agreement is signed, numerous demobilized combatants and militiamen use violence as a tool to gain power. Victims of such acts of violence are by no means just women and girls. Assaults on other men and armed robbery put additional strain on the often instable security situation. It is not rare to see that even “blue-helmets” or employees of international organizations become targets, as some of them have previously abused girls and young women in the local communities. Therefore, the enforcement of a zero-tolerance policy becomes all the more important to prevent sexual abuse by “blue-helmets”, as well as the maintenance of ethical codes of conduct for humanitarian workers. Moreover, the application of innovative and integrative approaches can bring about changes in perceptions of manhood among the local population.

Although UN resolutions 1325 and 1820 on “Women, Peace and Security”, as well as related resolutions 1888, 1889 and 1960, which were adopted by the UN Security Council between 2000 and 2010, have condemned sexual violence as a war crime and a threat to international security, too many projects in that area remain reactive and focus on the female victim (Olonisakin/ Barnes/ Ikpe 2011). Thus, this study seeks to determine at which levels fundamental attitude changes of older and younger men, adolescents and boys must occur.

Often local demobilized soldiers and ex-combatants perceive the handover of their weapons as an insufferable loss of power. Many of them react to this with sexual and gender-specific violence. Especially child soldiers, who were socialized into war for many years, have learned little about peaceful forms of conflict resolution and other ways to articulate masculinity. For them, the use of weapons has become the proven tool to gain power. They were able to insinuate their manliness towards women and girls, as well as towards older men, through the use of armed violence, a tool of power which would have been denied to them by their often gerontocratic environment, i.e. societies dominated by older men.

Henceforth they were able to compensate their own fear of death through combat and feeling like strong men – a self-perception, which is often reinforced among each other through collective and often sexualized violent rituals. The spread of HIV infections, sexually-transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies, as well as a quick readiness to resort to violence, especially between young men, are some of the consequences long after the conclusion of peace agreements and the end of official disarmament-, demobilization- and rehabilitation programs.

Representatives of government institutions are called upon to tackle the issue of militarized manliness and the gender-specific patterns of violence in the context of national security reforms. This study presents which projects and programs exist at local, national and multinational levels, and how, thanks to the support of the ADC and other donors, they are able to deal with this matter. It will be illustrated at which level they intervene concretely so as to change the attitudes and behavioral patterns of ex-combatants, as well as that of the boys, adolescents and men affected by violent conflict.

2 Background on human rights and development aid policy – the United Nations and Austria

2.1 The rights of the child and resolutions on child soldiers

The Vienna Institute for International Dialog and Cooperation (VIDC) published fundamental research on children and youth in conflict regions that followed the VIDC-project “Gender in Armed Conflicts”. It aimed at showing how the subject areas are interlinked and presented important international agreements, the foundations of the ADC as well as the health-related and psychological consequences of war on children and adolescents, and outlined projects that offer support to children in post-conflict societies. Additionally, it looked in more detail at the importance of the “Paris Principles”, or rather the “Paris Commitments” from 2007, which was a declaration against the recruitment of child soldiers. Furthermore, successful methods for the prevention of recruitment and for the demobilization and reintegration of under-aged combatants were examined (Reiweger 2010:10).

The focus areas of the ADC are poverty reduction, peacekeeping and environmental protection. The promotion of human rights is an important basis for these. A human rights-based approach is also a basis for peacekeeping and conflict prevention; hence the ADC guidelines take this into consideration for the protection and promotion of human rights. In addition, the protection of children and the realization of their rights are main objectives of the ADC. Therefore, children’s rights are enshrined in the ADC guidelines. The ADC advocates for the implementation of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child from 1989, its additional and optional protocols, among others, on the recruitment and participation of children in armed conflicts from the year 2000, and other children-specific international agreements. These are documents under international law, which are referenced by the ADC. In Austria, since January 2011, the Convention on the Rights of the Child has the same standing as a law of the federal constitution (ADA 2011b:2ff.).

The ADC’s principles for working with children are: 1) children are partners, actors and target groups of the ADC, 2) the impact of projects on children should be analyzed, and 3) the systematic consideration of their needs is a cross-cutting exercise for the ADC. To this end training is necessary.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child is an important basis for the protection of human rights, but it is often violated, as exemplified by the recruitment and use of children for combat. It is all the more important that international development cooperation protects and promotes the economic, social and cultural rights of children. After all, children’s rights are part of human rights; therefore, the inclusion, participation and empowerment of children and adolescents should be given high importance. Education and awareness raising on children’s rights are similarly forward-looking. The ADC follows a holistic approach to protect children. This includes projects that focus on strengthening children’s rights, as well as on mainstreaming children’s rights (ADA 2011b:2f.).

Austria played a significant role in enshrining children’s rights in the development cooperation of the European Union. In 2006, the EU started developing a concept for a comprehensive strategy on children’s rights. In the meantime, thanks to the strong engagement of Austria, guidelines for the promotion and protection of children in armed conflicts have been adopted. In addition to that, the Council of the European Union has adopted the “Council Conclusions on Children in Development and Humanitarian Setting”.

Employees of EU peacekeeping missions, i.e. military and civilian personnel, receive training on children's rights before their deployment abroad. They are requested to analyze in their routine reports the consequences of conflicts on children in order to curb violence against children and forced recruitments of child soldiers.

In 2009, at the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Geneva Convention and under Austria's Presidency, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1894 on the "Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflicts". Numerous times this resolution makes an explicit reference to children and mentions the grave consequences of armed conflicts on women and children.

On July 12, 2011, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1998 on "Children in Armed Conflicts". It builds on the other thematically relevant UN resolutions: 1261 from 8/25/1999, 1314 from 8/11/2000, 1379 from 11/20/2001, 1460 from 1/30/2003, 1539 from 4/22/2004, 1612 from 7/25/2005 and 1882 from 8/4/2009. Moreover, it takes all relevant declarations of the UN Secretary-General into consideration that contain a comprehensive framework for the protection of children in armed conflicts. Reference is also made to the Convention on the Rights of the Child from 1989 and its optional protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict, as well as to the Geneva Convention and its additional protocol from 1977. In addition, references are made to the 1998 Rome Statute from the International Criminal Court.

In 2011, the UN Secretary-General published the report "Cross-Cutting Report on Children in Armed Conflicts", which builds on the reports from the years 2008, 2009 and 2010. This report indicates that the already issued UN resolution 1261 in the year 1999 and the resolution 1314 in the year 2000 protect children from sexual abuse and demand the participation of children in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs. The report also establishes the link between the distribution of small arms and armed conflicts. It highlights the importance of UN resolution 1612 from July 2005, which demands monitoring and reporting mechanisms for five serious human rights violations and violent assaults on children: the recruitment and deployment of child soldiers; rape; sexual abuse and the abduction of children; attacks on schools and hospitals; and the refusal of humanitarian aid. In addition, resolution 1882 from 2009 is mentioned, since it builds on that and because it extends the list of war crimes by naming the warring parties that violate children's rights through manslaughter, mutilation and rape. The "Cross-Cutting Report on Children in Armed Conflict" lists 35 UN resolutions from the year 2010 that specifically address children, 25 of which make reference to the situation of children. He underlines the importance of the Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict and of the UN Working Group for Children in Armed Conflicts formed in 2005. On September 11, 2010, the chair of this working group condemned the mass rapes by the militia that took place in August 2010 in the region of Walikale, Eastern Congo. Around 300 people were raped, 32 of which were children (UN Security Council 2011:10).

With respect to the International Criminal Court (ICC), the "Cross-Cutting Report on Children in Armed Conflict" from the UN Secretary-General mentions the criminal acts that the ICC is supposed to pursue: crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide. The ICC, on the basis of the Rome Statute, can investigate the forced recruitment and the use of child soldiers in the DR Congo. This was precisely the case with the start of the trial of warlord Thomas Lubanga Dyilo in 2009 for his acts of violence in the years 2002 and 2003. This also applies to the trials against German Katanga and Mathieu Ngdolo Chui, which started in the same year. Both warlords are held accountable for having recruited and deployed

child soldiers in Eastern Congo. Furthermore, they are standing trial for the violent crimes against civilians and for sexual slavery. In addition, the Special Court for Sierra Leone, which deals, among other things, with the recruitment and the abuse of children as child soldiers, was established to prosecute the war crimes of the Liberian warlord and president Charles Taylor on numerous counts. It began in January 2008 and ended on March 11, 2011. Taylor was sentenced in April 2012. The “Cross-Cutting Report on Children in Armed Conflicts” of the UN Secretary-General mentions the recruitment, or rather, the use of child soldiers through the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in North Uganda and in the Dominican Republic of Congo (UN Security Council 2011:8).

Resolutions 1265 (1999), 1296 (2000), 1674 (2006), 1738 (2006) and 1894 (2009) on the “Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflicts” highlight the need for the special protection of women and children. Resolution 1674 especially condemns gender-specific wartime violence and the recruitment of child soldiers, as well as the sexual exploitation of children.

2.2 UN resolutions about women, peace and security – implementation in the Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC)

Beside in the UN resolutions on children in wars, the difficult situation of children is also reflected in the UN resolutions on “Women, Peace and Security”, i.e. UN resolution 1325 from 10/31/2000 and its follow-up resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960, which were adopted between June 2008 and December 2010. Therein the need for their protection is always put in relation with the protection of women. These resolutions invoke other UN treaties for protection against gender-specific violence and its prevention, as well as demand the prosecution of violent assaults. Furthermore, they call for a stronger participation of women in peace missions and processes and to include gender systematically in the processes (ADA 2011 a:4f.).

In 2007, Austria became one of the first countries to adopt a National Action Plan on implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325. This gave Austria a pioneering role in Europe and the rest of the world. The ADC contributed to the development of the National Action Plan. It includes concrete humanitarian, peacekeeping, developmental and diplomatic activities. There should be yearly reports, and in 2011, a revision was made. In 2006, the ADC hosted the international symposium “Building Peace – Empowering Women: Gender Strategies to make UN Security Council resolution 1325 work” to reflect on the implementation of resolution 1325.

Austria’s work on the implementation of UN resolution 1325 makes reference to the treaties, resolutions and the implementation strategy of the EU, for instance the “Comprehensive EU approach to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820”, agreed upon in December 2008, and the study “Enhancing the EU response to women and armed conflict, with particular reference to developing policy”, published in the same year. The underlying principles are political dialogue, gender mainstreaming and strategies for the protection and empowerment of women (ADA 2011a:5f.).

Peacekeeping, the protection of human security and gender equality are central goals and principles of the ADC. Gender dimensions are also incorporated in the ADC guidelines on peacekeeping and conflict prevention (FMEIA 2009a:8ff.). They call for, among others, the systematic consideration of gender in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs, albeit the latter puts special emphasis on the promotion of youth. The ADC indicates

that gender equality between women and men is not just a matter of women empowerment but that it also requires sustainable, structural changes that prevent social / cultural disadvantages, sexism, racism and authoritarian power relations. Moreover, the polarization between men, who are willing to fight, and women, who are seeking peaceful means, is being criticized. Regarding the violence against women in war, it is necessary to consider the perception of masculinity and its link to weapons. The structural causes of war stem from gender stereotypes and the lack of opportunities for men to fulfill their societal roles due to poverty and unemployment (ADA 2011a:2).

In order to overcome such structural problems and war experiences in post-conflict societies, the ADC, together with CARE International, finances the peace conciliation work of women's organizations and their exchange of experiences in Uganda, Burundi and Nepal. The survivors of violence receive psychosocial and medical counseling, as well as financial support. Moreover, CARE International advocates for women's rights and the participation of women in peace processes vis-à-vis religious and political authorities (CARE 2009). Target groups are the most marginalized women, who are often excluded from decision-making at the community level. With reference to UN resolution 1325 and other international treaties, "best practices" are being documented, as indicated by the „Austrian National Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325" (FMEIA 2007). Some women's organizations, for instance in Burundi, have meanwhile started to target men specifically in order to affect attitude and behavioral changes. In Burundi, there are references to a project for war-traumatized children. Moreover, the men are being promoted as change agents at the local level, they are being chosen by their communities and, in consultation with women organizations, are included in efforts to alter perceptions.

The „Austrian National Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325" also outlines the ADC program and funding activities in the focus- and post-conflict country Uganda: rehabilitation and reintegration of child soldiers, as well as counseling and training activities. Project partners are Caritas, the Justice and Peace Commission of the Archdiocese Gulu and a SOS-Children's Village. Paralegal training, which follows a human rights-based approach and which provides skills for conflict resolution, is also part of the project goals. Assistance and protection of civilians in the districts Gulu, Kitigum and Pader are central to the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross. It aims to enhance the quality of life of people by improving access to water and food. The most important objective is to persuade the conflict parties to abide to humanitarian international law and human rights (FMEIA 2007).

The ADC supports the "Uganda Women's Network" (UWO-NET), which strengthens the political participation of women at the local level and which contributes to the implementation of national gender policies. The support of women's groups and civil servants in the districts Kitigum and Pader contributes to pacification, especially as it is based on a human rights-based approach and is linked to peace and development efforts undertaken at the local level. Furthermore, human rights work is essential in training judicial personnel, another one of the focal areas supported by the ADC in Northern Uganda. With regards to UN resolution 1325 and the Viennese women's conference "Networking for Peace and Security in the Middle East", the ADC promotes Palestinian women's organizations in the districts Nablus and Hebron. They aim to stop violence against women. Their commitment to gender equality is supported by strengthening their institutional, programmatic and human resource capacities, as well as their networking (ADA 2011a).

2.3 ADC guidelines on gender

The gender guidelines of the ADC offer an additional framework for working with boys and men in post-conflict societies. Gender equality, alongside poverty reduction, environmental protection, protection of natural resources and peacekeeping, is a goal of the ADC. At the same time, gender equality is inadvertently linked to these goals. On the basis of the ADC laws, the ADC continuously works on the realization of gender equality, and, thus, contributes to the implementation of international agreements. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy of gender policy and it has become binding for the ADC since the Ministerial Council decision from 7/7/2000 (FMEIA 2010:11).

Participatory consultations with government and non-governmental representatives of the partner countries, multilateral organizations and donor countries are essential for ADC's gender-sensitive country programming. The VIDC "gender boxes" create a strong basis, as they provide overviews of legal frameworks or of a partner country, especially of women's rights and land rights, and they contain gender-specific data. They also provide detailed information of gender structures in post-conflict countries, which is very relevant since most of the ADC priority countries are in post-conflict or post-war settings.

The ADC gender policies have a broad human rights approach: they aim at strengthening women's rights as human rights and at building their capacities in order to achieve these. Training programs on women's rights for civil society organizations and for UN peacekeepers (via UNIFEM) contribute to the realization of these goals (FMEIA 2010:13ff). Awareness raising on sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS are also being promoted among adolescents.

2.4 ADC guidelines on human rights

The ADC guidelines on human rights are based on international agreements that have been signed and ratified by Austria, as well as on the ADC-law and the three-year program of the Austrian Development Policy. Conceptually, they are linked to the guidelines on good governance. Human rights belong to one of the three main objectives of the ADC next to poverty reduction and human security. Peacekeeping and the protection of natural resources should also be mentioned. Human rights should be mainstreamed in all programs. Additionally, there are specially targeted areas of human rights that are being promoted. Human rights are a normative principle, part of the programming and an instrument of intervention. Gender equality and the development of children should be given special attention in the ADC's integration of human rights (FMEIA 2009b:9).

2.5 Guidelines on peacekeeping and conflict prevention

The promotion of peace, conflict prevention and human rights is essential to the ADC's work on good governance. Moreover, peacekeeping and conflict prevention contribute to economic and social justice, the reduction of poverty and the protection of natural resources – conversely, these factors are often the basis for it. The ADC is linked to the United Nations Development Programme's concept of human security developed in 1994, which sees sustainable development closely intertwined with peace processes and conflict prevention.

The ADC highly values gender perspectives in the context of peacekeeping, as per UN resolution 1325 on “Women, Peace and Security” from 10/31/2000, the National Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325, and ADC legislation. The same applies to the protection of children in armed conflicts and the special consideration of children in programs after wars, which was requested, among others, by UN resolution 1612 from the year 2005, the ADC legislation and the Austrian chair of the Human Security Network (HSN, July 2002 - May 2003).

Austria is part of the Human Security Network (HSN), a network of Foreign Ministers from 12 countries. Their goal is the implementation of the human security concept in national and international politics (see Werther-Pietsch 2009:147). Focus areas are peace and security, protection of children in armed conflicts, promotion of women, small arms control, the extension of and adherence to the anti-persons mine convention as well as the development of an international agreement against cluster munitions. Under the aegis of the Austrian chair in 2002, the HSN developed the Support Strategy for Children in Armed Conflicts. The HSN also developed a curriculum for children rights training, which is also being used by UN and EU personnel, and designed courses for people working on the psycho-social rehabilitation of children. Additionally, a handbook on human rights education was developed, which was partly supported by the Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs (FMEIA) and the ADA. In the meantime, it has been translated into many languages. Other follow-up initiatives of the HSN-chair include support to the Center for Child Protection in Sarajevo and the Austrian Center for Social Services in East Jerusalem.

As part of the security sector reforms, the ADC supports judicial reforms, as democratically legitimized government institutions are important prerequisites for conflict prevention and recovery from armed violence. In addition, educating police and other personnel from the judicial branch on human rights also contribute to good governance (FMEIA 2009b).

The ADC pursues the concept of positive peace, which aims to overcome structural violence alongside the direct impact of war and physical violence. Austria contributes, through multilateral and bilateral exchanges with the European Union, the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to peacekeeping and conflict prevention. Austria also furthers civil societies’ potential for peacebuilding and strengthens local organizations in conflict prevention (FMEIA 2009a,b). The basis for this is a conflict-sensitive approach. More concretely, peacekeeping work is addressed not only at demobilized soldiers or ex-combatants who were part of guerilla units, but it is also geared towards refugees, especially in relation to the ADC legislation on women and children.

The support to adolescents after war, especially in the context of their experiences of violence, in which polarized perceptions of a perpetrator and victim do not apply, could be integrated into the guidelines outlined in this part. It could, therefore, make an important contribution to sustainable pacification as well as to conflict prevention in the mid- and long-term.

3 Agreements and programs of the UN on men and equal rights – implementation in UN organizations

Working with men and boys after wars and armed conflicts is part of the human rights agenda, international standards on women's and children's rights, gender guidelines, and principles of the United Nations and its respective development programs, especially in the areas of reproductive health, HIV/AIDS and gender equality.

It is based on the principle of equal treatment underpinned in the Charter of the United Nations. International and national political and social commitments result from this. During the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985), important forums were developed to discuss the advancement of women, especially in the World Conferences on Women (1975 in Mexico, 1980 in Copenhagen and 1985 in Nairobi). Subsequently, political claims were introduced and brought forward at other international conferences, for example at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, which for the first time defined violence against women as a violation of human rights. At the United Nations Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994, it was determined that the political decision makers must strengthen their engagement for gender equality in family and society, which requires a stronger involvement of men in family planning and in carrying out family responsibilities. The action plan, which was adopted during the World Summit for Social Development in 1995, underscored the role of men in the family and household. Foremost, the Action Platform of the World Conference on Women in Peking in 1995 highlighted the joint responsibility of women and men and emphasized that the improvement of the situation of women could only be achieved in partnership with men. The follow-up that occurred five years after the World Conference on Women confirmed this assumption and it resulted in another call for increased involvement of men in gender programs. Also the UN General Assembly has been committed to this topic since 2000 (UNDAW 2003:1). The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) looked into that subject in 2001 (UNAIDS 2001a). At the end of the 1990s, UN staff members, above all from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), created the United Nations Working Group on Men and Gender Equality, with the mandate of raising awareness on masculinity and gender issues, and to create a link between their field of work and gender equality. They dealt with the obvious as well as hidden gender discrimination in the UN and in UN programs.

In 2003, the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (UNDAW) invited representatives of men's organizations to a consultative meeting in Brasilia, Brazil. Representatives from UNAIDS and the International Labour Organization (ILO) were among the invitees. The UNDAW was the first interdepartmental UN organization to systematically look at the meaning of masculinity in the context of gender equality. The results of their discussions laid the basis for the work of the 48th General Assembly of the International Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), which took place in New York in March 2004. The participating governments committed to advocate for a stronger involvement of boys and men in programs on gender equality, in areas such as education, health, media and employment. Concretely, they should contribute to overcoming gender stereotypes, improving the compatibility between career and family, contributing to more responsible sexual behavior, fighting HIV/AIDS, overcoming gender-specific violence and in changing gender perceptions at schools in order to induce socio-cultural awareness and achieve gender equality. Awareness programs should also take place in male dominated institutions such as justice, military and police, so that men are encouraged to take on more responsibilities

for gender equality (UNDAW 2008:3ff.). At the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women on November 24, 2009, the UN Secretary-General created the Network of Men Leaders, a consultative group of men, to help conceptualize programs for the involvement of men as change agents for gender equality. In March 2009, the Global Symposium “Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality” took place in Rio. Numerous UN organizations, such as UNDP, the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UNIFEM), UNFPA, UNAIDS as well as non-governmental organizations participated. It deliberately integrated the interest of adolescents, youth representatives, among others from Bosnia and Colombia, as well as took into consideration the problematic situation of young men during and after wars. The participants adopted the Rio Declaration on Engaging Men and Boys on Achieving Gender Equality (Atkin/ Barker/ Ricardo et al. 2009:54f.).

The Inter-Agency Network on Youth Development (IANYD) should contribute to the exchange of experiences from the various UN organizations. It should promote the effectiveness of UN's youth work, for which there is a world-wide action plan with 15 focus areas, which are based on UN resolutions, conventions and agreements.

These objectives are examined year-by-year at the CSW meetings, for instance, as part of the International Women's Day in March 2006 and 2007. They found their way into debates and reporting processes, which took place ten years after the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action. The UN Member States declared their intent to affect changes in attitudes and behavioral patterns of men through comprehensive strategies. Legislative reforms and political reforms, educational and media programs, and partnerships with non-governmental organizations, the private sector and representatives of all social groups, for instance, with representatives of religious organizations and groups, should be part of this.

3.1 Work with boys and men in gender programs of the UN organizations

3.1.1 The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

In 1997, the UN Division for the Advancement of Women (UNDAW) organized, together with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), an expert discussion on the role of men and the meaning of masculinity in peace processes. The event took place as part of the UNESCO program “Women and the Culture of Peace”. The participants discussed the gender-specific factors that can strengthen or weaken a culture of peace. They looked critically at rigid gender stereotypes, institutions and ideologies that foster male aggression, and examined case studies to overcome masculinity linked to violence. At the same time, they investigated the influence of historic and economic ties and the complex ascriptions of identity that determine self-perception, interactions and behaviors of men. The fragility of manliness, the latent feeling of insecurity of many men, as well as their endeavor to prove themselves through the use of violence, also formed part of the discussions (UNESCO 1997:3ff.). Moreover, they fathomed the various legitimizations of violence to acknowledge manliness and devised measures of government institutions and non-governmental organizations to address such patterns. They discussed how the upbringing of boys could be geared towards a culture of peace in the specific cultural contexts (UNDAW 2008:2).

3.1.2 The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW)

After a gender workshop in 1999 the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) began to encourage its employees to discuss the role of men in gender programs. A working group of men was formed to exchange ideas with UNDP's internal gender consultative committees and with the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). They share their experiences on gender-mainstreaming processes in UNDP; concretely, about the socialization of men, men and HIV/AIDS programs, and NGO and media work at the local level. The UNDP programs in India and Botswana were being used as good practice. Additionally, UNDP started discussions on internal gender mainstreaming processes, about the recruitment of new employees and about sexual harassment at UNDP. To tackle sexual harassment issues within the organization, an internal internet platform was established (Greig/ Kimmel/ Lang 2000).

In 2001, UNDP, in cooperation with the UN research institute INSTRAW, organized an international virtual seminar and discussion forum on the topic "Partners in Change, Working with Men to End Gender-Based Violence." The engagement of men from diverse origins as actors of change, the transfer of more responsibilities to men and male-dominated institutions were addressed. To achieve structural changes, particularly in the challenging area of gender-specific violence, INSTRAW developed institutional partnerships that build on a research project on comprehensive prevention strategies against gender-specific violence (INSTRAW 2002).

Some years later, INSTRAW developed, together with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), detailed concepts and specific training material on security sector reform, among other things for restructuring the police, justice and military. The concept and training materials tackle the formation of male identity in military and wars, which are intertwined with gender-specific forms of violence, such as forced prostitution and sexual abuse. It also looked at the reactions and measures needed to prevent this with the help of state institutions. Gender is understood holistically and it is linked to age and cultural differences, for example. The training material addresses homosexuality and violence against boys and men (INSTRAW 2007 und 2008).

3.1.3 The International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW)

The International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) conducted together with the Instituto Promundo, an institute based in Brazil, the "Men and Gender Equality Policy Project", which looked at how gender policies positively change violent behaviors of boys and men and how they can actively contribute to gender equality. The focus of the "International Men and Gender Equality Survey" (IMAGES) was on monitoring the behavior and attitudes of men. This level of observation was linked to questions on quality of life, violence, reproductive rights, childhood, and family. The project was implemented, among other countries, in Brazil, Chile, India, Mexico, and South Africa. It aimed at strengthening the cooperation between political decision makers. Furthermore, it developed toolkits for the improvement of gender policies (ICRW 2010a,b).

3.1.4 The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

Since the end of the 1990s, UNFPA has been working on solving problems linked to conflictual relationships between masculinity marked by violence, risky sexual behaviors, HIV/AIDS and the lack of reproductive rights. It relates to development programs in post-war countries and in countries where there has not been any war, yet where there have been major development problems and social conflicts.

In its publications and programs, UNFPA sheds light on the fact that men, who are actively involved in the upbringing of their children, will be able to improve their feeling of well-being and decrease their risky behavior. In that way, they become positive role models for their sons and promote alternative images of masculinity that are non-violent (UNFPA 2005). UNFPA considers early childhood and teenage years as decisive stages in life in which the sexual behaviors and risk-taking attitudes of adult men are formed. Violence and drug consumption belong to the risk factors that create harmful effects. Men between 15 and 24 hold the highest risk of becoming infected with HIV or to become drug addicts. The effect of school on behavioral development is often minimal, more important are the learning and adoption of traditional roles, norms and perceptions of masculinity by the respective peer group. UNFPA highlights the fact that peer pressure is especially strong for individuals, boys or adolescents, who are part of a criminal gang and do not complete secondary education, which would in fact be important for their access to the labor market (UNFPA 2005:77ff.).

Conceptually, UNFPA creates the link between reproductive rights, HIV/AIDS, gender equality and poverty reduction. It indicates that programs designed for men as target group in the achievement of behavioral changes and attitudes in the context of reproductive rights have positive effects for overcoming poverty, the health situation and the educational level of entire families. UNFPA considers the government programs for poverty eradication in Cambodia, Viet Nam and Nicaragua as good examples. All three countries are post-conflict countries. The gender policies in Cambodia integrate their work with men at the conceptual level, so that government institutions and especially health institutions are sensitized and aware of the fact that girls and women can only be protected properly by including men in the programs. Non-governmental organizations in Cambodia also have an important stake, as highlighted by UNFPA. The organization "Men Against Violence Against Women", for example, participates in yearly campaigns against gender-specific violence. It is targeted especially at young men who can act as role models against violence.

UNFPA takes into consideration cultural differences, yet highlights that there are also basic cross-cultural similarities. Society expects that men dominate and that they should display their sexual activities. A readiness to use violence is often an expression of masculinity; at the same time men and adolescents react violently when they cannot meet the high expectations, for example when they are unemployed. Often boys learn to use violence through the abuses of their fathers and they do not know of any other means to handle conflicts. Many men refuse to undergo health checks and thus avoid HIV-testing. Many of them, even very young men, have a hard time confessing their HIV infection to their partners and thereby increase the risk of transmission. They have internalized the ideal of a healthy and strong partner so much, that they lie to their partners. UNFPA promotes peer-education programs through which men of various ages learn to advise friends and acquaintances of their social environment and to define manliness through less risky sexual behavior. UNFPA works under the premise that men should get special health sector consultations, especially on matters relating to reproductive health and HIV/AIDS. Moreover, it would be important to include

men as partners in family planning and HIV programs. In principle, men should be trained as actors of change so that they can affect the attitudes and behaviors of other men.

UNFPA's programs address men as fathers, brothers and partners under the assumption that they are generally interested in taking responsibility for their female family members. Young men are being encouraged in peer-group work to prevent violence. Depending on the country and culture, these programs are tied to the local radio stations and use the local language or discussion forums with religious authorities. These are considered opinion-forming tools that can affect behavioral changes in West- and Northeast Africa (UNFPA 2005:58f.).

In the post-conflict country of South Africa "Engender Health" developed the "Men as Partners" program with the support of UNFPA. It develops courses, radio shows and internet discussion forums on HIV-prevention together with non-governmental organizations and local men's groups. Target groups were mostly young men. In the post-war country Uganda, the African Youth Alliance worked on a program on reproductive health with UNFPA's support. Their target groups were adolescents as well as boys between the age of 10 and 14. They did not have access to information about HIV, responsible sexual behavior or reproductive rights. Their perceptions about sexuality and protection were distorted. In Sierra Leone, where many child soldiers were recruited throughout its civil war, the government issued a political directive for a national youth policy, which includes the appointment of youth focal points in ministries and stipulations for the provincial authorities. The political participation of youth and work with youth are part of democratization processes, economic development and reconciliation efforts (UNFPA 2003:59ff.). UNFPA underlines that the national youth policies of a country should be based on gender equality, and should be designed in a way to change the norms, gender concepts and cultural practices. Youth programs in Bosnia-Herzegovina are addressed to young men in order to promote and encourage them to contribute to gender equality and democracy.

According to UNFPA most of the post-war countries put way too little value on the changes in perceptions of masculinity and role models, in particular on the meaning of fatherhood. As a matter of fact, reorientation after wars would offer a unique opportunity to issue and implement new policies. Young people need health care after wars, trauma counseling, education, training and jobs, in order to set their new path in life and to create a daily routine. This affects especially adolescents who were combatants or who have lived in refugee camps. All the more important it is that the responsible staff members in refugee camps develop targeted youth programs while taking into consideration the constructs of male identity and conflict resolution. UNFPA highlights the Eastern province of the Democratic Republic of Congo as an example, where this kind of work was especially important as the number of rapes and HIV-infections increased rapidly during the war towards the end of the 1990s. The familiar safety nets were affected by the targeted, brutal acts of the militia on civilians. The documented assaults on the refugee camps until today show how rapes have become part of the norm. It demonstrates that the official end of a war in no way means the end of sexualized violence. Therefore, exactly then targeted and comprehensive measures are required for attitude and behavioral changes, and the outreach to both ex-combatants as well as civilians is needed. In refugee camps they cannot live up to their traditional male roles and therefore resort to violence.

UNFPA engaged in the post-war phase in Ethiopia and Eritrea, where HIV/AIDS awareness raising and sensitizations for responsible sexual behavior was addressed to ex-combatants. They should share the newly gained knowledge with their communities after their return (UNFPA 2003:82). In the post-war country Liberia, UNFPA supported a consortium of non-

governmental organizations that were offering training and awareness-raising programs in refugee camps – there, where HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases are spread fastest through sexualized violence. “Survival sex” or “transactional sex”, and sexual services are offered in exchange for food. This is a problem that also affects the army and guerilla camps in many countries.

Male adolescents and young men are being trained in leadership courses on reproductive rights and gender equality in the context of human rights and democratization in Nigeria. The Man for Gender Equality Network in Malawi cooperates closely with the campaign for innovative work with men of the African Women’s Development and Cooperation Network (FEMNET) in Kenya. It promoted the establishment of forums consisting of men and boys in order to achieve changes in attitudes. In Peru, the Movimiento Manuela Ramos implemented the “Repro Salud”-project, a trainer-of-trainers program for reproductive schools targeted at men from poorer communities and indigenous groups. The training program “H” (H stands for hombre; Spanish: man; Portuguese: homem), which aims to drive change through internalized perceptions of masculinity, was developed for young men by the Instituto Promundo in Brazil. Through the support of UNFPA it was replicated in other countries in Latin America, among others in Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama. Moreover, the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) deals with changes in self-perceptions of masculinity in adolescents. It initiated a pilot program in several Latin American countries, which links soccer with gender themes to attract boys from the age of 8 onwards (UNFPA 2005:58ff.). UNFPA indicates that the international NGO Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) works with youth in sport and youth clubs in India and Egypt. They learn to question deep-rooted gender stereotypes.

In their handbook on reproductive health, UNFPA highlights the importance of including child soldiers and youth, who used to be part of guerilla organizations, in healthcare. This applies, for example, to refugee camps where ex-combatants seek support. Many have become infected with HIV or other sexually transmitted diseases through their sexual contacts and rapes in which they participated (UNFPA 2009:8ff.).

UNFPA dedicates its annual report 2010 to youth after wars and violent conflicts; a focus is on war experiences that impact the everyday life of youth in refugee camps.

The acts of violence on boys and girls resulting in pregnancies and HIV infections are condemned. Moreover, it looks at the formation of violence in youths, which are placed in the context of changed gender roles during wars and in refugee camps. The men’s lack of self-esteem, their loss of orientation, and the loss of their role as provider are serious challenges. They do not serve as positive role models for boys and young people.

Some women’s organizations fear that the occasional visible attention on men in refugee camps blocks them from the few empowerment programs that would give them access to resources and education. All the more important is the design of intersectoral and cross-disciplinary programs that take this into account. UNFPA refers to the Refugee Law Project in Kampala, which exemplified these problems and thereupon developed a comprehensive program approach next to its counseling. Also, the Transcultural Psychological Association in Uganda works on this problem. The psychologists seem to suggest that the internalized image of masculinity and self-image make it hard for them to admit that they have been humiliated and offended. Due to this, they often tend to resort to alcohol and domestic violence (UNFPA 2010:20).

The situation is especially tough for young people who have become orphans, and who at first live in refugee camps and thereafter need to find their way on their own. They need to be

given opportunities to educate themselves, to work and to generate income, otherwise there is some danger that rebel groups will recruit them or that they join them due to a lack of alternatives. Therefore, UNFPA supports a multi-functional youth center in Gulu, Northern Uganda. The services offered there are psycho-social counseling, medical care, peer-group work on HIV and prevention, school education and recreational activities through creative and artistic forms of expression that correspond to the interests of young people, such as music and dance. In doing so, the UNESCO "life skills"-approach is being applied that entails a broad understanding of education and which aims to train young people who have survived wars to live more responsibly on the basis of economic self-reliance in a post-war context (UNFPA 2010:23). With respect to the social environment, UNFPA holds the view that it is not about rebuilding societal structures in exactly the same way as they were before the war. Rather, the inequalities that entice violence and the exploitations need to be overcome. Norms, relationships, institutions and ideologies should be transformed in such a way so that gender equality and generational equity can be achieved (UNFPA 2010:39).

3.1.5 The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC)

During and after wars or violent conflicts, expulsion and displacements become serious problems, which need to be addressed by UN organizations. As per the principles set by the Human Rights Commission in 1998, refugee protection, the safeguarding of reproductive rights and protection against violence, represent complex challenges within international agreements. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) was established in 1992 on the basis of the UN General Assembly resolution 46/182. Its mandate is to coordinate humanitarian assistance from the UN and other organizations, and to establish policy guidelines. For that matter, it works collaboratively with other UN organizations. It developed a handbook and directive on HIV and reproductive rights, which defines gender in a broader context and in which the rights and responsibilities of men and boys for gender equality are considered (IASC 2004, 2005, 2006). The IASC published a study in 2010, which presents extensive measures to prevent sexual abuse through UN staff and personnel of humanitarian organizations. Prevention and prosecution are integral elements of such an approach (IASC 2010). The distribution of food in exchange for sexual services is not just humiliating for girls and possibly dangerous due to the risk of infections with HIV or other sexually transmitted diseases, but it is also an affront to young men and adolescents in the refugee camps, particularly as some of them used to be combatants who have internalized sexual behavioral patterns in which hierarchies are defined through sexual control. In that way gender conflicts and possessive, violent sexual behavior are intensified through the abuse of UN employees making it ever more important to devise counterstrategies.

The United Nations Office applies an integrated gender or gender mainstreaming method for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) in conflicts and post-war contexts (UN OCHA 2010). To date, UN OCHA, UNHCR and other humanitarian and refugee organizations still sometimes prefer an explicit women empowerment framework (UNHCR 2003; 2004; RHRC 2004; Vann 2004; Ward 2002). For example, identity problems of male adolescents and men in refugee camps are being neglected, although the benefits of the other approach has been demonstrated by scientific research, and to which other UN organizations and NGOs are committed. This is problematic since the ruptures in identity often

causes gender-specific violence, for example, the disorientation of men who themselves were offenders and victims of violence and who were not able to protect their female family members from assaults. In addition comes the lack of economic activities and perspectives in camps (Dolan 2002:57ff.).

Sexual violence against boys and men in war and its consequences were presented in a concise UN OCHA discussion paper in 2008 that reflected state-of-the-art research. Notwithstanding, it was hardly featured in the gender strategy of the organization (UN OCHA 2010).

The “Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children” (WCRWC), an NGO which is associated with the International Rescue Committee and which cooperates with the UN-HCR, published a study in 2005. This study shows why it is important to work with boys and men in refugee camps and what measures can be taken to contribute to their stronger integration into gender work and gender mainstreaming (WCRWC 2005:2ff.). The WCRWC argues that masculinity in wars is oriented towards violence and martial behavior, the consequences of which is said to be the escalation of gender-specific violence in the post-war context. These patterns of violence are presented to be of normative nature for boys and adolescents. All the more crucial it becomes to offer masculinity constructs free of violence and to provide choices for their identity, as WCRWC suggests. Integrated approaches are necessary through which peer-group work with boys can be linked to role model behavior of men. Such programs also contribute to gender equality (WCRWC 2005:20).

3.1.6 The United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO)

The UN organization dealing with peacekeeping missions (DPKO) published some studies and handbooks for the integration of gender issues in peacekeeping missions (UN DPKO 2003; 2004; 2007). The many assaults of soldiers and civilian staff on girls of local communities shows how important it is to train and sensitize the blue helmet soldiers on gender. Time and again cases of girls and young women, who were forced to engage in sexual acts for minimal payment or in ‘exchange’ for food, are brought to the fore. Already in 2003, Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary-General, passed a zero-tolerance policy for the prevention and prosecution of sexual exploitation. However, it did not stop the blue helmet soldiers from continuing. The UN is rightly concerned that the success of their missions and the image of the UN is affected by this. Soldiers who have abused girls are suspended from office and are sent back to their home countries. To what extent they are being prosecuted thereafter is unclear. The affected families in the countries of deployment are not informed about this. Many are also not aware of the fact that DPKO has set up a complaints office for misconduct of blue helmet soldiers, or it may also be that they have no access to it. Country comparison studies demonstrate that not just girls and their families are humiliated, but also the men and boys around the girls. Especially demobilized ex-combatants feel provoked by the possessive behavior of the blue helmet soldiers through which their self-image of manliness is affected (Higate 2007). This dimension should be considered more closely by DPKO, especially by the gender focal points and the gender advisors who are deployed to these missions. The DPKO trainings for UN missions essentially consist of sensitizing military and civilian personnel of the need to protect women and girls, yet hardly tackles masculinity formed by combat (UN DPKO 2003; 2004; 2007). This also relates to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs, which in the meantime have started to take into consideration girls and young women as participants of combat units, but hardly ever respond to the martial formation

of masculinity and the experiences of violence of boys and men as perpetrators and victims. They often insufficiently tackle the issue of reintegration of young ex-combatants into society.

3.1.7 The World Health Organization (WHO)

In 2000, the World Health Organization focused on the reproductive rights of people in refugee camps by applying a gender perspective and examining the health situation of boys. In 2005, WHO undertook a comprehensive and comparative study on the health of women and domestic violence. African post-war countries were part of these case studies, for example, Namibia and Ethiopia. It became clear that the violence exercised during wars frequently achieved normative significance, of which behavioral patterns are also apparent after wars. If no interventions and preventative measures are undertaken, it will translate into domestic violence (WHO 2005). Already in 2000, WHO dealt with healthcare for boys and published state-of-the-art research in those days (WHO 2000). From 2004-2005, WHO participated in a test on innovative training concepts for medical students and employees in the healthcare system in Latin America, among others in post-war or post-conflict countries such as Nicaragua and Colombia. The program supported by the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) and the GIZ aims at raising awareness on the connection between the propensity for violence, murder and socio-economic problems and martial patterns of masculinity. It also looks at developing prevention programs in the health sector (Meddings/ Knox/ Maddaleo 2005:259ff.). After all, in many Latin American countries, young men become murderers or murder victims. It is a problem that can only be understood from a gender perspective and through which the formation of violence, as well as the peer pressure in gangs which allows them to show-off their manliness, in part collectively, play a significant role. It became clear that the coordination between the various health institutions of the respective countries of the WHO, as well as the multi-sectoral program coordination at the national level, is important for the institutionalization of innovative preventative measures, among others for the cooperation between healthcare providers, social work for families, police and justice (Meddings/ Knox/ Maddaleo 2005:264).

In 2007, WHO underwent an evaluation of their programs on reproductive health, HIV/AIDS and gender-specific violence, of which target groups were boys and men in the health sector. One of the findings was that norms, behavioral expectations and social interactions directly affected the health of boys and men. This became especially apparent for the normative correlation between masculinity and the propensity for violence. It was proven that those programs that not only draw the connection between them but which are also actively working on gender-transformation processes, can clearly demonstrate change. Criteria were the sharp decline in domestic and sexualized violence, the reduction of HIV transmissions and the improvement of the health situation of mothers and small children. It was especially important to not just address men individually but to implement community programs through which local or religious authorities, the media, peer groups and various institutions were included (WHO 2007:4f.). However, it was also noted that most projects were only pilot projects and did not get any mid-term or long-term funding, which would be necessary to ensure sustainability of changes in attitudes and to scale-up the projects. What remains unanswered is the question, which political context and structural changes are in fact needed to fundamentally alter masculinity and masculine behavioral patterns (WHO 2007:5).

WHO dealt anew with this problem in a policy study that was published in 2010. Representatives of innovative men and gender organizations from African post-conflict countries participated in the same way as the South African Sonke Gender Justice Network had. WHO demonstrates that institutions and organizations should develop political answers or prevention strategies because, on one hand, norms encourage men to resort to violence, and on the other hand, because the possibilities are limited to fulfill these norms. Unemployment and social exclusion lead to a lack of prospects, especially for young men, and this can result in violence (WHO 2010:11). Political guidelines are needed to delimit the scope of the programs and projects. Measures that cater to individual behavioral changes should be integrated into a broader framework, their urgency should be underscored and their widespread impact and sustainability should be improved. Only through programs for the reduction of alcoholism, abuse of weapons and the easy access to weapons can masculinity be demobilized (WHO 2010:30). At the political level WHO considers laws for criminal prosecution of rape and domestic violence as being important, as well as strict compliance with the laws, which help victims gain easier access to public institutions. According to WHO, criminal proceedings need to be connected with community programs in order to make violence socially unacceptable. It is important to denounce violence publically, to side with women, and to demand the implementation or the abidance to new laws relating to the protection against violence and firearms. Fathers who participate more actively in the upbringing of their kids and who receive government incentives to do so are positive role models for their sons. The WHO argues that this has positive effects on the health status of entire families. All the more should governments harmonize their political framework, guidelines, laws and programs conceptually, and coordinate their implementation (WHO 2010:31).

3.1.8 The World Bank

The World Bank, concretely the Department for Social Development and for Conflict Prevention or Reconstruction in Africa, commissioned numerous studies on masculinity in 2005 – one of which analyzed the complex relationship between masculinity, propensity for violence through war or armed conflicts, and HIV/AIDS in Africa (Barker/ Ricardo 2005). It was a comparative study based on interviews with young people, boys, men and employees of NGOs in Uganda, Nigeria, Botswana and South Africa in order to capture country specific characteristics and overarching similarities. It became clear that the projects should be better documented and coordinated, and above all, that public institutions would have to do more to tackle the socio-economic problems affecting young men.

In post-war and post-conflict countries like Uganda and South Africa it became public knowledge that young people did not enroll into a guerilla group by force, but that they also joined them voluntarily, and most were about the same age. Political, economic and social motives partially played a role. For many it was about status and power. In this case the use of violence became an end in itself (Barker/ Ricardo 2005:36). The study refutes the thesis that population growth, meaning the increasing number of young men, is a determining factor for the escalation of violence. Rather, the political, socio-economical and gender-specific motives and linkages need to be considered.

The access to weapons, the exertion of armed violence, even towards men in high ranks, the associated increase in power and prestige as well as camaraderie were important mo-

tives for joining the combatant forces, as the World Bank study documented. In the context of widespread gender norms, the demonstration of virility and possessive sexual behaviors were considered especially manly and were adopted by the combatants. In that way, many became infected with HIV or sexually transmitted diseases, whereby tests were considered unmanly and were a sign of weakness. The combatants were like substitute fathers and the units like family substitutes. Violent behavior was adopted. Training partly included initiation rituals, which demanded that the person who was being initiated uses violence, albeit controlled by older men. This control was then taken over by young combatants in the unit with child soldiers. They raised the willingness of young boys to apply excessive violence, which they achieved through indoctrination and the use of drugs. All the more important it becomes for programs to be designed in a way that will help to bring young people and former child soldiers off the path of violence.

Many young people experienced their youth as a trap, which affected mostly the residents of refugee camps, such as in Northern Uganda. They were often dependent on irregular and insufficient external funding and, after their return to their villages, they had to rely on old men who control the country. Only through them can they gain access to land. From the perspective of government representatives, such as the police, young people without work are perceived per se as troublemakers. They are often unduly harassed and humiliated by civil servants. Therefore income-generation is important for young people. Some join the army in order to avoid the harassment and to get access to power through weapons and some pay by legal means. In that way the militarization of society continues. Tensions between boys and older men escalate also because of the older men's control over women and girls, for instance, when it comes to paying the bride price (Barker/ Ricardo 2005:7ff.). The authors of the World Bank study explain that the young men felt like they were under constant pressure, and that the old would steal their partners from them. Often the young do not have the financial means, yet the girls require money, for instance, to pay for school. Some young men react with violence towards their partners because they suspect that they have older lovers who support them financially. Concurrently, the relationship towards the old is very tense (Barker/ Ricardo 2005:25).

Also "Stepping Stones", a program developed for illiterate, rural communities in Uganda, experienced similar problems, as the World Bank documented. It operated in communities, and organized local inhabitants into peer-groups that reunited again after some time. The discussion processes took place over several weeks. The overarching aim was to improve the communication and the gender relations so that responsible sexual behavior gets promulgated. The changes in norms and attitudes with regard to sexual behavior played a pivotal role for "Positive Men's Union", which was affiliated to the AIDS Support Organization (TASO) in Uganda and in which HIV positive men prompted other men to get themselves tested and to inform their partners about their status.

Moreover, Men as Partners in South Africa worked on it too, an initiative that was set up by Engender Health in collaboration with the Planned Parenthood Association. They motivated and supported young men to overcome risky sexual behaviors and their propensity for violence and patriarchal attitudes that can affect the health and well-being of men, women and children. The media campaign "Soul City" in South Africa also promoted peer support discussions, which essentially addressed urban young people. Work in peer groups was also the focus of Conscientizing Male Adolescents in Nigeria. It addressed pupils and students and motivated them to question deep-rooted gender norms.

The World Bank study confirmed that economic training and assistance programs are

important next to peer education. For instance, youth clubs and life skills projects teach a variety of skills. Adolescents and young men are often without a job and try to make money through the informal sector. There they compete against each other, which diminishes their chances to succeed. Together with the lack of prospects, it can lead to frustrations and the use of violence. HIV/AIDS and work against violence cannot be tackled by itself without addressing these problems (Barker/ Ricardo 2005).

Here, according to the World Bank study by Barker and Ricardo, not just the private sector but specific measures by the state are required (Barker/ Ricardo 2005). Furthermore politicians could set positive signals by delegitimizing violence and sexual assaults in public, put value on responsible fatherhood and to encourage men for HIV prevention and testing. Latter was the case on World Aids Day in Uganda in 2000. Political statements and programs send strong signals to the behavior of individuals. The strategic course of the political incumbents, as well as that of the government, was exemplary in Botswana. The Men Sector is a national alliance of ministries, authorities and NGOs in Botswana. It goes back to an initiative of the president who wants to reduce HIV infections through comprehensive prevention programs and to improve the care for AIDS infected. More financial means and regular meetings of the participants would be necessary for an effective countrywide implementation.

The World Bank recognized that young people, who seem at first violent, are in fact very critical citizens who want to combat the corruption and abuse of authority for the sake of good governance. Examples for that can be found in Uganda, Ukraine and the former Yugoslavia.

The thesis that population growth and the increased number of adolescents, especially of the young unemployed in cities, are the biggest threat for violence is also contested by the World Bank study in Rwanda. Because there, the genocide was planned. Adolescents and young men were systematically recruited for 'Interahamwe'-groups, through which they were being inculcated with the idea that violence is a sign of masculinity and their Hutu identity. This strategy ended up being very effective since the genocide planners were hardly criticized by the international community (Sommers 2006:7ff.). The World Bank study on Rwanda clarifies how far youth programs that were not focused on militarization actually managed to reach out to young men before the genocide in 1994, and whether or not the youth plans from the government currently represent their interests (Sommers 2006:12). Youth organizations should be evaluated by their ability to consolidate or change gender hierarchies. The conceptual approach of the government to encourage the participation of adolescents in land cooperatives was complicated by the fact that adolescents and boys have various interests. Consequently, the young men had to get access to land themselves since this represents the basis upon which they can marry and achieve the same status as adults. All the more important it becomes to exactly determine the interests of each adolescent, as the results of the World Bank study suggest. Only in that way can their self-image as a man be changed to benefit gender equality (Sommers 2006:14f.).

3.1.9 The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

UNIFEM, the UN Development Fund for Women, integrates work with men in their programs against gender-specific violence. For many years, this has been considered a top priority by regional, national and local women's organizations. This includes a supranational

exchange program between organizations in Brazil, Chile, India and Rwanda, which looks specifically at the changes in attitudes of men on domestic violence and the use of violence as a means to express masculinity. In 2010, UNIFEM established MenEngage, a worldwide network of over 400 organizations, which provides a comprehensive overview of fundamental concepts, concrete planning, implementation and evaluation stages for work with men and young people. Also the way in which boys would be addressed was examined. This overview made it clear that the pivotal and central foundations of their work are human rights and the implementation of gender equality (UNIFEM/ MenEngage 2010).

Building on the anti-violence work of UNIFEM, the UN Secretary-General initiated the campaign "UNITE to End Violence Against Women" on February 25, 2008. It runs till 2015 and concurrently to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which should also be attained by 2015. The overarching goal of the UN is to foster political will and to increase resources to fight violence. The scope of action has been established, which contains detailed advice about what should be done at international, national, regional and local levels in order to overcome gender-specific violence. The prevention work with men, young people and boys is mentioned explicitly as an important strategy.

UNIFEM, UNFPA, UNDP and the United Nations Volunteers implemented a joint program targeted at boys in Asia in 2011. The aim was to integrate locally implemented methods and to evaluate the possibility to scale them up. Linkages were made to local initiatives to prevent violence against women and girls, and to take measures for women empowerment. The competences and communication skills of the local partners should be strengthened so that they can act as change agents. At the same time young people should gain access to modern communication technologies. UNIFEM cooperates among others with Oxfam in order to reduce gender-specific violence. Together they developed training materials for the work with adolescents (UNIFEM/ Oxfam 2010).

At the regional or national level UNIFEM finances the development of practical manuals for community organizations working on anti-violence work, such as Raising Voices in Uganda.

UNIFEM promotes the peace work of women's organizations and advocates for the interests of women and girls, and takes them into consideration when tackling such issues as ex-combatants in disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and development programs. Also the judicial reform and amendment of laws have priority next to the implementation of UN resolution 1325, for example, through the development and implementation of national action plans that are based on security sector reforms. However, these programs hardly deal with masculinity formed by war and their consequences, although their aim is to overcome violence against women (UNIFEM 2010).

3.1.10 The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, aims to improve the situation of children globally. With respect to wars and post-war societies, it dedicates itself to the problems of refugees. Measures for children are often tackled jointly with the support of mothers. There are separate training manuals for the sensitization of UNICEF staff regarding gender-specific violence and HIV. Moreover, a study should increase the awareness of the positions and perspectives of adolescents (UNICEF 2004, 2005, 2007). Some UNICEF material focuses on the promotion of girls in such cases when gender criteria are being considered. Boys,

male adolescents and fathers are often not mentioned explicitly. Promoting men's family obligations and the inclusion of men in anti-violence and health care programs do not explicitly form part of the agenda.

3.2 MenEngage

MenEngage is the biggest alliance of international organizations and non-governmental organizations, which aims to engage men and boys actively in gender- and anti-violence work. Their goal is the reduction of gender disparities and the improvement of the healthcare situation. UNDP, UNFPA, WHO and UNIFEM are all a part of it. Exchanges and cooperation relate to research, political guidelines and frameworks, projects and programs (UNIFEM/ MenEngage 2010).

4 Selected (non-)governmental organizations (NGOs)

4.1 Oxfam

Since 2000 the international non-governmental organization Oxfam, which operates internationally from Oxford, Great Britain, the location in which it was founded, has been looking at how masculinity can be integrated conceptually into their work on gender programs. Their practice-oriented magazine "Gender and Development" documents these reflections (Chant/ Gutmann 2000; Sweetman 2001). Since 2002, the gender program Gender Equality and Men (GEM), has been applying a differentiated approach towards masculinity(ies) in gender-mainstreaming, post-conflict, poverty reduction, family and social fatherhood programs. In that way the effects on boys and youth are taken into consideration. In addition, special outreach measures aim to target boys specifically, for example, for HIV programs. Concrete examples from South Africa and Brazil are being discussed. The focus is oriented again and again on internal processes and organizational structures at Oxfam. It is about the responsibility to intervene in social structures, and about the issue of dealing with resistance and hostility of men in project work. The program has an advocacy component, which encourages Oxfam employees to get involved personally in gender equality for all project areas (Ruxton 2004). A detailed training manual was developed in 2010 in cooperation with UNIFEM, which includes many examples from North Africa and the Arab world. Its handouts, however, are applicable across the region and are very useful for workshops (Oxfam/ UNIFEM 2010).

4.2 Save the Children

The children's organization Save the Children has developed numerous practice-oriented training materials that have been tested in Nepal. They illustrate how one can work with boys and young people in a post-conflict country in order to reduce violence against women and girls. Save the Children links children's rights with human and women's rights, and sets its work on children's rights systematically in the context of gender topics. Peer group courses are implemented in order to change the construct of masculinity in boys. Through the use of a variety of creative activities, the boys are encouraged to take a critical look at the widespread perceptions of masculinity in society and the gender specific patterns of violence. These courses are linked to programs for teachers and parents, which are complemented with trainings from representatives of government institutions and NGOs (Save the Children 2004; 2007; 2010).

Thus, Save the Children does not just work on behavioral changes at the individual level, but also on changes of the structural framework. The NGO considers the unequal distribution of power, hegemonic masculinity and the acceptance of violence as causes of gender hierarchies. All the more important it is that people who exercise power in institutions, such as in state or religious institutions, call for the protection and promotion of children's rights and for the termination of gender-specific violence against children. Parents have the obligation to protect their children against violence. Also, the state itself should follow suit on its responsibilities to protect and prosecute. Media has a major influence on the attitudes and the boys' images of masculinity and of themselves. Save the Children created numer-

ous films in Asia that were catered to boys and young people with the aim of encouraging a critical reflection on these topics.

The children's rights organization takes heed of power differences between men and children of diverse origins. Save the Children places particular emphasis on tackling these differences constructively and highlights the necessity to make the boys' role models known, such as fathers, who practice responsible social fatherhood. At the same time, Save the Children criticizes the many organizations that implement children's projects but tend to ignore the gender dimension. In that way, they are limited in scope or even reinforce gender hierarchies and confirm claims of male dominance.

Save the Children demands that masculinity be put on the political agenda. Governments need to be accountable for their activities against gender specific violence and to overcome martial masculinity. Gender specific violence should be tackled and resolved at an individual, societal and structural level: this includes political programs, laws and their implementation. Regular and systematic gender trainings of employees from various state institutions are also necessary since attitudes only change progressively and gender trainings should always be linked to overarching approaches for transformation (Save the Children 2010).

Over several years Save the Children has been conducting trainings on children's rights and children in armed conflicts for soldiers of the AU and the ECOWAS, and their military unit ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOC) for the benefit of the AU or ECOMOC deployments that form part of the peacekeeping missions. Moreover, these trainings should impact the military structures of the respective countries. In addition, Save the Children works with the relevant training institutions, among others, in Kenya. The aim is to train the trainers so that they can conduct, systematize and institutionalize the trainings themselves. The trainings are gender-oriented, and deal with the behaviors and misconducts of soldiers, among other things, with their sexual exploitation of former child soldiers as well as their martial behaviors towards ex-combatants. Save the Children refers to the international legal bases, agreements and resolutions on children in armed conflicts (Save the Children 2009a,b).

4.3 The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)

In many ways, the Swedish Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) has had a pioneering role in many gender projects and programs. They apply a broad concept of gender-specific violence that includes violence against women and children as well as violence between men. SIDA illustrates the destructive and costly outcomes of gender specific violence for families and societies and highlights the mid- and long-term negative consequences of the generational fabrics. More concretely, SIDA demonstrates the dramatic consequences on children who grow up in violent families. All the more important it becomes to promote initiatives against the acceptance of violence and to work with children and men in particular in order to deal with violence. This work is considered a contribution to the implementation of women's, children's and human rights. It is important to link the initiatives to the local and national level and to foster the cooperation between NGOs, authorities and governments. Hence, peace and justice are only possible when violence has stopped. For that, ministries in partner or post-war countries need to formulate and implement political strategies (SIDA 2004).

4.4 The International Committee of the Red Cross

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)/Red Crescent Movement is an impartial, neutral and independent organization. Its main focus is on humanitarian assistance and it operates in over 80 countries. The ICRC is a subject of international law and supervises the compliance with the Geneva Conventions. This task also includes the protection of children in armed conflicts and wars. With regard to the International Convention of the Child, prevention, especially of the forced recruitment of children as soldiers and their involvement as armed fighters in armed conflicts, is of central importance (Barstadt 2008:142ff.). The ICRC works on promoting compliance with international humanitarian law. At the same time, it emphasizes that the main responsibility lies with the governments and states anywhere in the world. The ICRC conducts trainings on human rights and on humanitarian law for pupils in various countries and human rights trainings for secondary school children in Commonwealth countries. Additionally, in crisis and post-war countries, courses have been developed for those children who do not attend school. Moreover, ICRC requests compliance with international legal standards of all warring parties. The ICRC applies a comprehensive approach and portrays the dilemma when child soldiers become perpetrators and victims in war, which makes their return to their families and reintegration in societies more difficult (ICRC 2003).

The ICRC participated in the development of the human rights handbook of the Human Security Network (HSN) in 2003 by designing a module on human rights in armed conflicts.

5 Selected NGOs in Africa

5.1 South Africa: Together against violence and for a new orientation of masculinity

5.1.1 Context

Officially, there was no 'real' civil war during the apartheid era (1948-1994) in South Africa. Yet the State's massively expanded security apparatus and its excessive use of violence contributed to the militarization of politics and society. The violence can be traced back to the colonial power and its relations of domination that were established on the country at the Cape in 1652. Especially grave were the racist and sexist forms of suppression during the 17th and 18th century when several thousand slaves were imported from South East Asia. Also, in the 18th and 19th century these forms of violence were virulent, in particular during the expansion of the settlers towards the inland and its associated atrocious border war against the African population.

As a result of the apartheid regime set up in 1948, the white government introduced a system of repression. People were being segregated spatially according to their skin color into "homelands" – secluded, overpopulated and infrastructural poor regions – arbitrary involuntary resettlements of over three million people marked this regime. Moreover, strict passport laws severely restricted the work and resident status of Africans in the cities. Black men were being separated from their families for many years, which destabilized societies and caused gender and generation conflicts. White supervisors, police officers and soldiers were humiliating black men. Furthermore, many felt like losers because they were not able to provide for their families. Such irritations often resulted in domestic violence, which was considered an instrument of power for men in the whole of the South African society.

The entire apartheid system was based on violence as an institutionalized element of the state apparatus. Starting in the 1980s the apartheid regime made systematic use of death squads, criminal gangs and vigilante groups against the political activists. In the 1980s over 40,000 people died through primarily politically motivated acts of violence. In the time of transition to democracy, between 1990 and 1994, over 14,000 people were murdered. Over 100,000 were detained between 1960 and 1990 and more than 20,000 people were tortured (Cock 1991:55ff.). 173,000 children were temporarily held in police custody. Multiple experiences of violence marked the daily lives of children and young people; threats of violence and arbitrary police beatings were daily occurrences. Security police proceeded with great brutality against the population of the town. They tried to extort confessions by means of psycho terror, electro shocks, beatings and sexual violence (Schäfer 2008a:82ff.).

The South African army, which had 110,000 soldiers in 1994, was being deployed to the residential areas where blacks represented the majority of the population and to the neighboring countries. White men were enrolled in compulsory military service. This served as manifestation of a hegemonic, military, chauvinistic and patriarchal view of masculinity. White women were being legally discriminated in daily life (Cock 1991).

While the African National Congress (ANC) was advocating for women's emancipation in their fight against the racist minority government, it would only be carried out after the abolition of apartheid. The problem of this policy decision became apparent after the political turn in 1994.

On one hand, South Africa has a globally recognized gender-just constitution and new legal basis, yet in practice its implementation is sluggish. In fact, gender specific, especially sexualized violence, happens every day. The police register over 50,000 rapes every year. Often relatives or teachers are the ones abusing boys and girls. Other victims of sexual acts of violence are homosexuals, in particular lesbians and refugees from the Central African war and conflict countries and from the neighboring country Zimbabwe marked by violence. For the most part, these people do not have residence status. There is a lack of political will to develop programs and use funds for the implementation of new laws for the protection against acts of violence, for children and women's rights, and to apply the principles of equality. In addition, there is resistance from various male decision makers. With their sexist attitudes, they consider the empowerment of women as a threat to their established system of privileges. There is a lack of role models for young men, in especially of social fatherhood (Richter/ Morrell 2006; Swartz/ Bhana 2009).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) contributed little to reveal gender specific patterns of violence in the context of apartheid crimes. It has become all the more difficult today to openly discuss the historical backgrounds of gender violence and their effects on women and men as structural problems, and to look for possible solutions (Hamber 2010).

The fast spreading HIV/AIDS epidemic contributes to redefining, in a deconstructive way, the self-image of men, which many perceive to be rattled. Officially, the rate of infection is at 17%, in rural provinces such as Kwa-Sulu/Natal HIV infections represent over 36% of all pregnant women registered in maternity clinics. Many have been infected through rapes (Jewkes/ Sikweyiya et al. 2009:3ff.).

Men and young people are wary about having themselves tested. They fear about patronizing remarks by the nurses and HIV tests are considered unmanly. Not just the AIDS politics of the former president Thabo Mbeki caused irritations; also the incumbent president Jacob Zuma is a negative role model. He was acquitted in a rape trial in June 2006, in which the plaintiff was a HIV positive woman. During his trial, Zuma presented himself as a martial and potent Zulu-man who is immune to HIV/AIDS. Correspondingly, women, gender and AIDS organizations criticize him since such signals send the wrong message and impede their work. Only few non-governmental organizations work on changing the male construct engulfed by violence, an heir of a complex culture of violence such as South Africa.

5.1.2 "Sonke" means together

The Sonke Gender Justice Network, formed in 2006 by former black and white anti-apartheid fighters, breaks fresh ground by forging new ways to overcome the deep-rooted structures of violence. Because of their history as anti-apartheid fighters, the Sonke activists are held in high regard. In contrast to many ANC representatives, they do not celebrate a martial heroes' culture. 'Sonke' is a Nguni word and means 'together' or 'joint'. Sonke unifies in particular young men of diverse origins, some women, however, also work in the network (Sonke 2010f). The Sonke activists assume that all men should contribute in preventing an escalation of violence.

Most participated in civil society groups to fight for social justice after the political turn in 1994. To them it became clear that women's, HIV/AIDS and children's rights organizations

can only be successful if men change their behavior. At first, they participated in programs developed by local women's organizations in order to fight violence against women. Subsequently, they formed their own network and considered themselves since then as partner of alliance.

The Sonke network encourages men to develop new forums and forms of exchange and cooperation, and to support each other in transformation processes. In their innovative work, the former anti-apartheid fighters build on the collective resistance that once brought them together. Now it is about developing new and constructive forms to overcome violence. The pivotal and anchor point is the reduction of gender specific violence and HIV infections. Sonke applies a human rights-based approach and considers its work a contribution to the development of a democratic and just society (Sonke 2007).

Similar to the women's and human rights organizations, Sonke considers itself a civil society organization that fosters a constructive and critical dialogue with the government. Sonke demands an accountable government and empowerment, the strengthening of people as citizens, which contributes to democratization. From this perspective, Sonke employees advise the responsible institutions and sensitize them on issues of masculinity. Police officers are being trained in these courses with the aim of changing their attitudes, particularly as many police officers hold sexist and racist preconceptions towards rape victims and treat them in condescending ways. Such further trainings and advisory services associate Sonke with political demands in which the responsible decision makers at ministerial level are requested to implement reform programs and to sanction misconduct of employees. Sonke calls for the criminal prosecution of perpetrators since these measures are necessary to end impunity. Only a small minority of rapists and other criminals are being prosecuted and convicted by law, which trivializes acts of violence.

Sonke does not contribute to state agencies but always maintains a critical distance. This constructive criticism is demonstrated, for example, by the fact that Sonke made recommendations on how the work with boys and men could be better integrated into gender work and which concrete programmatic approaches could be taken in such sectors as education, health and youth work by the government's gender commission during the last years. At the same time though, Sonke worked on shadow reports for South African non-governmental organizations to International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and on shadow reports for the Platform for Action in Peking in 1995. Moreover, Sonke is engaged with UN bodies and UN organizations, such as the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), UNDP, UNICEF, UNAIDS, WHO and the ICRW (Sonke 2010c/d). A Sonke director was elected to the Advisory Committee of the UN Secretary-General on the integration of men in gender programs. Sonke participated in the UN campaign against violence on women also with their own programs. Moreover, Sonke is engaged with the newly established UN-umbrella organization UN Women. In this connection, it is about securing financial resources for local women's organizations so that they can plan for the mid- and long-term and give continuity to their work. Moreover, an objective is to further develop the programs for attitudes and behavioral changes of men and to link them to women's programs as they can fundamentally improve the situation of women.

Cooperation with women's and gender organizations in South Africa shaped the protests during the rape trials against the incumbent president Jacob Zuma in 2006. Together they criticized his martial self-portrayals, in which he alluded to combativeness as an epitome of masculinity in armed resistance against apartheid. His sexist comments and his

banal statements on HIV infections also repulsed them; they underline that this could be a negative example for boys and men.

In 2009, Sonke denounced the former representative of the ANC youth league, Julius Malema, who repeatedly used sexist and racist language to mobilize against various social groups. Although ANC had admonished Malema because of his public calls to use violence against white farmers, it did not condemn his sexist insults towards rape victims. A trial was rolled out and the judge convicted Malema to a monetary fine, to be paid out to aid projects for raped women and children. Sonke demands that politicians respect the South African constitution and laws, and because of their role model function in society, they should be held accountable for their public statements (Sonke 2009f).

Given the widespread homophobia, Sonke condemns homophobic statements by politicians. Moreover Sonke considers homophobia as an expression of martial notions of masculinity that devalues homosexuality as a negative counter-pole to heterosexual hyper-masculinity. After all, homosexuality was criminalized during apartheid and young white homosexuals were given antipsychotic drugs in the army. Because of this problematic heritage, homosexual organizations demanded that their rights be anchored in the South African constitution in 1996. Together with homosexual organizations, Sonke denounces the rapes and killings of lesbians. Once caught and on trial, the criminals would justify their acts by mentioning that the women were too independent, as they refused to be the mens' sexual partner. In order to overcome such attitudes, Sonke integrated into their discussions with boys and young men the various sexual orientations in order to convey tolerance.

Education on tolerance is also necessary vis-à-vis HIV positive people. Children and young people adopt societies' stigmatizations regarding HIV positive and AIDS affected people. Sonke uses new media, especially of digital storytelling to empower young people to develop empathy with the persons concerned. Such life stories are important for work in peer groups of young people, in which they encourage each other to use condoms and to have themselves tested for HIV in order to prevent the break out of AIDS (Sonke 2009b/c).

In their peer group work Sonke cooperates with AIDS organizations, such as the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), which successfully claimed in front of the Constitutional Court in 2001 that HIV positive people have the right to be treated with anti-retroviral medication. In their peer groups, young people encourage each other to take responsibility for their own sexual behavior and to be a role model. This role model function characterizes a new ideal of masculinity: it comprises respect for their own body, health and for other people, especially also for women and girls (Sonke 2009d).

Furthermore, young people are connected through their innovative photo projects in which they document themselves and their everyday life, which then form part of a small exhibition to help their recovery from experiences of violence, and which run in parallel to intensive discussions to address their problems. Such reports are presented to the authorities at local and national levels in order for them to take action and to increase their support. It is the only way to keep young girls, who are already care-takers at home, from interrupting their school education or prostituting themselves to provide for their younger siblings and their school money (Sonke 2009b,c,d). All the more important are programs for teachers since there are multiple cases in which teachers blackmailed their students for sexual contacts and then made them pregnant – many were then infected with the HIV virus. Often the perpetrators are only given warnings by the school administration or are transferred for disciplinary reasons, but they are not prosecuted by law. This abuse of power is fatal for the affected and shows the pupils that authority and possessive sexuality can be

equated, as it is for their teachers. All the more important is the trend reversal of the South African Democratic Teacher's Union, which has declared a zero-tolerance policy on child abuse. Henceforth, Sonke will cooperate more intensively with this Teacher's Union.

Media plays a significant role for the changes in attitudes: in a rural region of KwaZulu-Natal, which is especially affected by violence, poverty and HIV/AIDS, Sonke started the campaign "Brothers for Life" in 2009 with the aim of propagating positive role models, such as for responsible fatherhood. A countrywide media campaign builds on this, to which renowned personalities of public life participate. Moreover, work with religious authorities is important for Sonke's activities. They try to develop a new understanding of Christian fatherhood and strive to establish dialogue between the various churches.

In recent years programs with local authorities in rural regions have been intensified since it is them who can either increase the stigmatization and marginalization of HIV positive people or of victims of violence, or they can be role models in the transformation processes. In some rural areas traditional authorities, so-called "chiefs", many of whom have been installed by the apartheid regime, antagonize Sonke employees. They consider these approaches encouraging changes in attitude and behaviors as a betrayal on culture and tradition. The Sonke employees try to deal with rejection or even hostility constructively and emphasize that fundamental changes are often filled with conflicts and cannot be achieved easily. All the more important is the cooperation and networking of traditional authorities, who actively advocate for reforms. For them, the thought that violence and criminality have become increasingly widespread in their sphere of influence is unbearable. To them, it is clear that a "chief" should tackle issues of violence, as he will more likely be respected by the population.

In some communities they go a step further with the help of Sonke employees. The aim is to get men to take over more responsibility for AIDS-orphans because many of the AIDS orphans are sent to their relatives in rural areas where life is cheaper. Often the care of the sick and orphans relies on old women or girls. That overburdens many and often adolescents cannot attend school or start their own education. Therefore, men should start to play a bigger role in regard to household-related obligations. Most of the men have learned to cook and clean as migrant workers; now many are unemployed and would have time to do some housework. After all, the government's child support and the orphan's pensions secure their existence in such a way that paternal care can now be fulfilled with other duties. To what extent this should happen by restructuring the household chores and the child/orphan support is contested in many areas. A fundamental challenge for the Sonke employees is confrontation with the unemployment of men. They do not want to come across as losers in society despite the role changes and their worries that they are not able to live up to their own perceptions or to meet the expectations of their partners. Time and again it becomes clear that the empowerment of women is not sufficient in itself. It is important to actively involve men in solving the problem and to win them over as the main driving force behind change. In order to defuse conflict and to facilitate new ways of thinking, government institutions, gender bodies and political decision makers need to do more. Innovative program approaches can only have a broad impact when they are spread across multiple levels and are supported and communicated by various people, organizations and institutions (Peacock/ Weston 2008).

The integration of program work with political demands also characterizes Sonke activities against xenophobic violence. Yet this form of violence was brought to the fore by international media in May 2009 as over 60 migrants and refugees were killed, thousands

sought refuge in churches and police stations and tens of thousands fled from South Africa. It is Sonke's declared objective, together with the refugee and human rights organizations, to overcome xenophobic attitudes that result in violent acts. Occasionally, the forms of violence have a gender-specific dimension. In that way women from other African countries are being forced to prostitute themselves and, subsequently, infect themselves with HIV. They cannot report these abuses since they do not hold residence status. Also, violence against men from other African countries is a problem; many South Africans consider them as competitors on the tight labor market or as diffuse threats. Sonke has therefore specifically hired men from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Zimbabwe so that they can work in the South African communities in which they reside. Moreover, there are special programs, among others on reproductive health, for the immigrants and refugees who live illegally in South Africa. Aside from these local activities, Sonke persistently demands more initiatives from the Government against xenophobia. After all, many of the ANC proponents found refuge in the neighboring countries during the apartheid regime, and some of them were trained there to become underground fighters. All the more ANC members should fulfill their duties to stop xenophobic violence (Sonke 2009e, 2010d).

Sonke works in other African post-conflict countries together with UNHCR to reduce the problems of violence in refugee camps. This includes North Kenya, for example, where the work on attitude and behavioral changes of the individual is linked to overarching programs. While men and young people of various ages and status are taught to reflect on the negative and widespread consequences of their acts of violence, basic systematic changes are necessary in the societal and political context in order to break the patterns and legitimizations of violence. Sonke trains UNHCR staff and representatives of various organizations, which cooperate with UNHCR. UNHCR recognized how important the exemplary behavior of their male employees is since they embody successful models for their work with boys and men.

In Kenya, Sonke works with MEGEN and FEMNET. Together they examine gender perceptions and try to reach out through radio in local languages or the digital storyteller to deal with and overcome stereotypes. Digital storytelling talks about the experiences of violence of male refugees, which should encourage reflections in peer groups through the help of instructions. In that way young people, among others, are sensitized to take consequences of violence against women more seriously. The involvement of local stars, such as music groups or athletes, who disapprove of gender-specific violence in a convincing manner, is important in order to cater to boys and young people. They can offer incentives so that male youth define courage anew in a way that it is free of violence. Also, school education offers an important platform. Here boys and young people can learn to challenge patterns of violence and martial perceptions of manliness before they start a relationship. Like that, for example, competitions can motivate boys and young people to emulate positive role models. What is important in this process is that teachers participate and that the Ministry of Education promotes the work. Political lobbying is often needed for such approaches.

5.1.3 International network of the Sonke Gender Justice Network

Sonke is active in the international network MenEngage established in 2006. It unites 400 men's and gender organizations in 35 countries. It coordinates its Africa work. The participating men's and gender organizations are mostly in post-conflict countries, concretely

in South Africa, Uganda, Burundi, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda. Sonke organized a symposium in Johannesburg in October 2009, which encouraged exchanges of experiences from the continent (Sonke 2009g). MenEngage aims to engage men and boys, so that they can contribute to overcoming violence and gender inequalities and to improving their health. MenEngage makes reference to international agreements, such as the Millennium Development Goals, and relates its local and regional advocacy work on this basis. With their experiences at the local and regional levels, as well as their knowledge of the problems on the ground, the organizations that form part of MenEngage aim to make the respective Governments more accountable and demand the application of international and national laws. MenEngage sees itself as a partner alliance of women's organizations and works for gender justice and the realization of women's rights. For example, the initiative Men's Action to Stop Violence against Women (MASVAW) in the Indian State of Uttah Radesh cooperates with women's organizations in order to implement the law against domestic violence adopted in 2005.

Through the MenEngage network, Sonke in Latin America works together with the Instituto Promundo in Brazil, whose employees have developed innovative prevention programs for young people. The local structural problems are similar to the ones in South Africa: gang crime, domestic violence and social tensions because of the gap between poor and rich. Additional program partners are Papai in Brazil, Salud y Genero in Mexico, Puntos de Encuentros in Nicaragua and Cultural y Salud in Chile. MenEngage does not expect all men to form a homogenous group in their networking practices, but that they have various life experiences, access to resources, scope of economic and political action influenced by such factors as origin, class, cast, ethnicity, religion or age. These differences between men, which often lead to conflicts, should be dealt with constructively.

5.2 Zimbabwe – Men's forums combine traditions and innovations

5.2.1 Context

Zimbabwe, the former British settler colony Rhodesia, won its independence in 1980 after decades of war. White settlers have shaped politics, the economy and society since the beginning of the 20th century. The African population has been pushed aside into "Native Reserves" and many men have been forced to hire out to the whites for low wages as farm workers. The armed struggle against the racist white minority government was waged as guerilla warfare throughout the country; primarily young people – girls and boys – were involved. After political independence was gained, many of the young female combatants tried to derive claims from their participation in the war, such as access to education and improvements of their legal position, which led time and again to conflict with the government – their former male comrade-in-arms. When a referendum on the draft of a new constitution in 2000 did not produce the results the government desired and the population's criticism of political, economic and social grievances increased, the regime intensified its violent attacks on members of the opposition. Not only prior to elections but also on more and more occasions, paramilitary units, police and the military were deployed. President Robert Mugabe called for violence and justified the same with martial masculinity, which he combined with exaggerated nationalism and recourse to the successful war of independence (Schäfer 2008a: 13ff).

5.2.2 Padare – Men’s Forum on Gender

“Real men don’t hit,” “Looking for ‘good men’” and “Men of quality are not afraid of gender equality” are the guidelines of the Zimbabwean men’s organization Padare – Men’s Forum on Gender. The initiative for its founding in 1995 can be traced back to dedicated Evangelical Christians with Pastor Jonah Gokova, who wanted to put a stop to raging domestic violence. That meant keeping Christian men from making a show of power in their families. The Padare activists gathered at first in informal groups and exchanged ideas how they could contribute to the prevention of violence as “agents of change”. Padare has officially been a non-governmental organization since 2001 (WWP/IFOR: 34ff.).

‘Dare’ is the place of assembly for men in the local language Shona; the word ‘Enkundleni’ is used in the second most important language and has a similar meaning. In pre-colonial times at men’s meeting places, political issues were discussed, important decisions were made and youth were introduced to the man’s world. With reference to the hierarchy of age between men, they continued to be under the control of the powerful older ones. Due to changes in living conditions and problems, it is necessary to form new Padare or Enkundleni in order to shape gender identification by communication between men, according to the assessment of the men’s organization with that same name. Today, however, collaboration should no longer confirm hierarchies but rather be based on mutual respect and recognition of equality. Padare/Enkundleni assumes that tradition can be altered. Meanwhile there are more than 60 such new discussion forums, in each of which around one hundred men participate. Many of them have formed small groups to create an environment of trust that make discussions possible. Discussion platforms offer help to overcome men’s problems of today: unemployment, marriage problems, HIV/AIDS and violence; these are reflected upon in connection with historical backgrounds. Each local group sets its own focus and sends representatives to national meetings. Some local groups have also encouraged establishing boys, girls and women’s groups to enable a more intensive exchange of information and to include all villagers, both male and female, into the processes of change. These also help to sanction gender-based violence. It is necessary in rural areas to enter into dialogue with the local authorities, the so-called “chiefs”. They have a lot of power and influence on local opinion-forming. For this reason, the men activists address them directly and try to obtain their approval for project activities; this is especially important for remote and underdeveloped areas with bad infrastructure.

The new Padare and Enkundleni are places where men question and historicize domestic violence and possessive sexual behavior. During colonial times, which were characterized by racism aimed at humiliating black men, such practices had a compensatory function. Men mutually agreed that this pattern of behavior is particularly masculine. The challenge now is to learn how to limit possessive sexual contacts and to solve marital conflicts peacefully. HIV/AIDS should then be reduced, a problem that ruins the health of numerous adolescents and men, often resulting in early deaths. The HIV rate in Zimbabwe is over 14% and the number of AIDS orphans is about one million, but the estimated number of unrecorded cases is much higher.

With the support of UNICEF and UNAIDS employees of men’s forums actively engage with students and teachers in different parts of the country as part of its prevention measures. Through the use of role-plays and theaters, they provide incentives for fundamental changes in attitude and behavior in a creative manner. Soccer games and sporting competitions are often used as a prelude for these awareness-raising programs. “Goals against

stigma and discrimination” is the motto used by Padare/Enkundleni to counter the exclusion of those who are HIV positive and who are suffering from AIDS. In particular, young men are called upon to participate in the care of AIDS patients and AIDS orphans. Up to now this burden has exclusively been on women and girls. Padare/Enkundleni encourages boys and men to question acquired and internalized gender stereotypes. After all, patriarchal norms and power schemes harm all of society. Men who reject responsibility and are only geared towards violence and dominance are robbed of their dignity, according to the assessment of gender activists. Padare designed its own training program for the dissemination of their approaches and the training of new trainers (Padare 2007).

The trainers motivate men to become agents of change and to be courageous enough to stop the violent members of their own sex, for which they reap hostility time and again. Although Padare/Enkundleni is built on Christian ethics of responsibility, new men’s forums are being formed beyond church connections, for example at the university in Harare and at individual technical colleges. For instance the aim now is to motivate agricultural extension workers to behavioral change, as they increasingly fall into discredit because they take advantage of the economic situation of young female farmers and demand sexual services from them. Gender activists demand the implementation of legislation as well as international and regional agreements by government institutions.

Padare/Enkundleni needs alliance partners for their work on attitude and behavioral changes. Political repression and a law to keep tabs on human rights and other non-governmental organizations mean that these can only work under difficult conditions. Only a handful of independent women’s organizations are willing to cooperate with the men’s forum. They worked together for years to pass the law against domestic violence in 2007. Networking is existential for critical organizations. The crisis in Zimbabwe’s coalition calls for an end to violence and repression as well as opens new avenues for a dialogue on the elimination of violence. Padare/Enkundleni hopes that the changes of perception on masculinity will also stem the recruitment of young men and teenagers for paramilitary groups and political violence.

Padare/Enkundleni has also cooperated on a regional level with men’s initiatives in Kenya and in South Africa, for example with the Sonke Gender Justice Network. Padare/Enkundleni founder Jonah Gokova has worked to establish similar organizations in other countries by networking within the church. International dialogue beyond church structures is also important to him and so he has come to Germany in recent years for workshops on changing the attitude of the police, specifically to Leipzig and to Berlin for an international conference of OWEN – Mobile Academy for Gender Democracy. Women’s and peace organizations met there from East Africa, Southeast Europe, Caucasus and Israel/Palestine.

5.3 Rwanda – Coffee farmers overcome gender-based violence following the genocide

5.3.1 Context

Genocide started to take place in Rwanda on April 6, 1994, before the eyes of the world, where extremists Hutu murdered an estimated 500,000 to 800,000 Tutsi, between ten and thirty thousand moderate Hutu and about 1500 Twa. Most researchers assume that the actual number of victims was much higher.

When Rwanda gained independence on July 1, 1962, the Central African country had to deal with its colonial past. During their reign, which started in 1916, Belgium colonial officials intervened directly in politics, economy and society. They appropriated control over the country after World War I, which had been under German rule from 1885/86 and nominally from 1897. Only a small Tutsi elite benefited from the German and Belgium colonial officials. The Belgium colonial apparatus intervened in local structures as early as the 1920s. The dividing of all inhabitants of Rwanda into Tutsi, Hutu and Twa, according to ethnic groups and with separate identification papers, was especially radical; starting at 1933/34 there was a general requirement for identification. Completely misjudging the pre-colonial significance of society groups, Belgium's colonial bureaucracy had created new distinctions and hierarchies, which were based along racial lines.

With reference to a formulated Hutu manifest of 1957, Hutu authorities mobilized an uprising in 1959 against Tutsi domination, which triggered a mass exodus of multitudes of Tutsi into neighboring countries. Massacres of the Tutsi occurred repeatedly in the 1960s. In 1962 alone, more than 2000 and in 1963 about 10,000 Tutsi were killed.

Due to mismanagement, land disputes, shortage of land, drastically falling prices of coffee on the world market – coffee was the most important export product of Rwanda – an entire generation of young men in the 1980s did not receive the opportunity to build up their own livelihood and to legally start a family. Neither they nor their fathers had the necessary resources to pay the price for a bride. Nevertheless, payment of the bride price was required for marriage and recognition as a grown man. Some of the young men sought a way out by joining the army. President Habyarimana strengthened his fighting power at the beginning of the 1990s by recruiting more than 40,000 men for his army, which had previously consisted of 5,200 soldiers (Schäfer 2008a: 274ff.). Only after the international community of nations applied pressure did Habyarimana gradually allow democratization, which proved however to be a facade. Starting in October 1990, the Front Patriotique Rwandaise, founded by Rwandans who had been exiled to Uganda in 1979, intervened militarily in Rwanda. The Rwandan stopped their advance on Kigali shortly before the capitol with the help of the Belgium and French military. A treaty on August 4, 1993 brought an official end to combat operations. However, the Hutu extremists interpreted this as a loss of the Hutu monopoly of power and began their genocide on 4/6/1994 (Schäfer 2008a: 267ff.). Even today, the great difficulties for male teenagers and young men to acquire the status of a grown man, to be recognized in society and to prove their own masculinity represent serious structural problems (Sommer/Uvin 2011). The government is not signaling any changes. On the contrary, some measures taken by the government intensify the problems, making the work of non-governmental organizations that much more important.

5.3.2 Rwanda Men's Resource Centre (RWAMREC)

The human rights activist Fidèle Rutayisire founded the Rwanda Men's Resource Centre (RWAMREC). In June 2006 he contacted the Rwandan women's network ProFemmes, where he coincidentally received a brochure of the international men's network Mens Resources International (MRI); the brochures had been left there by US American feminists during a visit. Fidèle Rutayisire asked for MRI's support in establishing a men's organization oriented towards overcoming gender-based violence in Rwanda. A few months later he was able to start up the Rwanda Men's Resource Centre (RWAMREC) with the help of MRI and in cooperation with ProFemmes. It sees itself as a pro-feministic network geared towards putting an end to gender-based violence. Some basic concepts are: gender equality, freedom of

violence, respect and responsibility. Afterwards he contacted other innovative men's projects in Zambia and Nigeria, which were already cooperating with the MRI. In 2008, Fidèle Rutayisire took part in trainings of the men activists. In addition, the MRI also supported trainings in Rwanda. Initially 40 male and female representatives of NGOs and state institutions participated.

Central objectives of the trainings were to increase the understanding of male socialization and the cycle of violence in which men found themselves, as well as the learning of skills to break through and overcome these cycles of violence. Furthermore, skills were generated to intensify dialogues with women, so that men as agents of change could have an effect on other men. Plans of action were developed for the prevention of violence and contacts were made with existing non-governmental organizations.

The RWAMREC attended the annual international Campaign to Overcome Violence against Women in 2008 (11/25 – 12/10).

The Dean's Beans Organic Coffee Company based in the USA had already established contact with the RWAMREC at the end of 2007. The coffee merchants cooperated with coffee producers in Rwanda in the framework of the Fair Trade Agreement, and they sent a few representatives to the trainings in Kigali. Consequently they supported the RWAMREC with trainings for the coffee cooperative in Gisenyi, which took place in 2008. Women and men participated, first speaking about their experiences with violence. Finally, the men in particular made assurances to a greater commitment against violence in their community; some apologized publicly to their wives for their violence. The cooperative thus formed a framework for positive changes. These model experiences were then to be applied to trainings in other coffee cooperatives (Sonke 2009a).

Besides workshops at community level, the RWAMREC wants to reach church communities and schools. Special target groups are pupils from secondary school as their changes in attitude and behavior can be influenced. Respect for women and the rejection of violence are to be conveyed to them. Mentoring programs are also planned between boys, adolescents and men, who have become agents of change. They could offer boys and male adolescents important orientations and act as role models. Next to „community theatre“, the RWAMRECA aims to contribute to changes in attitudes through intensive media work. Moreover, it wishes to intensify cooperation with women's organizations through campaigns.

In mid-November 2008, the RWAMREC arranged a meeting of representatives of state institutions and non-governmental organizations to discuss common strategies for overcoming gender-based violence. After all, the government is obliged to prosecute perpetrators; however, further efforts to reach out and to integrate approaches are necessary to reduce and prevent violence, so the basic assumption. The representatives agreed to establish the MenEngage Network Rwanda and to join the international MenEngage Network, to which several hundred men's organizations belong to worldwide. A plan of action for 2009 was developed, which includes the fight against gender-based violence, reproductive health, HIV/AIDS and human rights. Meanwhile 60 organizations belong to MenEngage Network Rwanda and the RWAMRECA has taken over managerial functions. Its goal is the in-country expansion of its work and collaboration for a change of attitude.

In 2008, the RWAMREC initiated an international petition against gender-based violence in Kenya, which took place in the aftermath of the election at the end of 2007. This petition strongly condemned politically motivated violence and requested that the political rulers in Kenya end violence at once and that they protect the population from violence.

In 2008, the RWAMREC participated in a study by IRWC/Promundo on the extent of gender-based violence and HIV, the attitudes on gender-based violence and women's and men's roles in households. Over 2000 women and 1000 men were interviewed in various parts of the country. This data was correlated with the level of education, the economic situation and the childhood experiences of those interviewed. The evaluation took place in cooperation with the statistics department of the University of Rwanda. The results were to help improve prevention programs (ICRW 2010).

Moreover, the RWAMREC is working on an exchange program with men's organizations in Brazil, India and Chile, financed by the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women. The aim is to build their capacities and to analyze approaches especially suitable to reach men, to change their attitude and to reduce violence significantly. Failures and setbacks are to be analyzed as well. It involves comparative impact and follow-up analyses in poor communities.

5.4 Burundi – Men as “bringers of light” following the civil war and ethnically motivated violence

5.4.1 Context

The Kingdom of Burundi was integrated into “German East Africa” in 1890, and in 1916, the Belgians took over the administration up to Burundi's independence in 1962. During this time the Germans and the Belgians interfered in the local political structures. They created inequalities, which later showed itself in the outbreak of violence. Some of their interventions were the introduction of ethnic distinctions based on racist grounds. Their interference in the local economy comprised high taxes, which put pressure onto men to become migratory laborers. This, in turn, created more gender conflicts since the possibility for women to secure their livelihoods was dramatically reduced. In 1972 extremist Tutsi elites responded to Hutu protests with targeted murder plots, which affected the majority of the Hutu intelligence unit. About 3000 Tutsi were also murdered. Torture and systematic rapes were a part of the humiliation strategy of the military, especially in the 1980s. When in 1988 the Hutu protested in two regions against the power abuse of some of the rich Tutsi, the Tutsi slaughtered the rebels. There were renewed escalations of violence in 1991 and 1993, when a military coup laid the ground for another massacre, resulting in a bloody civil war that lasted nearly ten years and brought about floods of refugees into neighboring countries. At the same time, refugee camps were progressively being militarized. Boys were forced to join the army, and then deployed as child soldiers. In addition, starting in 1996, over 300,000 people within Burundi were violently displaced into camps. Some estimates say that it affected up to 800,000 people. In this way the government wanted to prevent the rural population's support for the Hutu extremists. When the poorly equipped camps were finally dissolved, many of the young men joined the radical Hutu militias in reaction to their humiliating treatment. The government armed vigilante groups outside of the camps; for this purpose, they recruited children and adolescents whom they also used for military service. Most of the conflict parties signed a peace treaty in 2006 (Schäfer 2008a: 313ff.). Today young men in particular are confronted with the problem of securing their subsistence and identity, in order to confirm their masculinity and to be recognized by society as grown men (Sommers/Uvin 2011).

5.4.2 “Abatangamuco” – the bringers of light

The work in Burundi, oriented towards changes of attitude and behavior in men, was an integral part of a project, which at first began as a support framework for women. Starting in 2006, CARE Burundi carried out a project of several years to support women, which was aimed at their economic empowerment, the improvement of their psychosocial well-being and their political participation. Technical support was provided by CARE Austria and ADA supported the project financially. It was part of the comprehensive program approach “Claiming Rights – Promoting Peace, Empowerment of Women in Conflict Affected Areas” that included dialogue with other post-war countries – specifically with Uganda and Nepal – and aimed at empowering women in conflicts and after wars, in their participation in peace processes and political decisions. CARE Austria enabled and accompanied this dialogue thanks to the financial support of the ADA in the framework of the ADC (CARE International 2009, ADA 2010, ADC 2006).

The project known in Burundi as KIRUMARA aimed at building capacities of women and improving their legal status. The political framework and international agreements, particularly the implementation of the UN resolution 1325, were taken into account. In addition, women were to be empowered to overcome cultural obstacles. A link was to be established between the different levels of action: that of the individual scope of actions and decisions, and that of group processes and the change of structures, such as the legal situation and the legal system. The concrete arrangement of these combined intervention measures as well as their orientation to sustainable individual improvements and societal transformation processes were to take place with partner organizations in Burundi.

The Burundi women’s organization Dushirehamwe was a project partner who carried out the project with local women’s groups in the provinces Bujumbura, Bubanza and Gitega. Over 3000 women were to be reached. To achieve this, they cooperated with local women’s groups or they encouraged the establishment of local solidarity groups, which were set up equally to pursue an integral approach. They were to be responsible for austerity measures and credit initiatives, the protection from violence, help in the case of violence and support to political participation. The membership and social backing in these groups strengthened the women to better represent their interests in households and in the community. Through targeted psychosocial support, women were encouraged to tackle issues of domestic violence in the groups, for example by visiting families where domestic violence was a problem. They felt empowered as individuals and as a group to get their own lives under control again. This had a positive effect on their political say and participation. The women and women’s groups also participated actively in peace processes, in particular at local levels (CARE International 2009).

De-escalation of conflicts and group processes were supported by trained community workers. Moreover, Dushirehamwe worked together with local traditional authorities and representatives of state institutions, especially with the police and the local judiciary. Dialogue was sought with the Ministry of Gender at the national level. Dushirehamwe advocated for the legal recognition of polygamous marriages in order to improve the status of polygamous married women and to safeguard legal security. Dushirehamwe contributed to the development of a national action plan to implement UN resolution 1325. In doing so, the organization drew on the local experiences and built on the cooperation established by CARE Austria and the ADC with women peacemakers and women’s rights activists in Uganda and Nepal, for example through three conferences which took place in Burundi and Nepal.

At the end of the project, the women emphasized that it was a complete success; particularly as the support in local solidarity groups helped them economically. The additional income improved their say in the household, so that they were more likely to make decisions together with their husbands. Their political participation was also strengthened. The behavior of their husbands had been fundamentally transformed and domestic violence significantly reduced. The integrated Abatangamuco approach was a great help during the project period; the term means “the bringer of light”. Men were encouraged to accompany transformation processes as agents of change and to further those processes with their own behavioral and attitude change. The project motivated men to speak out publicly against gender-based violence and honored men who did not use violence in their families. They learned strategies against violence and were empowered to apply them. Local groups and communities acknowledged the work of the men as contributions to a more just society. In December 2007, 36 men were prized by their communities as Abatangamuco and by July 2009 237 men had already been awarded this title. This was to honor their renunciation of violent behavior and their commitment against domestic violence. Previously, 1,124 men and 2,132 women had participated in Abatangamuco discussions supported by CARE International. It was about telling their own life stories, listening and self-reflections. At first men felt excluded from the empowerment programs for women and therefore became defensive. Some considered that women empowerment destabilizes their own power status in family and household. The men’s reservations were reduced when they were integrated into the project work and when it became clear that women’s promotion greatly improved the economic situation of their household. The Abatangamuco recognized that the project work had a positive effect on their life. They testified publicly that they would no longer use violence. The communities and women’s organizations became supervisory bodies, and the title Abatangamuco could be revoked.

Gender-based violence was considered to be a major obstacle to development, and as a cause for poverty and the lack of peace in families and communities. Violence was an expression of gender hierarchies. At the same time, it propagated inequalities and prevented the empowerment of women, making targeted work with men that much more important. In this way, gender norms were effectively changed at the local level. Such changes are a gradual process because it takes longer to overcome fundamental structures of inequality, such as the power of the Patriline, the patterns of marriage and inheritance, the cultural justifications of gender hierarchies, and with that, the patterns of power and distribution, for example access to and control over resources. For this, critical social groups and political will are necessary. It became clear that the empowerment of women can best be accomplished by including men in the programs (Barker/Schulte 2010). CARE Austria and CARE Burundi facilitated the local discussions, which helped to show that many men are actually aware of the factors that either prevent or promote the empowerment of women. That makes it all the more important to integrate them into the transformation process. When documenting the transformation of attitude in men on a community level, the actual behavioral transformation should be observed. In Uganda and Nepal men were motivated to become agents of change through the international exchange of information and with the help of targeted interventions by CARE Austria.

5.5 Kenya – Women network, trainings for men, and street theatre against politically-motivated violence

5.5.1 Context

Like South Africa and Zimbabwe, Kenya was a settler colony under British rule. White settlers have occupied the fertile and wet highlands for their large farms since the end of the 19th century. The African population was resettled and many men had to get hired as farm or migrant workers because their traditional livelihood – such as access to land and pastures to keep livestock – had been taken from them. British colonial power violently suppressed the Mau-Mau revolt in the 1950s; the revolt was led by guerilla tactic, in particular by the local Kikuyu population who had previously populated and farmed the highlands. Many young women and men participated. Following its political independence in 1963, Kenyan politics were characterized by a one-party rule, abuse of power and dictatorial structures. Democratization movements first had some successes in the 1990s. However, repression and corruption continued to be problems; ethnic and regional differences were charged and intensified by politicians as part of their political game to gain power. Following the elections at the end of 2007, the results of which had apparently been manipulated, there were escalations of violence in some places. Over 1,200 people died and about 600,000 were internally displaced; during the riots, sexualized violence and strategies of humiliation were used as instruments of power. Participation included teenagers and young men.

With over 7% Kenya has the highest HIV/AIDS rate worldwide. In many cases girls and women were infected through rapes. Over one fourth of all girls and boys between the ages of 12 and 15 are forced into their first sexual contacts and over 49% of all women have been confronted with sexual violence in their lives. Domestic and family violence are structural problems that reflect and manifest violent male identities. Mostly women's organizations were addressing these issues in the 1980s and 1990s; in 2001, motivated by women's rights activists, men started to join the movement.

5.5.2 Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN)

The founding of the men's network Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN) can be traced back to the Kenyan women's organization African Women's Development and Communications Network (FEMNET), namely to their long-standing chair, Njoki Wainaina. FEMNET is one of the most important and well-known women's organizations in Kenya and East Africa. Since its founding in 1988, the network has been working to improve the situation of women, and to overcome violence, oppression and injustice. The basis for the promotion of communication, lobbying and advocacy for women's rights is the application of a human rights based approach. FEMNET works together with numerous women's organizations to overcome discrimination and inequalities in society. FEMNET strengthens their political capacities, their competences in monitoring and their training experiences. FEMNET has been developing its own training programs since 2002 – including gender trainings – for Kenyan and East African organizations and has created extensive materials, which can be adapted to target groups for specific situations and countries. The training materials make reference to international and regional treaties.

Time and again FEMNET observed that a non-integrated support to women can have negative consequences. Therefore comprehensive conceptual approaches are necessary. The motivation behind the new conceptions was the encouragement received by the UN Commission on the Status of Women to integrate men into dialogues about innovative concepts to overcome violence. Therefore this network arranged a meeting of men from South Africa in 2001 to work on attitude changes of men, specifically from Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. It provided the basis for MEGEN. MEGEN is considered complementary to women's rights and anti-violence work and not as a competitor. Accordingly, transparency was high on the agenda and financial issues were discussed from the outset in order to reduce possible conflicts about funds and donors and possible criticism from other women's organizations. These women's organizations feared that MEGEN would withdraw project funds – a debate that time and again also arises in other countries, and which leads to tensions. They dealt with it in an active way in order to defuse conflict.

MEGEN became known nationwide in 2003 as over 114 men divided in three teams travelled to four provinces and performed spontaneous plays at marketplaces in small towns during the annual, international campaign against violence to women (11/25 - 12/10), thereby thematizing the issue of domestic violence and HIV/AIDS. The performances were followed by intense discussions. It was attended by women, men and adolescents of various ages. The actors intended to treat such topics as sexual violence and HIV/AIDS. These problems are taboos in everyday communication but can be made public on stage. Many of the spectators were able to identify themselves with the contents. For this reason, female consultants for victims of violence travelled with the teams. And also police officers joined to explain the current legal situation through intensive discussions. During the theatre and conferences, also called the "Men's Traveling Conference" (MTC), there were heated discussions that sometimes led to controversy because some of the men felt personally attacked. That made diplomatic interventions all the more important; this was especially necessary in dialogue with local authorities. It was the only way to fend off rejections constructively. It was important to win them over so that actions can be taken so that men overcome violence. This was a basis for the so-called "Baraza" meetings, public dialogue forums that follow on the usual local meetings. In addition, 22 local men's groups were formed nationwide, whose 250 members saw themselves as agents of change and mutually encouraged one another to proceed against violence. As before, their intention was to speak with men in a non-provocative way, because attacks would only result in hostility. In fact they worked with questions that encouraged reflection; they also discussed the first steps towards change. In recent years this approach formed the basis for dialogue with men's church associations; specifically with the men's association of Catholic, Presbyterian and Anglican churches (WPP/ IFOR 2010:39ff.).

Besides the theatre program, MEGEN developed a media program that also encouraged men to reflect under the motto of "Real Men Don't Abuse Women". Young people, men, women and political decision makers at local and national levels were the target groups for the radio shows, new songs, locally-significant proverbs, posters and t-shirts. Moreover, MEGEN motivated the founding of local informal groups to provide immediate help to victims of violence and to accompany them in dealing with the authorities. Female representatives and police officers participated in these "Rapid Response Teams" in the framework of a "Survivor Support Program". Volunteers of the informal groups accompanied victims of violence during court appearances in over 90 cases. MEGEN has sought dialogue to improve violence protection and to overcome impunity time and again with political decision makers at local and national level.

In 2004, MEGEN created its own training program on the basis of its extensive training experience with FEMET. Under the leadership of Kennedy Odhiambo Otina, MEGEN intensified its training offers, conducted “Trainings of Trainers” and evaluated its experience. One of the objectives was to train the trainers to further develop peer group work in order to encourage peer groups of young or local authorities, for example. As experience showed, it is easiest for men to overcome their inhibitions and defensiveness regarding gender subjects when they have discussion with those of the same age, and who have a similar social status like themselves (FEMNET/ MEGEN 2009). MEGEN has been an independent organization since 2005 and has worked in the same office as FEMNET until 2009. Although they have separated, the two unions still cooperate on programs in Kenya and on gender trainings in Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali and Senegal.

5.6 Sierra Leone – Overcoming violence after years of civil war

5.6.1 Context

Sierra Leone became a British colony in 1787. Freed and ransomed slaves from America settled on the coast at the beginning of the 19th century. Unlike the local population, they were granted privileges, and received education as well as access to new administrative positions. At the end of the 19th century, there were repeated violent conflicts in the interior of the country because of, among other things, the tax demands of the British colonial power. Only a local minority profited from the export-oriented coffee and cocoa production since the 1920s and from diamond mining since the 1930s. Distinct hierarchies of society, which included the extensive dominance of old men over youth and over women, dependencies, poverty of the majority of the population and abuse of power were some of the structural problems in the 20th century. They continued after political independence was gained in 1961 and were intensified by neo-patrimonial and corrupt rulers that led to coups and countercoups.

Central motives for the civil war between 1991 and the beginning of 2002 were claims to power, access to and control of resources. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF), at first supported by warlord Charles Taylor from Liberia as well as other conflict parties, sought access to the diamond fields with the help of child soldiers. Many young fighters were recruited by force, and had to sexually violate their own family members before being abused themselves. These infringements on taboos were intended to make their return to the families difficult. New hierarchies among the child soldiers were formed in the guerilla units, where the power of the young leaders was based on violence. They oriented themselves to the hierarchies between men in the societal pre-war order and transformed them by claiming the power of the older generation and their control over women, girls and the riches of the land – power that the older people have refused to give them to this day (Schäfer 2008a:216ff.).

5.6.2 Men’s Association for Gender Equality (MAGE)

The Men’s Association for Gender Equality (MAGE) was founded by David Tamba. As a boy he had to sit by and helplessly watch as his sister was raped by RUF fighters. Also during his stay of several years in a refugee camp, he witnessed violence towards family members,

and he was not able to do anything about it. After the war, he was in a predicament whether to seek revenge or to look into other options that would help him process his own traumas. He decided to proceed against the predominate violence in society, especially against domestic violence. His motto is: "The war is over, now is the time to end the war at home." MAGE works through the following two approaches: for one, there is the matter of protection for women and help for victims of violence, especially in rural areas; for the other, structures of violence must be overcome and processes of change must be introduced, in cooperation with other organizations. This means working with governmental authorities, especially the police.

The basis for this are new laws, for which MAGE performed lobbying work together with other non-governmental organizations. MAGE joined the Task Force for Legal Reform in 2007. The new laws cover the prosecution of domestic violence, the legal regulation for traditional marriages, a divorce law and a law of inheritance. They form the normative framework to influence patterns of attitude and behavior. After all, discriminating traditional and religious practices also prevailed before and were tolerated by the government, such as the Islamic law or the so-called "Customary Law", a colonial legal construct that codifies pre-colonial legal practices retained after political independence was gained. These legal reforms and their application or interpretation prevented women from being entitled to inheritance, neither were they allowed to divorce and, in case the man decided to separate, the woman even had to pay back the bride price. They had no legal claims to their children and no right of residence in her husband's farmstead. Husbands had the right to use corporal punishment on their wives, child marriages were widespread, and a widow could be remarried to the brother of her dead husband. New laws had to be put in place to stop such practices; women now have the right of residence in the homestead of their husbands, they have the right of inheritance, daughters are to inherit the same amount as sons; remarriages to the brother of the late husband and child marriages are punishable. Women are allowed to divorce and repayment of the bride price is prohibited.

With the passing of the new laws, the legal implementation became a challenge. A first step is to inform the population, which is a problem in light of the catastrophic infrastructure, that is, the conditions of the streets and the rudimentary communication network. Moreover, the lack of education of the people is a great obstacle. Even before the war, access to education was a privilege of a small local minority and even this opportunity was destroyed in many places during the war. MAGE began contacting schools to motivate pupils to form peer groups. These are to offer forums for reflection on role models and problems of violence. Ideally, these should form the basis for changes of attitude. The improvement of education and information is a great challenge for gender activists, the state, and society.

After the war, reconstruction took place only in some parts and a return to traditions made changes of attitude difficult. This means that traditional female and male authorities insist on the restoration of the hierarchies and discrimination of the prewar order, from which they benefit at the cost of young women and men. Once again they interpret traditions to their own advantage and look at the informational sessions of NGOs, such as MAGE, with suspicion. It is all the more important to announce innovations locally. MAGE takes in part a confrontational approach and emphasizes that violations of the new laws is punishable. Men's rigid claims to power are also criticized. MAGE is also counting on the radio as a media of communication in local languages; discussions attended by various representatives of the local population, information programs and new songs about the problems were to sensitize people to the problems of violence.

MAGE cooperates with the police by offering training courses and by setting up police contact points for women and family members who have been victims of violence. MAGE is planning to intensify its collaboration with other non-governmental organizations to reduce violence and to implement legal reforms in practice; prior to this, the cooperation mainly involved mutual anti-violence campaigns and individual actions.

In neighboring Liberia, also a post-war country, the International Rescue Committee and the Men's Resources International support a program that integrates men into anti-violence work: "Engaging Men in Ending Gender-Based Violence" is the motto. A central structural problem there is that young men and in particular ex-combatants receive no land rights after the war; the old elite refuses to give them access to resources, which leads to new conflicts.

6 Selected men's organizations and gender programs in Nicaragua and other Latin American countries

6.1 Context

Nicaragua gained its independence from the Kingdom of Spain in 1821. In 1977, power abuse and corruption by the dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle led to civil war. In July 1979 the war ended with a victory for the guerillas. In the 1980s, U.S. President Ronald Reagan supported paramilitary groups – among them were also former soldiers of Somoza – the so-called Contras, who wanted to destabilize the population with a brutal “scorched earth strategy”. Their goal was to overthrow the Sandinista government. A peace treaty of Central American countries was signed in 1988, which included the demobilization of all irregular troops and a reduction in size of the national army. Free elections by secret ballot were to be carried out, which was the case in 1990.

Men's organizations are also active in other Central and Latin American countries marked by war, such as Peru by guerilla warfare or Mexico by gang warfare and where there are massive structural inequalities, exploitation, gender hierarchies and acceptance of violence. They are committed to halting the spread of machismo and to change the concept of masculinity of men, adolescents and boys. Some of the organizations collaborate in their program work.

6.2 Nicaragua – priority country of the ADC

In northern Nicaragua, specifically in Condega, a small town with a high rate of youth unemployment and crime, the ADC supported the cultural center La Fraternidad that offers training and continuing education courses as well as a diverse leisure program. Graduates from an Austrian technical college and an institution of higher education worked as interns at this cultural center, enabling an exchange between boys and adolescents in Nicaragua with young people in Austria.

6.2.1 Centre for Popular Education and Communications (CANTERA)

The Centro para Comunicación y Educación Popular (CANTERA) was founded in 1988 and has been questioning the concept of machismo in society since 1994. A year earlier, young men formed the Grupo de Hombres Contra la Violencia (GHCV) in the Nicaraguan capitol Managua, which was supported by a small group of feminists. They were united in the network Red de Mujeres Contra la Violencia (RMCV) and advocated for women's rights. Together with GHCV, they wanted to effect individual and political change to reduce violence against women. At first some of the women's rights activists reacted critically and perceived men activists as competition and were afraid of losing the few funds available for women's projects. However, they were eventually persuaded that it involved important changes in masculinity and the reduction of machismo; transformations that improved the lives of women and reduced violence (Welsh 2011:207f.). CANTERA continued the work. Since then, it has persistently been exposing socio-cultural backgrounds of machismo and

has been motivating men to reflect on and overcome learned and internalized thinking of superiority. Machismo justifies the discrimination, contempt and humiliation of women and results in gender-based violence (Welsh 2001). CANTERA has created training material and conducts workshops on masculinity and popular parenting, in which at first men participate and then women join in to discuss their experiences with violence, problems and wishes for change in private and public life with the men. The aim of the trainer is to sensitize male participants to the effect of violence on women and family and to show how it can impact their children. Many of the men start reflecting on their actions since they actually desire to be good fathers. Domestic violence is also placed in a societal context.

CANTERA builds methodically on popular educational methods, which pertain to the experiences of the participants by providing them with new knowledge and understanding. It should enable dialogue and achieve transformations in attitude of society. Critical self-analysis and reflection of internalized opinions and prejudices have central importance in the workshops. These are correlated with societal constructions of masculinity and femininity, however the main focus is on their own life story and experience with violence; gender theory only forms part of the background knowledge. Impact analyses of the organization not only consider the behavioral transformation of men but also the perception of their wives, mothers and sisters. In this way it can be determined whether men have really changed (Welsh 2011:208ff.).

The workshops are a part of eight-month courses. They look for constructive solutions to widespread and derogative assessments in society, where transformation processes means less masculinity. In fact, men should experience it as an enrichment to share their feelings and thoughts and to know that violence hurts them. These processes are very difficult for many men; in particular, the implementation of these insights learned in the workshops remains a challenge. Many of the men are not taken seriously by their friends, their social environment and at their workplace. Their masculinity is questioned in the form of remarks, comments and discussions. These attacks and problems are discussed in the workshops. Various media, such as movies like "Marta and Raymond" or "El Significado de Ser Hombre" ("What it means to be a man") offer ideas to develop individual strategies and to deal with criticism. Professional and experienced trainers are essential. In the meantime CANTERA has trained 300 trainers in the framework of Training of Trainers courses, the majority of which are active in various NGOs. CANTERA also works in rural areas and helps men to rid themselves of their machismo. Moreover, CANTERA is active in Guatemala, Costa Rica and El Salvador (CANTERA 1995, Barker 2006).

6.2.2 Asociación de Hombres Contra la Violencia/Association of Men Against Violence (AHCV/AMAV)

The Asociación de Hombres Contra la Violencia was formed by members of existing women's and men's organizations in the year 2000, specifically by Red de Mujeres Contra la Violencia (RMCV) and the Grupo de Hombres Contra la Violencia (GHCV). The aim was to increase and systematize the participation of men in transformation processes of society in order to overcome violence and to emphasize the political importance of this work. GHCV was responsible for defining objectives and strategies. The AHCV/AMAV developed an intervention program for communities that brought together 20-25 men from each community for a one-year course; the target group is made up mainly of young men and teenagers.

Planning takes place in close consultation with local women's organizations. The AHCV/AMAV see themselves as their partner. The conceptual and methodical approach is based on the experiences of other Nicaraguan organizations such as CANTERA and Puntos de Encuentro. The aim is to overcome gender-based and domestic violence (Welsh 2011:211). The men meet ten times in the year to reflect on their character and internalized ideas of masculinity in a patriarchal society. Other topics were power, violence and sexuality. The participants go beyond their personal experiences and learn to look at gender issues through an analytical lens. The unlearning of machismo is accompanied with self-reflection and the learning of critical social analyses, a concept of empowerment through awareness raising that can be traced back to the methods of the Brazilian teacher Paulo Freire. They combine these with fundamental considerations regarding human rights and human dignity, by which they address political and social contexts. They are encouraged to actively participate in other local groups and organizations, to put transformation work with men on the political agenda and to be represented in youth associations or as political decision makers. Thus it is about the change of institutions, political guidelines and legal and law reforms and their implementation, for which cooperation with other civil society groups, especially with women's rights organizations, is necessary. Lucinda Broadbent introduces their work in the 1999 film 'Macho'. In 2004, the Asociación de Hombres Contra la Violencia produced a training manual in cooperation with the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CHR, now known as Progreso). "Hombres de Verdad o la Verdad sobre los Hombres", which means something like: "True men or the truth about men". It is to serve local activists as follow-up for their work (Welsh 2011:213ff.).

6.2.3 Puntos de Encuentro

Puntos de Encuentro, which roughly translated means "meeting point", started their work following the natural disaster in 1999 and intensified their activities in the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch in 2000. The building of relationships based on gender equality was to become a part of the overall reconstruction efforts. The motto was: "Violence against women is a disaster that can be avoided" (Welsh 2011:209f.). Domestic violence is considered a problem that not only concerns women and children but society as a whole. Puntos de Encuentro aims to empower women and young girls to make their own decisions and to participate in social processes. For this, they have developed multi-media strategies such as radio programs, a TV series entitled "El Sexto Sentido", training for journalists and teachers and material for youth and women's groups. The operative part of the trainings is oriented towards communicating positive news, introducing role models, and thus to contribute to overcoming violence. A further program is deliberately aimed at male teenagers and motivates them to self-critical transformation of attitude and behavior (Welsh 2011:210). This initiative combines programs for boys and male teenagers for health and HIV/AIDS together with the sensitization on gender-based violence. Puntos de Encuentro also uses an approach conceived by the Instituto Promundo in Brazil for their health and anti-violence work with boys. Specifically, it involves the program "H" (H for hombre in Spanish and homem in Portuguese), from which a DVD and manual were created in Nicaragua against sexual violence, HIV, machismo and rigid norms of masculinity. This training material is geared towards trainers, e.g. in the area of peer education.

The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) and UNFPA – with reference to the World

Population Conference in Cairo in 1994 and the World Women's Conference in Peking in 1995 – conduct courses in Nicaragua, together with the Ministry of Health, on reproductive health with the aim of encouraging men to responsible sexual behavior. To start off with, participants need to understand their role as fathers, and to confront themselves with social fatherhood. In this manner sexual violence, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV should be prevented. The target groups include employees in healthcare, police officers and soldiers (PAHO 2004).

6.3 Instituto Promundo, Brazil

Instituto Promundo is an organization based in Brazil, which is active in Latin America and internationally. This mainly pertains to the Program “H”, developed by Promundo (H for hombre in Spanish and homem in Portuguese) and is made up of five training modules: sexuality and reproductive health, responsible fatherhood, violence and peaceful coexistence, emotions, HIV prevention and living with HIV. Program “H” motivates young men to question socially accepted norms of masculinity, to assume new, more positive orientations of masculinity and to reflect on the costs of traditional masculinity as well as the advantages of gender justice. Themes are machismo, violence, homophobia, sexually transmitted diseases and fatherhood as teenager. Program “H” was tested in various regions of Brazil and in different countries of Latin America, for which the Instituto Promundo cooperated with the PAPAI Institute in Brazil, with Salud y Género in Mexico and with the international organizations UNFPA, WHO, the Population Council and PATH. Program “H” was successful and was implemented in other continents as the basis for culturally adapted programs there. Instituto Promundo has a very good international network and has often hosted international conferences for the exchange of information with men's and gender organizations from all parts of the world (Barker/ Nascimento/ Ricardo et al. 2011).

The Brazilian organization PAPAI Institute (Programa de Apoio ao Pai) assumes that women and men must be involved in consultations on reproductive health. The Adolescent Fathers' Support Programs impart information targeted to boys so that they can deal responsibly with their own sexuality and learn about responsibilities as fathers, because many teenagers have already fathered children. Courses in clinics and health stations prepare young mothers and fathers for their social roles as parents; they motivate young men to actively participate in the upbringing of their children (Lyra/ Medrado 2005).

6.4 “ReproSalud” (Movimiento Manuela Ramos), Peru

ReproSalud is active in 91 districts and eight regions of Peru. The employees communicate in the indigenous languages Aymara and Quechua. The original aim of ReproSalud was to improve reproductive health. In working with women, it became especially clear how important it is to include the men. Therefore ReproSalud began workshops for men. These were very successful, reducing domestic violence and the alcohol consumption of men, which had a positive effect on the everyday lives of daughters and sons, and the women obtained the right to speak concerning reproductive issues. They gained more control over their own bodies, more self-confidence and had better means to claim their rights. Their economic independence was also strengthened.

6.5 Salud y Género, Mexico

The Mexican organization Salud y Género campaigns against gender-based violence. Overcoming sexual abuse and alcoholism also form part of their objectives. The organization works with boys, women and men, the aim is to communicate dignity and respect. Moreover, Salud y Género wants to have an impact on politics and jurisdiction to overcome violence and to promote women's rights.

7 Selected men's organizations in Asia

7.1 Context

In a specific country and local way, political or fundamental violence, aftermath of war, occupation, militarization, repression and massive socio-economic inequalities, impoverishment, exploitation and structural discrimination of entire population groups cause the spread of violence in Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Cambodia and East Timor. These interactions bring about a high rate of interpersonal, gender-based, sexualized and domestic violence. Moreover, national and local interaction influences the various factors of gender hierarchies, masculinity constructs and male legitimations of violence.

7.2 Pakistan

The non-governmental organization Rozan offers workshops for the police and judiciary system in Islamabad in Pakistan, a country ravaged time and again by violence with political and fundamental motives. The goal is the awareness raising of gender-based violence. Rozan draws on the experience of the police with violence towards women and on their attitudes towards gender norms. The continuing education is a pilot project and should contribute to improving relations between the police and the communities, which would therefore make their institutionalization necessary (Esplen/ Greig 2007). Additional target groups are community workers and doctors, thus changing the widespread attitude in society and in these occupational groups that violence towards women results from the discontentment of men. Moreover, Rozan has developed courses for boys and adolescents.

7.3 India

The network Men's Actions for Stopping Violence against Women (MASVAW) was founded by the men of the non-governmental organization SAHAYOG and is active for women's rights and against gender-based violence in conflict-torn parts of India. Meanwhile there are more than 100 organizations in the network scrutinizing the patriarchal patterns of power, and resulting formation of male identity as well as widespread gender stereotypes. Their approach includes awareness processes for employees of local authorities, media, government positions, other NGOs, universities and youth groups. MASVAW first began offering training courses for key persons and then the network spread its work out to include other target groups. The men found that overcoming patterns of violence was in no way a loss, as most of them had feared at the beginning. On the contrary, they gain from that; they win the respect of their partners and also receive more respect at their workplace (MASAW 2007). The network developed courses for both male and female pupils of elementary and secondary schools on domestic violence and abuse. Also the inequalities between men and women as well as between men and boys are being discussed. Teachers are included in these courses, special interactive games and the rehearsing of thematically-relevant theatre plays help initial and further learning (UNIFEM/MenEngage 2010).

Objectives are the change of attitude and behavior of men as well as the communication and dissemination of new role models for men, so as to reduce gender-based violence towards women and to help survivors of violence. MASVAW does not wish to appear patronizing but wants to initiate awareness processes. For their prevention and awareness-raising programs, MASVAW uses street theatre, media such as radio, posters, men's magazines and personal consultations. MASVAW worked together with other organizations for years for the passing and implementation of an anti-violence law and demanded clear-cut monitoring mechanisms, schedules and a budget. The law was passed in 2005, now MASVAW sees itself as a critical observer ("watchdog") for its implementation. In addition, the law is an important basis for further legal lobbying as well as local consultation and awareness campaigns. MASVAW refers here to basic human rights; NGOs are requested to integrate a human rights approach and human mainstreaming to overcome violence towards women (WHO 2010:30f.).

Professional publications refer to a second Indian men's organization, which the journalist C.Y. Gopinath had already founded in 1991: Men against Violence and Abuse (MAVE). It unites men who reject gender-based violence and want to change the dominant behavior of men in order to put a stop to the abuse of women. Besides this comparatively small organization, there is reference to the Society for Integrated Development of Himalayas (SIDH), an NGO, where both men and women are active. The objectives are changes in attitude and behavior, which contribute to gender and social justice. In this context, the organization conducts courses for youth on HIV prevention, young men being one of the target groups.

7.4 Nepal

After years of violent conflicts, the peace process began in Nepal in 2006. Elections took place in 2008 and in 2010 a new constitution was to be presented. Voting was postponed till 2011. In the meantime the culture of violence spread, with several civilian victims; young men took part in the acts of violence as well. They were members of the party-affiliated youth organization. In April and May 2011, women protested publicly and demanded a transparent procedure in voting for the constitution, the stringent enforcement of the peace process and the increased participation of women. On May 28 in 2011 women's rights activists, although demonstrating peacefully, were violently suppressed by the police, 21 were arrested. Women are poorly represented in political decision-making bodies and in the parties; they are obliged to obey the parties and are restricted in their efforts to promote women's rights. Although there are individual amending laws and Nepal has signed a few international agreements concerning women's rights, implementation has been a problem. Women are discriminated against in the education sector and also because of their origins ('Dalit'). Numerous girls are refused school attendance. Nepalese women's organizations are considered by some observers to be at odds with each other, making a common position that much more difficult. Nevertheless, they accomplished political lobby work so that the Domestic Violence Act 2008 was passed. CARE International and CARE Austria supported grass-roots women's organizations in the National Forum for Women's Rights Concern (NFORWC), a networking of 35 organizations. They cooperated with the national NGO Jagaran Nepal in order to anchor gender justice into the new constitution. The network exchanged ideas with lawyers and contacted marginalized communities to note their perspectives and to inform them of preparations for the constitution (CARE International 2009).

The organization SAKCHAM is linked to other women's organizations at national level and also promotes gender equality – among other things in the new constitution – including the implementation of international agreements such as CEDAW, the Peking Platform for Action and UN resolution 1325. At the local level, concretely in the Churia area, SAKCHAM works on improving the livelihoods and strengthening the peace processes in post-conflict context, for instance, by reducing the animosity between people attributed with different castes. Local groups, so-called "Popular Education Center", offer forums for discussion and exchange of ideas. Gender issues are also discussed here, for example, a goal is the reduction of domestic violence. Separate men's groups were established and offer their own discussion forums. Men who have overcome their readiness to use violence are acknowledged and recognized.

At the local level, the Rural Women's Network Nepal (Ruuwon, Nepal) advocates for the improvement of the situation of women and girls. Among the objectives are empowering women so that they can represent their interests at local gatherings and thus contribute to democratization, strengthening their self-confidence and their economic capacities, the overcoming of domestic violence and literacy. There are also literacy programs for boys and adolescents. Moreover, they brought to question patriarchal attitudes that underlie violence against women and girls. The work is very dangerous for women's rights activists as well as for men who are in alliance with them. They are threatened, according to a report of the Men Engage Alliance.

Save the Children is active at local level, which has conducted numerous training courses for boys, adolescents and men and has created extensive training material. Like hardly no other, the children's rights organization Save the Children puts a lot of value on making sure these training courses correspond to each age group and are oriented toward critical reflections about gender relations, hierarchies and hegemonic power relations between men. It is the only way to protect girls from violence. Moreover, approaches to individual change of attitude are connected with comprehensive measures to change overall societal and political conditions, thus eliminating the basis for gender-based violence, child abuse and exploitation (Save the Children 2004; 2009; 2010).

7.5 Bangladesh

CARE International supports the work of Imtiazul Islam (ARSHICARE, Bangladesh). This organization works on a multi-pronged approach against gender-based violence. This entails requirements for accountability, prevention strategies at community level and collaboration with women's group, and the prosecution of violence. Men and boys are motivated to participate in prevention programs and to report cases as well as to do follow up. The project wants to improve the health situation, in particular for women, youth and children and to reduce gender-based violence. It works with creative methods such as games, plays, role-playing and sports for the reproductive health of the young. One target group is that of boys and adolescents, who are reached e.g. through youth centers. Adolescents and young men are asked to reflect on their own behavior, for which ARSHI (Bengali for "Mirror") proceeds with cultural sensitivity to avoid resistance and counter-reactions.

The aim is to win over boys, male adolescents and men for empowerment and anti-violence programs, which are essentially oriented towards women and girls. They can clearly position themselves against violence and become alliance partners of women's groups to

overcome violence. The basis for this is women's/ human rights approach. In 2009 alone there were 1,207 boy groups founded with 17,589 members, from whom many dealt with gender-specific violence and forms of harassment, and with reproductive health. In peer group work, various participative and visual methods have already been successfully used. These activities are to be coordinated and linked to school lessons. ARSCHI integrates boys and men into the conception of a strategy to change gender norms.

On a voluntary basis and by integrated approaches, a contribution can be made to gender and social justice. A concern is the reduction of the harassment of girls by boys, as many parents give their daughters in marriage at an early age because, for example, they are harassed at the way to school. The employees here should proceed cautiously, as they are met with a lot of skepticism. They have already succeeded at some places to carefully overcome reservations and to work together with boys and adolescents.

7.6 Cambodian Men's Network (CMN)

In post-war Cambodia, the Cambodian Men's Network (CMN) was founded by men in the year 2000, working for Gender and Development in Phnom Penh. It is an NGO supported by the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women in order to reach out to men, and to promote gender equality and end violence against women. The training goal for capacity building is to end the social acceptance of gender-based violence and to achieve gender equality in the economy, politics and society. Local men's groups were established and supported; they should serve as role models to motivate men to change their behavior. The groups also observe the implementation of the law against domestic violence, which was passed in 2005. For this purpose, they cooperate with local authorities, heads of village and the police. Men should report acts of violence and the local authorities should prosecute those cases. The multi-sectoral approach operates under the principle that men can change and overcome their violent behavior. In addition, men should appreciate more women and their accomplishments in family, household, community and national development.

7.7 East Timor

The organization Men's Association against Violence (AMKV), active in post-conflict East Timor, assumes that liberation from the Indonesian occupation and the violent actions of the military should apply to all people, not only to men. Therefore the AMKV campaigns against gender-based violence works on changing attitudes and behaviors of men.

8 Selected approaches for change among youth in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia

8.1 Context

The wars in the former Yugoslavia, which took place between 1991 and 2001, were based on national and ethnic tensions. Another factor was the irritations of men who lost their economic freedom to act and the confirmations they had in the former economic system. These have progressively been dissolved through diverse economic and political upheavals since the end of the 1980's. An exaggerated nationalism fuelled the readiness for war and prompted men to fight for and defend nationalistic and ethnic interests. Gender-based violence, mass rapes of women and girls as well as sexual violence towards boys and men were part of the war strategies. These were built on existing, political and ethnically charged gender stereotypes and contributed to a culture of violence. Confirmations of masculinity and male self-images beyond martial and mostly nationalistically charged readiness for war were abolished or marginalized by the war (Seifert 2004). It is all the more difficult, in a post-war context, to overcome the pattern of violence and to develop nonviolent alternatives and reorientations. Many of the men have become insecure due to their unemployment and economic lack of prospects or by fear of losing their jobs; most of them have not processed their wartime experiences as perpetrators and/or victims of violence (Cockburn/ Zarkov 2000; Eifler/ Seifert 2009). Gender-based violence has poured down on families, affects health and the well-being of adults, young men, young women, and children.

8.2 Innovative research with male youth

In a pilot program carried out by CARE International and CARE Northwestern Balkans, male youth between the ages of 13 and 19 participated in a study about masculinity built on participative learning approaches. In March and April 2007, this study was carried out at five locations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia with 9 to 15 male youth each and was supported by male employees of the International Center for the Research on Women (ICRW). They had already gained research experience in Brazil and India. Local partners were youth centers, youth organizations and secondary schools/ high schools. They were prepared for the interactive implementation of the "Participative Learning and Action" study. Crux of the matter was the reflection on masculinity and gender-based violence in post-war context. "Participative Learning and Action"(PLA) is a flexible research method oriented towards the participants and encourages their active participation. It is about sharing knowledge, insights and experiences, reflecting on mutual problems and developing analyses for the problems. Awareness raising in adolescents and young men is considered to be a central contribution to gender equality, attitude change and the overcoming of violence. Before the study was done in 2007, youth centers in Balkan countries had not worked on the construction of masculinity and the significance of violence in the lives of young men and adolescents. CARE Northwestern Balkans wanted to improve the understanding of the pressure on young men and adolescents as well as of the structural factors that influence the readiness to use violence. The goal was to reduce pressure through discussions and to find nonviolent perceptions of masculinity through peer group reflections. The young men were spoken to as agents of social change, and the overbearing gender norms were also

discussed as a taboo subject. This work was considered as a supplement to empowerment approaches with girls and women.

Research issues included social and cultural constructions of masculinity, and opinions and experiences of young men, in particular in consideration of hegemonic masculinity. It was about the effects of schools, media, religion, family as well as peer pressure on young men. Young men's images of femininity and their ideas of women, girlfriends and partnership were reflected. Another subject was the significance of violence in the construction of masculinity. The consequences of rejecting violence were also discussed with the initial question of what happens when men are not violent or reject violence (CARE 2007).

These questions were to be seen in context and to invite for further reflections on male health and sexuality, readiness and willingness to use violence, gender norms and role attributions. For the first time, the young men were given the opportunity to contemplate and discuss their own impression of masculinity, the pressure of roles and expectations, experiences with violence and ideas about gender. The reflections on gender norms should help to reduce the readiness to use violence and to encourage equal treatment.

8.3 Patterns of violence and overcoming violence

It became clear that the young perceive the police as an institution with a pronounced culture of violence who act brutally against young men. The school was also perceived as a place marked by violence and abuse of power by the teachers. Teachers and religious authorities exerted emotional violence, e.g. through personal humiliations. It became clear that schools are places where young men humiliate and put each other under pressure by acts of violence ("bullying"), that is by physical, psychological and verbal violence. The fear of being exposed as unmanly in a group of peers or older provokes and justifies one's own readiness to use violence, according to those questioned. The emotional humiliation by other young men was perceived as especially hurtful.

Sexual humiliations were tabooed and kept secret, it was considered unmanly to talk about it. It is considered a sign of additional weakness; therefore the personal consequences were not discussed.

Many of the young men held the opinion that a man has to be ready to fight in order to defend himself and his partner or his family.

They also considered economic insecurity and unemployment to cause widespread violence; frustrations, lack of prospects and financial needs plunge men into serious crises. Alcoholism and drug consumption were also named as causes for violence.

All the more important was the behavior of their own fathers, who either encouraged their sons to use violence by their own readiness to do the same, as a sign of masculinity, or who protected their sons from violence. In those cases where fathers motivated their sons to use violence, it provided the young men with the legitimization to do so. Where fathers rejected violence, for example by dismissing the attacks of other young men, it led to the de-legitimation of violence by the adolescents. Moreover, the use of one's personal charisma and power of persuasion was seen as a counterpole to physical violence. This proved to be a break from the hegemonic image of manhood and its martial character (CARE 2007).

9 Lessons learned – Successful approaches

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

- Critical reflections about rigid gender stereotypes, ideologies and institutions which promote aggression and legitimize violence
- Analysis of historically-shaped and politically and economically-influenced identity attributions to men which determine their behavior and interactions
- Considerations of how state institutions and non-state organizations can counteract such patterns culturally specific; education of boys into a culture of peace
- Institutional integration of gender topics, internal men's groups in dialogue with other UN organizations
- Discussions about sexual harassment and sexual abuse by fellow employees, discussions about it among employees via in-house internet platforms

UNDP – INSTRAW – DCAF

United Nations Development Programme – International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women – Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces

- Responsibility of men as agents of change – also in male-dominated institutions
- Long-term institutional cooperation to overcome structures of violence and the development of prevention strategies
- INSTRAW – DCAF cooperation: Development of detailed concepts and training material for security sector reform, discussions about military and belligerent masculinity (references to gender-based violence, incl. forced prostitution and sexual abuse)
- Comprehensive gender approach, consideration of age, cultural differences, homosexuality, hierarchies between men and violence against boys

ICRW – International Centre for Research on Women

- Cooperation with the Instituto Promundo, Brazil: Analysis of gender policy and its effects on boys and men (attitudes about gender equality and violence)
- International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) to monitor the behavior and attitudes of men (quality of life, reproductive rights, childhood and family, legitimation of violence)
- Toolkits to improve gender policy and promote cooperation between political decision makers

UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund

- Overcoming violent masculinity which is accompanied by high-risk sexual behavior and HIV/AIDS (especially in post-war and post-conflict countries)
- Interdependencies between reproductive rights, health, gender equality and poverty reduction
- Active participation of men in the education of their children: Promotion of their own well-being, reduction of risky behavior
- Social fatherhood: Positive role models for sons who tend to question violent masculinity
- Peer groups: Learning and taking over roles and norms (threat and opportunity)
- Special consultations for men in the health sector, especially about reproductive health

and HIV/AIDS, win over men as partners for family planning and HIV programs

- Culturally-adapted programs, incl. in the area of media, but questioning of sexist norms
- Post-war societies: Potential for change, dangers and chances in refugee camps: Strengthening or overcoming violent patterns of masculinity, especially with adolescents and young men (manual on reproductive health)
- Integrate HIV/AIDS education into demobilizing programs for ex-combatants, training for intermediaries in communities of origin (manual on reproductive health)
- Address destructed, hurt, disoriented images of masculinity, drug problems of ex-combatants
- Men's and boy's groups: Discussion forums for attitude changes, peer group work
- Isolated empowerment programs for women and girls as traps; boomerang effect through men
- Link soccer to gender (thereby reaching boys 8 years and older)
- Cross-cutting and integrated programs, which link improvements with information and approaches to changing attitudes
- Link reproductive programs to economic measures, training, „life skills“ programs
- Leadership courses for young men on reproductive rights and gender equality in the context of human rights and democratization
- No careless return to prewar order that encouraged violence because of the structures of exploitation and hierarchies. Transform institutions, organizations, norms and ideologies

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

- Promote human rights in refugee work
- Manual and guidelines on HIV and reproductive rights
- Proceeding against sexual abuse by UN employees and the personnel of humanitarian organizations (sexual abuse of girls is a human rights violation and an affront against boys, adolescents and men)
- Integrated gender mainstreaming approach in cooperation with other UN organizations
- Challenge: Overcoming breaches of identity, lack of orientation and unemployment of men and youth in refugee camps as a result of the formation of martial masculinities
- Necessity of innovative programs with boys, adolescents and men (peer group work)
- Convey new identifications and orientations, integrated approaches to gender equality

UN DPKO – United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

- Gender sensitizing of military and civil personnel in UN peace missions
- Compliance with zero tolerance guidelines to prevent sexual abuse, prosecution
- Possessive sexual behavior of blue helmet soldiers is an affront to demobilized ex-combatants, do not reinforce hierarchies between blue helmet soldiers and local ex-combatants
- Pay attention not only to the vulnerability of women and girls in DPKO training courses but also to differentiated approaches with masculinity shaped by war and its consequences
- Take greater account of girls and young women in disarmament, demobilization and

reintegration programs, also note the martial effect on masculine identity and experiences with violence of boys and men as perpetrator and victim

WHO – World Health Organization

- Test innovative training concepts for medical students and employees of the health system in Latin America (convey links between readiness to use violence, socio-economic problems and martial patterns of masculinity)
- Coordination between various health facilities of the individual countries and multi-sectoral program coordination at national level (institutionalization, innovative prevention approaches – cooperation between health services, social work, police and justice system)
- Address verifiable improvements in the health situation through projects for gender transformations, norms, behavioral patterns and social interaction between men. Criteria: Decrease of domestic and sexual violence, HIV and improvement of the health situation of mothers and small children
- Fathers, who become more involved in the education of their children and who receive incentives from their governments, are positive role models, for example to their sons. Positive effects on the health situation of the entire family
- Community programs with institutions, local or religious authorities, media and peer groups
- Prevention: Win over men as supporters, set limits for perpetrators, publicly denounce violence, intervene for victims of violence and the implementation of laws for protection against violence and gun control
- Structural problem: Most projects have only a pilot character and receive no funds or long-term support. Continuous support is necessary to further strengthen changes in attitudes
- Challenge: Change overall political conditions and structures in order to fundamentally transform masculinity and male patterns of behavior; condemn violence publicly and socially
- In the drafting phase guidelines, laws and programs should be designed coherently and implemented in a coordinated manner by the government
- Political guidelines are necessary for the contextualization of programs for individual change of behavior to improve their broad impact and sustainability. This includes programs to reduce alcohol consumption and the easy access to weapons. Youth cannot fulfill the norms of manhood, violence as a compensation of hopelessness and unemployment. Political solutions are necessary

The World Bank

- State institutions should do more to deal with the socio-economic problems of young men
- Discussions about gender norms before and during wars as well as in refugee camps
- Consideration of hierarchies between old and young men; power of the older ones over women and girls, bride price payments as means of applying pressure; problems of young men to find partners
- vCombine peer group work with education and economic programs, e.g. make access to land easier. Stronger commitment by the state and the private sector. Moreover, political statements and programs give signals and affect individual behavior

- View the young not only as potential perpetrators of violence but also as critical citizens who want to combat corruption, power abuse and who demand good governance
- Youth organizations, youth programs and youth politics should promote gender equality; role model function for boys

UNIFEM – United Nations Development Fund for Women

- Integration of approaches for working with men in programs against gender-based violence, carried out mainly by regional, national or local women's organizations
- Overview of fundamental concepts, concrete planning, implementing and evaluating steps for prevention work with men and youth
- Cooperation with UNFPA, UNDP and United Nations Volunteers, Oxfam and local NGOs; prevention programs, training materials for working with youth
- Not only women's organizations should be supported for disarmament, legislative reform and peace programs, it is also important to overcome masculinity shaped by war and its consequences

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

- Training materials for the sensitizing of UNICEF employees
- The program focus has so far been on mothers and children. Challenge: Promotion of family responsibilities of fathers and involvement of men in anti-violence and health programs

MenEngage

- International exchange of information about gender and anti-violence programs with men and boys
- Discussions about projects, programs, political guidelines and overall conditions

Oxfam

- Differentiated approaches of masculinity in gender mainstreaming, post-conflict, poverty-reduction, family and social fatherhood programs; detailed training manuals
- Address boys as an individual target group, for example in HIV prevention programs
- Dealing with resistance or hostility of men in project work
- Reflection on interventions in other societies and cultures

Save the Children

- Change the formation of the masculine identity among boys via peer group work. References: Children's, human and women's rights
- Programs for teachers and parents, courses and materials for the employees of state institutions and NGOs, repeated and systematic gender training
- Link individual changes in behavior to changes in the structural framework; take into account religious and cultural differences
- Masculinity belongs on the political agenda, accountability of the government and the duty to protect
- International exchange of information

SIDA – Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

- Overcome gender-specific violence and its consequences in intergenerational relation-

ships by working with children and men; hereby implementing women's, children's and human rights

- Networking initiatives at local and national levels; cooperation between NGOs, authorities and the government; overcoming violence as a political task

International Committee of the Red Cross

- Protection and prevention, preventing the forced recruitment of child soldiers. Reference: International Convention on Children's Rights; implementing international humanitarian law is the responsibility of the state

Sonke Gender Justice Network, South Africa

- Prevention work with men, male adolescents and boys in alliance with women's, children's rights and AIDS, homosexual and refugee organizations; men – agents of change, proceeding against sexualized, homophobic and xenophobic violence, innovative media work; dialogue with local and religious authorities, work with teachers
- Civil society organizations in constructive and critical dialogue with the government; demanding accountability of the government and the empowerment of its citizens
- Criticism of sexist politicians, successful action against sexist former ANC youth leader J. Malema
- Shadow reports of the gender organization on the Platform for Action of the World Conference on Women in Peking
- Exchange of information with UN bodies and UN organizations; development of programs to change attitudes and behaviors of men in African post-conflict countries; linking with women's programs
- Cooperation with innovative organizations in Africa, Latin America and India

Padare/Enkundleni – Men's Forum on Gender, Zimbabwe

- Innovative handling of traditional images of men and meeting points; role changes, self-reflections
- Integrate violence and HIV prevention in teachers' training and in training to become an agricultural extension worker
- Regional collaboration with other men's organizations and innovative projects

Rwanda Men's Resource Centre, Rwanda

- Cooperation with women's organizations in Rwanda and men's organizations in other African countries, reflections on impact analyses and follow-ups
- Workshops at community level, in church communities and at schools, clear rejection of violence
- Collaboration with representatives of state institutions and NGOs

"Abatangamuco" – the bringer of light, Burundi

- Economic and psycho-social empowerment of women and women's organizations requires targeted programs for men, otherwise domestic violence will increase
- „Bringer of light“ – honorary title that men can obtain for their change of behavior
- Giving public testimony against violence, positive effects of equal access to resources, local discussions about legal inequalities
- Challenge: Transfer of local activities and results at the national level

Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN), Kenya

- Founding of MEGEN by the Kenyan women's organization African Women's Development and Communications Network (FEMNET), improvement of the situation of women, overcoming violence, preventing negative consequences of isolated women empowerments, and also collaboration with organizations in South Africa
- Combine gender training (innovative modules and manuals), lobbying and advocacy
- Travelling theatre, performances in small towns about domestic violence and HIV/AIDS, subsequent discussions to deal with defensiveness and rejection
- Peer group work, cooperation with the police and religious and local authorities

Men's Association for Gender Equality (MAGE), Sierra Leone

- Founding of MAGE by a man who had to witness the sexual assault on family members; protection for women and help for victims of violence; cooperation with the police
- Implement new laws for the prosecution of domestic violence, implement legislative reform, confrontation with neo-traditionalists. Point of reference: Implement legislative reform
- Local radio stations as communication media, peer groups at school

Centro para Comunicación y Educación Popular (CANTERA), Nicaragua

- Close cooperation with women's network and women's rights activists
- Overcoming machismo at individual and society level, contribute to the reduction of gender-based violence and social justice
- Training material, training of trainers. Evaluations: Women give feedback on behavioral change
- Cooperation with other men's organizations in the country and in Latin America

Asociación de Hombres Contra la Violencia/Association of Men Against Violence (AH-CV/AMAV), Nicaragua

- Association of men who work in men's organizations and who are linked to women's rights activists
- Conceptual and methodical approach in collaboration with other Nicaraguan organizations
- Critical society analyses with reference to Paulo Freire, human rights and human dignity
- Exercise political influence on, for instance, politicians, youth associations, strategic alliances, incl. selected church institutions
- Training materials for activists

Puntos de Encuentro, Nicaragua

- Responsibility of men in their fight against violence, targeted programs and materials for youth
- Use of the Promundo approach in Brazil for health and anti-violence work with boys
- Peer education and training of trainers, numerous age-appropriate materials

Instituto Promundo, Brazil

- In Brazil and other Latin American countries: Program "H" (H for hombre in Spanish and homem in Portuguese. Five training modules: Sexuality and reproductive health, responsible fatherhood, violence and peaceful coexistence, emotions, HIV prevention

- Program “H”: Adolescents and young men learn to question society’s norms of masculinity; new, more positive orientation to masculinity

“ReproSalud” (Movimiento Manuela Ramos), Peru

- In the Aymara und Quechua languages: Improvement of reproductive health
- Starting point: Only sustainable work with women, even when working with men
- Reduction of violence, alcohol abuse, greater say of women in reproductive issues, developing their business skills, positive role models for daughters

Salud y Género, Mexico

- Working with women, men, boys, conveying dignity and respect
- Demands on the government: Change legal bases and set up political programs about overcoming violence

Rozan, Pakistan

- Pilot workshops for the police and justice system in Islamabad. Objective: Attitude change and institutionalizing the courses
- Training for boys and adolescents

Men’s Action for Stopping Violence against Women (MASVAW), India

- Awareness raising processes for employees of local authorities, media, authorities, NGOs, universities and youth groups, teachers, pupils. Objective: New role models, more respect for women and girls
- Training for key persons, men find that overcoming violence is not a loss
- Awareness work: Street theatre, media such as radio, poster, men’s magazines, consultations
- MASVAW worked together with other organizations for years on an anti-violence law, demands clear-cut monitoring mechanisms, schedules and a budget
- International agreement and human rights as the basis for political lobbying

Save the Children, Nepal

- Training for boys, adolescents and men; detailed, age-based training material
- Measures against child abuse require individual behavioral change and a political framework

ARSHICARE, Bangladesh

- Multi-level approach against gender-specific violence, accountability criteria, preventive strategies at community level in dialogue with women’s groups
- Creative methods such as games, plays, role-plays and sports for youth
- Peer groups of boys and adolescents. Culturally sensitive behavioral reflections: ARSHI (Bengali „Mirror“). Hereby: Avoid defense and counter-reactions
- Win over boys, adolescents and men for empowerment and anti-violence programs which so far have been oriented towards women and girls; conceptual participation. Objective: Gender and social justice

Cambodian Men’s Network (CMN), Cambodia

- Training and capacity building to overcome the social acceptance of gender-based vio-

lence and to achieve gender justice in the economy, politics and society

- Establish and support local men's groups; role model character and critical observance of implementing the law against domestic violence passed in 2005 (financial support of the CMN through UNIFEM)
- Cooperation with local authorities, village heads and the police, men should report acts of violence and the local authorities should prosecute such cases

Men's Association against Violence (AMKV), East Timor

- Changes in attitudes and behavior of men to overcome gender-based violence; violence is the consequence of the Indonesian military occupation

CARE Northwestern Balkan/ International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro und Serbia

- Participative research with youth about masculinity and adverse gender norms
- Peer groups: Discussions about self-image, significance of violence with the construction of masculinity
- Police as agents of violence, school as a place of violent influence and abuse of power by teachers
- Fear of being exposed as unmanly in a group of peers or by elder
- Economic insecurity and unemployment as causes of widespread violence
- Fathers: Through violence or its rejection, promote or reduce their sons' readiness to use violence
- Personal charisma and verbal persuasion as counter-pole to violence, to hegemonic perceptions of manhood and as an escape from martial influences on manhood

9.1 Recommendations

In order to achieve the objectives of the Austrian Development Cooperation, such as human rights, gender equality, implementation of women's and children's rights, promoting peace and preventing conflict, it is important to overcome gender-based violence (also against boys and men).

This study illustrates how projects and programs motivate and encourage boys, adolescents and young men to become "change agents". It also offers examples of how men can be specifically integrated into gender programs. It should be noted that isolated empowerment approaches of women are not enough to bring about fundamental changes but they could even be counter-productive as men become defensive. All the more it is important to actively include men in finding solutions and to win them over as driving forces for change. It is the only way to diffuse conflicts and to get on a sustainable path for transformation. This also includes programs of state authorities, gender committees and political decision makers.

9.1.1 General framework and reforms of institutional structures

Demobilization and re-integration programs should be oriented towards the problems and priorities of ex-combatants; masculinity shaped by war and the "feminization" of men

and boys through sexualized violence (ex-combatants are often perpetrator and victim) must be tackled in a culturally-sensitively manner.

It is important to change legal, political and institutional frameworks. That includes legal and legislative reforms as well as their implementation in everyday life, also in rural areas. Moreover, security sector reforms should be oriented towards the systematic fight against corruption, the professionalization and gender sensitizing of the police and justice system. Their training and the general conditions must be improved. Prosecution of perpetrators and prevention programs against gender-specific forms of violence should be intertwined. In addition, continuous gender trainings dealing with the formation of male identity and options for change are necessary. State institutions and media can help to reduce the acceptance of violence and change gender norms.

Institutional structural changes should include healthcare facilities and schools. Improvements of schools, the continuous education of personnel are urgently needed in many places. The training of teachers should include gender guidelines, objectives for child and youth promotion, zero tolerance policies against sexual assault of female pupils, and measures against violence in schools. The implementation of reproductive rights, protection from HIV infections and the overcoming of homophobia should also be objectives.

Gender and youth policies should hold greater importance and be implemented. Multi-sectoral programs would be necessary, for instance, by linking legal and institutional changes at community and district levels, in youth and education politics, linking different levels of action as well as cooperation between various ministries and stakeholders, including non-government organizations. Finally, the implementation of gender equality by overcoming violent masculinity is an essential contribution to social justice and democratization.

9.1.2 Target group work with boys and male youth

Peer group work for attitude and behavior change plays a central role for the work with boys and adolescents. Puberty should be seen as an opportunity rather than as a problematic phase in life. Violence legitimations and gender stereotypes can be overcome. Peer group work can be combined with other transformation approaches in the framework of multi-sectoral concepts, in particular those that speak of men as agents of change. It is important to take age and interest into consideration, and to create safe places for boys, adolescents and men. Platforms are necessary so that those who are participating can speak about internalized norms, the pressure of the social environment when fulfilling the norms and their self-perception. It is important to note differences and the diverging interests between boys, adolescents and men on the basis of origin, family status, religion or place of residence. Also diverging war experiences are to be considered. Sports and creative forms of expression such as music and dance can be starting points for peer group work. They can be combined with life skills in multi-dimensional youth programs, where youth are interested in career orientation, earning an income and health programs.

9.1.3 Working with “gatekeepers”

Teachers, religious or traditional authorities and locally recognized men can strengthen or overcome gender stereotypes and legitimations of violence. Therefore they should be

included when drafting corresponding transformation strategies. Their gender stereotypes must be overcome and their readiness for the transformation of gender attributions in institutions and organizations must be improved. Employees in media as well should be aware of their responsibility for gender attributions and should avoid stereotyping. It is important to convey new role models and new organizations for the socialization of boys. At the family level, fathers should be addressed more intensely; after all it should be their job to support their sons' orientation and to solve conflicts without violence.

9.1.4 Work at the organizational level

It is helpful for organizations working on changes in attitudes of boys, male adolescents and men, to systematically monitor, evaluate and self-evaluate their work. It is worth documenting successes as well as failures and to create an institutional memory to secure know-how and transparency. Regular training courses for employees as well as dialogues and networking for organizations also working in this context assure the sustainability and dissemination of successes and the avoidance of mistakes. A challenge is the search for possibilities to transfer successful strategies and concepts, which have proven themselves locally, to other countries and to adapt them locally. Continuous regional dialogue is very important for this. It often involves pilot projects. There are seldom follow-ups, and mid- and long-term financing is usually not secured, which can cause qualified and experienced employees to transfer to other organizations. Dialogue with women's, children's, HIV/AIDS and homosexual organizations is important in order to reduce their concerns that financial support for men's projects would be given priority. Pro-feministic statements by men's organizations and projects would be desirable as well as feedback from women's organizations on men's work, a constructive approach to differences and self-reflection for "patriarchal dividends".

9.1.5 Challenges for HIV prevention

In the context of HIV prevention, some thought should be put on how to create cooperation for projects in health, gender and anti-violence and to see in which situations and under which conditions male adolescents and young men would be willing to exert responsible sexual behavior by protecting themselves and their partners against HIV infections. At the stage of conceptual planning, a link should be found between health programs, HIV projects and possibilities to make a living, especially since this contributes to a man's sense of identity. Planning should also pay attention to the importance of risky sexuality for the man's self-image, in particular that of young men, and how their social environment (friends, peer group, other men, other women) affects this. The health sector should be more attuned to men's concerns, in particular when it comes to HIV consultations, to avoid the stigmatizing of those who are infected, ill or seeking advice through female personnel such as nurses and HIV consultants.

9.2 Conceptual basis for the ADC

These work stages and objectives are linked to the ADC in many ways. There are direct references to guidelines for gender equality, for children's and human rights, for conflict prevention and securing peace (FMEIA 2007, 2009a,b, 2010). Links can be established to national action plans for the implementation of the UN resolution 1325 and to the Vienna 3C-appeal on the link between peace and state education, concretely for development cooperation on conflict prevention in the framework of a coherent development and security policy (Werther-Pietsch 2009, Werther-Pietsch/Roithner 2010:10ff.).

With regard to gender guidelines it should be emphasized that some Austrian development organizations, in collaboration with local women's organizations, are already carrying out innovative approaches when working with men (see FMEIA 2010). Some of these are already connected with each other so that they can exchange their experiences. Such networking could be intensified, embedded in the institutions and systemized. Continuous support is necessary for this as such approaches are often planned only as pilot projects, the concrete effects and range of which could be systematically analyzed and expanded, especially as many of these projects are very successful. Sustainable changes of attitude and behavior as well as societal changes need time and funding security in the medium-term in order to facilitate the organization's planning and to limit staff turnover.

It would also make sense to discuss conceptual and practical procedure, the successes, the obstacles and the challenges through a holistic approach within the ADC. Many places, especially in post-war societies, fall into the trap where empowerment approaches for women experience the opposition of men or even result in an escalation of domestic violence, if men are not systematically included in the change process. Projects and programs that are inclusive, which aim to strengthen women and also allow men to participate, show that both genders as well as their sons and daughters stand to benefit: domestic violence is clearly reduced, men will more likely tolerate the economic independence of their women and the poverty and health problems of the entire family are reduced. In addition, the changed, non-violent behaviors of fathers serve as a point of reference for sons and daughters and for their socialization. The readiness of youth to use violence is averted, young girls continue to attend school, the boys and young men become acquainted with socially responsible fatherhood, which offers orientation for their own sexual behavior and HIV prevention as well as how they raise their own children in their adult life. Gender equality can thus be greatly advanced if men are won over as agents of change and are actively included in the transformation process (see ADA 2011a,b).

It should be noted that several of these approaches were developed by women's organization or were created in close cooperation with women's rights activists. The criticism of women, that working with men consumes what little funds there are for women's projects, is taken seriously and dealt with in a constructive way. Pro-feministic concepts were developed, geared towards systematic collaboration, in order to prevent problems of competition. Documentation and exchange of ideas for solutions between different organizations and other strained environments would be advisable.

Also innovative organizations, in particular those founded by young men after wars and violent conflicts, see themselves in alliance with women's, children's rights, homosexual and AIDS organizations. They apply a broad gender-approach, which is not limited to hierarchies between women and men but which puts gender relations in the context of other power relations. It considers gender equality to be a contribution to social justice and the

implementation of human rights. These young activists are courageous because they criticize old elites, abuse of power, corruption and political patronage and see themselves as agents of civil society who want to advance the democratic process in their war-torn and violent societies. They demand legal and legislative reforms from their governments as well as their implementation in legal practice, especially in rural areas. For this reason it would be desirable that such approaches were considered in its conception and given higher priority in the ADC. These activities are significant also in view of the "Vienna 3C Appeal" for supporting and strengthening civil society organizations in the context of peace processes and state building (Werther-Pietsch/ Roithner 2010).

Through the use of many country examples, this present case study illustrates that men's organizations see women's rights as human rights and that they demand the implementation of new laws, such as the prosecution of domestic violence, through political lobbying. Violence against children is also denounced as a violation of children's and human rights and the political rulers as well as the responsible state institutions are asked to take measures. This clearly shows that the work against violence by men's organizations contributes actively to the implementation of human rights and that it is sensibly linked to gender perspectives.

In view of the „Austrian National Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325“, the work with men and men's organizations can promote the achievement of the aims, concretely the prevention of violence and protection against violence (see ADA 2010, 2011a, ADC 2006, FMEIA 2007). Overcoming masculinity shaped by violence after wars and violent conflicts through concrete program and project approaches improves the security of women and girls in the public and private domain and contributes to the implementation of human security in the widest sense. The participation of women in peace processes could be facilitated if more consideration were to be given to the experiences gained so far from projects and programs. Intersectoral dialogue would be helpful for this.

To give demobilized male child soldiers some perspectives for the future, comprehensive program approaches are necessary. They should deal with securing their livelihoods, health problems, such as HIV infections and drug addiction, trauma caused by violence, either to which they were the victims or perpetrators, as well as their readiness to use violence. The conveyance of peaceful conflict solutions, images of masculinity and the male sense of identity would also be very important. This relates in particular to demobilization and refugee camps, where ex-combatants often live under the worst conditions for a long period of time. Innovative measures could be embedded in youth policies which meet the interests of young persons, and in comprehensive youth programs which fight against youth unemployment, convey perspectives for the future and which aim to win male youth and boys as agents of change processes. Ideally, renewed escalations of violence could be prevented.

For the sustainable integration of innovative approaches in youth work, political guidelines, comprehensive legislative reforms and their implementation as well as diversified measures for social justice are crucial. Political dialogue with decision makers could be paramount for the establishment of the rule of law. This also applies to fundamental reforms of the police and judiciary system in order to increase the confidence of the population, especially of the youth, in these legal institutions. Power abuse by teachers in schools must also stop and be sanctioned as it causes girls, boys, and young persons to suffer.

At the same time it is important to strengthen gender organizations as important players in civil society as they can serve as watchdogs to ensure the implementation of legislative reforms and institutional structural changes, thereby representing the interests of citizens in post-war governments and contributing to the democratic process.

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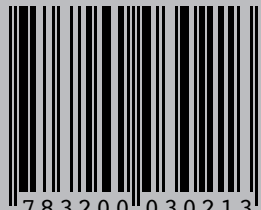
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