

**Theoretical Engagement of Masculinities in Development Organizations Working with
Men:
A Qualitative Document Analysis of Instituto Promundo and Sonke Gender Justice**

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Abstract

This research investigates two major organizations that place a focus on masculinities as a strategy to improve gender equality; Instituto Promundo and Sonke Gender Justice. To begin, a literature review of the gendered dynamics and masculinities context in Brazil and South Africa is presented to situate the historical and current landscape of where each organization operates. This thesis research investigates Promundo and Sonke using qualitative document analysis methodology, with a theoretical framework informed by relevant masculinities scholarship and the specific contexts of masculinities in Brazil and South Africa. This approach provides insights into the history, evolution, and application of theoretical perspectives and the organizational structures that influence how masculinities are discussed and practiced when implementing programs in Brazil and South Africa. The research shows that Promundo and Sonke integrate most of the key masculinities themes and key concepts, with a comparative lens of each organization, and highlighting key gaps and why their inclusion has the potential to strengthen each organization's position as world leaders in masculinities and gender equality.

Key words

Masculinities, Masculinities Theories, Gender, Gender Equality, Men, Sonke Gender Justice, Instituto Promundo, Development

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.0 INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 Outline of the Thesis..... | 4 |
| 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS, METHODS AND METHODOLOGY | |
| 2.1 The Evolution of Masculinities and Gender Equality..... | 5 |
| 2.2 Deconstructing Systems of Gender Binaries and Heteronormativity..... | 6 |
| 2.3 The Origins of Masculinities Scholarship - Hegemonic Masculinities..... | 8 |
| 2.4 Philogynous/Alternative Masculinities..... | 11 |
| 2.5 LGBTI Masculinities: Disassociating Masculinities from Cisgendered Male Bodies.... | 12 |
| 2.6 Local Masculinities..... | 14 |
| 2.7 Intersectional Masculinities..... | 16 |
| 2.8 Theoretical Framework..... | 18 |
| 2.9 Methods and Methodology - Qualitative Document Analysis..... | 18 |
| 3.0 PROMUNDO AND SONKE – CASE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERS IN MASCULINITIES | |
| 3.1 Why Instituto Promundo and Sonke Gender Justice? | 25 |
| 3.2 Contextually Relevant Masculinities in Brazil and South Africa..... | 28 |
| 3.3 Promundo’s Organizational Context..... | 37 |
| 3.4 Analysis Summary of Promundo’s Documents: Key Themes and Concepts..... | 38 |
| 3.5 Sonke’s Organizational Context..... | 38 |
| 3.6 Analysis Summary of Sonke’s Documents: Key Themes and Concepts..... | 40 |
| 4.0 PROMUNDO DOCUMENT ANALYSIS – KEY RESULTS | |
| 4.1 Key Themes and Concepts of Masculinities in Promundo’s Documents..... | 41 |
| 4.2 Intersectional Masculinities..... | 41 |
| 4.3 Barriers to Fatherhood in Brazil..... | 43 |
| 4.4 Hyper-masculinity and “Warrior Ethos” | 45 |
| 4.5 Promundo Promotes Alternative, Positive (Philogynous) Masculinities..... | 47 |
| 5.0 SONKE DOCUMENT ANALYSIS – KEY RESULTS | |
| 5.1 Key Themes and Concepts of Masculinities in Sonke’s Documents..... | 49 |
| 5.2 Use of Traditional, Bottom-Up Approach..... | 49 |
| 5.3 An Intersectional Perspective..... | 50 |
| 5.4 Success in Challenging Corporate and State Power..... | 52 |
| 5.5 Sonke Does Justice to LGBTI Masculinities | 53 |
| 5.6 HIV/AIDS and Masculinities..... | 56 |
| 5.7 Barriers to Fatherhood in South Africa..... | 57 |
| 5.8 Evidence of Positive/Alternative Masculinities..... | 58 |

6.0 COMPARISONS AND GAPS OF INTEGRATING THEMES AND CONCEPTS IN MASCULINITIES THEORIES

6.1 Similarities in Promundo’s and Sonke’s Integrated Themes and Concepts.....62
6.2 Promundo’s Gap: LGBTI Masculinities in Brazil.....64
6.3 Promundo’s Gap: Local, Bottom-Up Approach.....67
6.4 Promundo’s Gap: Women and Society Legitimizing and Enforcing Constructs of Toxic Masculinities.....69
6.5 Sonke’s Gap: Ignoring the Topic of Race in South Africa.....70

7.0 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS.....74

Appendixes

Appendix A.....81
Appendix B.....84

References.....89

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Gender equality is a core component of international development theory and practice. Although usually perceived as beneficial for women and girls exclusively, (Buscher 2005; Parpart, 2014; Wanner and Wadham 2015, 16) gender equality offers benefits to all, regardless of gender identity (Connell 2005, 1809). There is an historical tendency to see men as barriers to achieving gender equality, without consideration for altering harmful masculine behaviours, or norms of masculinities (Cornwall 1997, 10). This is problematic and has negative consequences, therefore “examining masculinity and the role it plays in the development process is not simply an analytical exercise, but has widespread implications” (Greig et al. 200, 2).

Widespread debate exists in the field of gender and development regarding the role of men, and the importance of deliberately targeting masculinities in order to achieve greater gender equality (Barker et al. 2007, 4-5; Cornwall et al. 2016, 2). This perspective is enhanced by feminist scholarship critiquing biological categorization of sexed bodies in gender equality, essentially moving beyond a binary view of men as perpetrators of inequality and women as victims (Beasley 2015, 574). It encourages thinking about gender equality in terms of relationships, social, and cultural constructs. R.W. Connell is a pioneer of masculinities scholarship whose research has been highly influential in these debates. Connell’s 2005 article “Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena” details the importance of focusing on masculinities and engaging men in gender equality reform. Andrea Cornwall has also published extensively on masculinities, particularly in the context of gender and international development (see: Cornwall 1997, Cornwall 2000, Cornwall 2003a, Cornwall 2003b, Cornwall et al. 2007, Cornwall and Rivas 2015, Cornwall et al. 2016).

The increasing focus on masculinities in gender equality programming calls for more research “to distill the most effective gender-related content and interventive components” (Casey et al., 2018, 244). Essentially, there is a need to analyze and determine the effectiveness of methods and programmes which focus on masculinities and men, given the growing saturation of this topic as a method for achieving gender equality. Today, concepts and theories about masculinities often appear in gender and development scholarship. Despite the growth of this field, this approach has yet to become mainstream in policy, practical engagement, or multilateral and international development agencies (Wanner and Wadham 2015, 28). Nonetheless, a considerable number of local, national, and international development organizations are initiating gender equality projects specifically targeting men and masculinities (Morrell and Morrell 2011, 111; Ricardo 2014, 21). For example, the MenEngage Alliance is a global network that brings together hundreds of local non-governmental organization (NGO) partners that engage men in gender justice and equality. The main purpose of MenEngage Alliance is to provide resources and strengthen policy and implementation of masculinities in gender justice from a local, national, and international perspective.

Despite the increasing resources and advocacy aimed at increasing the connection between gender equality and masculinities, it remains questionable whether “strategies for gender equality more generally have achieved a core engagement with men and masculinity” (Wanner and Wadham 2015, 18). To explore this assertion, this research investigates two major NGOs that focus on masculinities as a strategy to improve gender equality. This research investigates the extent to which these organizations have achieved a core engagement with the themes and concepts of masculinities theories, using qualitative document analysis methods. The focus of my research is to determine whether and how theoretical and practical issues of

masculinities scholarship have been incorporated into the publicly available documents of each organization. A literature review of the gendered dynamics and history that has influenced the countries where each organization operates was a critical part of the research process, in order to advance understanding of how masculinities are shaped from a local context.

The objective of this thesis is to answer these three research questions

1. What is each organization's level of engagement with key theories on men and masculinities; identified through the literature review?
2. Which key masculinities themes and concepts are integrated into the documents?
3. What are the gaps regarding the integration of these themes and concepts in the documents analyzed for each organization?

Furthermore, this research examines whether these organizations incorporate or ignore key practical and theoretical considerations from masculinities scholarship into programmatic frameworks and documents. Essentially, what theoretical and conceptual engagements do they undertake? These theoretical considerations are relevant to each organization because they both engage men and masculinities directly to improve gender relations. From my perspective, since these organizations are a few of the only working with men in the world, it is valuable to evaluate each by the ability to engage with key concepts and themes of masculinities theories. Both organizations analyzed in the thesis research are Civil Society Organizations with many Western partners. A critical issue with international development organizations (such as The World Bank) that support "male-stream" development projects is the perpetuation of "heteronormativity (heterosexuality as the norm) and dominant ideas of masculinities" (Greig 2011, 233; Jolly 2011, 19; Wanner and Wadham 2015, 21). This is explored in the literature review (below) and answers why heteronormativity is a key concept used in the document

analysis. Ultimately, this thesis investigates each organization using qualitative document analysis methodology, with a theoretical framework informed by relevant masculinities scholarship, and the specific contexts of masculinities in each country where the organizations operate. This provides insights into the history, evolution, and application of theoretical perspectives and the organizational structures that influence how masculinities are discussed and practiced when implementing programs in each country.

1.1 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis begins by introducing the topic and its importance in the research landscape of development and gender equality, followed by a description and context of both organizations that were analyzed in the qualitative document analysis. Chapter 2 explores the literature review underpinning the theoretical framework. The masculinities literature review was an integral step in the research as it provided a frame of analysis (key themes and concepts) to look for in the research methods employed to analyze each organization. Chapter 2 also outlines the theoretical frameworks, methods, and methodologies. Chapter 3 explains why each organization was chosen and provides background and presents the contextually relevant theories of masculinities used in the analyses. Chapters 4 and 5 present the findings and results of the document analysis for each organization. It is here that I detail the findings of the documents analyzed for each organization, answering the research question investigating which key themes and concepts of masculinities are integrated, and to what extent. Chapter 6 synthesizes the results of the analysis, comparing each organization and discussing the gaps in integrating prominent themes and concepts of masculinities theories. The concluding chapter 7 offers concluding remarks and suggests areas for future research considerations.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 The Evolution of Masculinities and Gender Equality

The shift in scholarship from a women and development approach to engaging men and masculinities as well was initially found in a few mainstream development initiatives after the 1994 International Conference on Population Development in Cairo and the 1995 Beijing Declaration. Both events highlighted the role of men in efforts to improve gender equality (Hearn 2009, 28; MenEngage Alliance et al. 2014, 18). Prior to the Nineties, men and masculinities were rarely addressed in a positive way, despite the 1980 World Conference on Women in Copenhagen calling on men to support women in gender equality and development work (Flood 2015, S165; Tiessen et al. 2017, 91). The rhetoric presented men as roadblocks to progress for women and girls, suggesting only women and girls could provide real solutions to gender equality (Joseph 2015, 181).

Many written approaches to gender equality in development have adopted a simplistic perspective that assumes women are weak and inherently victimized, lacking agency at the hands of men who are perpetrators of violence and gender hierarchies (Dolan 2011, 134; MenEngage Alliance 2016, 12; Overs 2011, 59; Silberschmidt 2011, 98; Tiessen et al. 2017, 85; Valenius 2007). These problematic, yet widely applied perspectives, result in confrontation and pushback from men and ignore the positive contributions men can make in gender and development. An effective method of facilitating transformative change and sustainable gender equality is essential in order to accelerate progress in the field and broaden understandings of gender. Andrea Cornwall, a leading scholar in the field of masculinities and gender equality, has been writing about the criticality of moving beyond these approaches and championing the inclusion of men and masculinities for over two decades. For instance, in a 1997 article *Men, masculinity*

and *'gender in development'*, Cornwall explains the importance of masculinities in development studies, given the assumption that gender means only women “One of the most obvious gaps in gender and development studies, where new tools and new approaches are needed, is in relation to men. Old-style feminist theory dealt with them at one stroke: men were classed as the problem, those who stood in the way of positive change” (Cornwall 1997, 10).

Typically, initiatives addressing masculinity and gender equality are most commonly seen in private, personal areas of social concern such as domestic violence and health issues (HIV/AIDS prevention for example) (Chant and Gutmann 2002, 279; Connell 2016, 313; Jewkes et al. 2015, 3; Wanner and Wadham 2015, 20). There is a tendency to ignore constructs within public and political spheres where inequality is persistent, particularly in areas related to inequities in pay and corporate business leadership (Welsh 2011, 205). Masculinity initiatives would be more effective if they forged connections between the political and personal constructs in society (Dolan 2011, 136). Furthermore, the literature review indicates that masculinities programming and initiatives have failed to produce “movements that offer a significant challenge to corporate or state power,” threatening “the corporate masculinity of the new metropole” (Connell 2016, 314). Analyzing Promundo’s and Sonke’s relevant documents determines if these organizations are addressing public conceptions and policies around masculinities, gender relations and power.

2.2 Deconstructing Systems of Gender Binaries and Heteronormativity

Research indicates that practical interventions engaging men and masculinities frequently reinforce hegemonic and static gender identities (Beasley 2015, 572; Casey et al. 2018, 232; Dworkin et al., 2015; Jewkes et al. 2015, 1582). Although an organization may claim to

implement a masculinities lens, when the influence of masculinities theory is lacking, what often results is a failure to challenge the gender binary status quo. For instance, Cheryl Overs argues that in some cases organizations label themselves as espousing “feminist” ideologies, simultaneously encouraging a heteronormative “men” vs. “women” perspective that undermines the possibility of achieving genuine gender equality (2011, 69). Furthermore, heteronormative thinking is common in most masculinity and gender equality programs (Cornwall et al. 2011, 9). Dworkin et al. call for future gender and masculinities work to be “less focused on cisgender men and heteronormative notions of gender and sexuality and make conceptual use of the full possibilities implied by the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’” (2015, S139).

Subscribing to a static gender binary is problematic because it legitimizes hegemonic gender structures that allow patriarchal norms and systems to flourish (Overs 2011, 69; Welsh 2011, 205). It is essential for NGOs working with men and masculinities to dismantle gender binaries that sustain oppressive gender norms (Jewkes et al. 2015, S120). Analyzing the history of the rhetoric in the documents of Promundo and Sonke using the analytical concept of heteronormativity identifies whether a deconstruction or dismantling of western hegemonic gender constructs and binaries occurs.

Connell’s recent research on masculinities calls for the need to “decolonize the study of masculinities” (2016, 304). Essentially, Connell argues that the masculinities scholarship has historically been, and continues to be, from the global north. Connell argues that as a result, studies on masculinities in the global south often assume a northern hegemonic perspective of one fixed, systematic gender order (Connell 2016, 305). However true this was in the past, the postcolonial theoretical movement in scholarship is creating change, and the publishing of more scholarship from the global south, from a perspective that is critical of northern assumptions and

projections. The projection of northern assumptions is important for all those doing research in the Global South, or any part of the world that holds traditional gender norms outside of the Western Hegemonic colonial lens.

As previously stated, the study of masculinities has gained increasing attention in the last few decades (Cornwall et al. 2011, 3). The prominent peer-reviewed journals dedicated exclusively to masculinities scholarship are: *The Journal of Men's Studies* (1992-present), *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* (2000-present), *Men and Masculinities* (1998-present), *Culture, Society and Masculinities* (2009-2016), and the *Nordic Journal for Masculinity Studies* (NORMA) (2006-present). Below are the key theories of masculinities scholarship used to conduct the document analyses of Promundo and Sonke.

2.3 The Origins of Masculinities Scholarship – Hegemonic Masculinities

Connell's breakthrough publication was a co-authored paper titled, "Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity" published in 1985. Naturally, Connell's theoretical analysis of masculinities has gone through various changes since that breakthrough publication (Gibbs et al. 2015, S86). Her 1995 book titled *Masculinities* offered an innovative theoretical framework introducing the concept of multiple masculinities, specifically. Hegemonic masculinities are "firmly anchored at the top of a hierarchy of *historically specific* masculinities," in front of other masculinities classified as complicit, marginalized, and subordinate (Wedgwood 2009, 335). Connell notes that marginalized and subordinate masculinities "are seen as having no impact on the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Nonhegemonic masculinities exist in tension with, but never penetrate or impact, the hegemonic masculinity[ies]. There is, then, a dualistic representation of masculinities" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 845). It is imperative to keep

in mind that not all men display hegemonic forms of masculinities, and there is a coexistence of marginalized and subordinate masculinities within any society. A second version of *Masculinities* was published in 2005. Just like other scholarship on masculinities in general, Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinities has been in near constant flux.

Connell's theory of various masculinities holds relevance in the landscape of transforming gender norms and relations. Perhaps the most useful contribution is its role in influencing new theories and concepts in the field. Connell explains hegemonic masculinities as "a historical possibility, a state of gender being struggled for, and against by different social forces. Since the accomplishment of hegemony is never guaranteed, the most useful way to conceptualize hegemonic masculinity is to treat it as a collective project for realizing gender hierarchy" (Connell 2016, 306). This definition of hegemonic masculinities is used in the thesis for analyzing both the South African and Brazilian contexts. Essentially, hegemonic masculinities can be understood as dominance over people through masculine power. The notion of hegemonic masculinity has been widely discussed and criticized, providing masculinities scholars with a variety of conceptual tools for examining masculinity and men's practices in different settings (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Hearn et al. 2012; Messerschmidt and Messner 2018). However, of relevance to this research, hegemonic masculinities are conceptualized as the systems that uphold and afford greater access to rights and privileges to people who embody hegemonic norms of masculine dominance. However, this concept requires further elaboration and explanation of the occurrence of different forms of hegemonic masculine dominance within one society, particularly as it is of relevance to the cases in South Africa and Brazil.

Morrell et al.'s 2012 research notes that several different types of competing hegemonic masculinities can exist within the same society and uses South Africa as an example. According to Morrell et al. South Africa "has best been analyzed using the concept in the plural. Deeply embedded race and class and urban or rural realities have lent themselves to the identification of hegemonic masculinities rooted in particular concrete social settings" (2012, 25). Essentially, this analysis emphasizes the possibilities of more than one group of men maintaining hegemonic power in a society; contrasting with the narrative that presumes a singular hegemonic masculinity. Morrell et al. refer to this as a "fixed account of hegemonic masculinity ... which has produced / reproduced a moralistic binary, which links hegemony with bad men" (2012, 25). The reality of multiple hegemonic masculinities creates an opening to analyze how masculinities exist and dominate in different contexts, from the national level compared to the local, communal level (Morrell et al. 2012, 18). Furthermore, Morrell et al. argue that Nelson Mandela was an example of positive hegemonic masculinity without oppression, as his policies embraced gender equality and new norms of how to 'be a man' (2012, 25). Morrell et al.'s theoretical perspective of multiple hegemonic masculinities is highly relevant and is an important consideration in the analysis of Sonke's inclusion of masculinities theories.

It is crucial to move beyond the notion of 'masculinity,' meaning one set of predetermined variables that define experiences of all men. It is problematic that discourse around masculinity often assumes a connotation of fixed heterosexual, mutually exclusive identities (Peterson 2003, 63). Different descriptions of masculine behaviour and power vary according to culture. Furthermore, a single person can display competing and seemingly contradictory masculine behaviours simultaneously (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994, 12).

Recognition of theories of multiple and hegemonic masculinities around the world are an essential underpinning of this research.

2.4 Philogynous/Alternative Masculinities

Masculinities come in many forms. Hegemonic masculinities are theoretically complex; they detail an ultimate set of social norms, which may vary by local context, but provide the overall blueprint and reasons behind power structures (Wetherell and Edley 1999, 336). Yet subordinate, marginalized, and positive masculinities can defy the hegemonic gender order and offer alternatives (Groes-Green 2012, 108; Messerschmidt and Messner 2018, 38). Christian Groes-Green's work on philogynous masculinities provides a valuable perspective on transforming masculinities to create sustainable and positive gender relations. Àngels Carabí and Josep M. Armengol's publication, *Alternative Masculinities for a Changing World* (2014), is influenced by Groes-Green's concept of philogynous masculinities. Carabí and Armengol's (eds.) study aims to investigate non-dominant masculinities that are gender equitable on a global scale, from a variety of cultural perspectives (2014, 5).

Groes-Green proposes a new alternative conceptualization of masculinities that are philogynous, meaning they “divert from predominantly misogynous masculinities and which delineate forms of manhood that favor female subjects' rights to agency, security, respect and well-being in gender equitable ways” (Groes-Green 2012, 93). Messerschmidt and Messner's 2018 research introduces Positive Masculinities in a similar way, as “masculinities (locally, regionally, and globally) that contribute to legitimating egalitarian relations between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities” (2018, p. 39). In my document analysis of Promundo and Sonke, I examine how concepts from the theory of philogynous

masculinities, also known as alternative masculinities, are incorporated into the publications of both organizations.

2.5 LGBTI Masculinities: Disassociating Masculinities from Cisgendered Male Bodies

Masculinities scholarship must move beyond prioritizing societal constructs that expect men to perform masculinities, and women to embody femininities (Gottzén and Mellström 2014, 2). Masculinities do not only refer to men; people regardless of gender identification (women, transgender, Two-Spirit and non-binary) enact masculinities on a daily basis (Haywood and Mac an Ghail 2003, 100; Aboim 2016, 228; Gottzén and Straube 2016, 218). The study of trans-masculinities highlights the need to disconnect masculinity exclusively from male bodies. As Chris Beasley asks “are men (subjects with male bodies) actually the problem? Surely a particular kind of masculinity rather than being a man – having a male body – is the problem?” (2015, 573).

Gottzén and Straube argue for synthesizing masculinity theory, transgender theory, and trans-masculinities, as this is something that has gained little attention in scholarship (2016, 219). In addition to Trans-Masculinities, the traditional gender and spiritual identity of Two-Spirit people amongst many Indigenous cultures, particularly from Turtle Island (North America) also transcends masculinities as solely attached to male bodies, and femininities as being exclusively attached to female bodies. Briefly, Two-Spirit people occupy a sacred ceremonial and societal role (which varies depending on Nation and Tribe) not attached to their biological sex at birth (Ristock and Zoccole; 2010, 4). Two-Spirit men sometimes dress in traditionally “women’s” clothing and typically hold roles that are generally reserved for women, such as beading, dress making, and cooking and holding ceremonial roles reserved for women; whereas Two-Spirit women sometimes dress in “men’s” clothing and occupy roles that are seen as

“masculine” such as hunting, fighting in wars, and inhabiting leadership and ceremonial roles that are generally reserved for men.

According to the literature review, there is a gap in masculinities research that “engages in a multiplicity of masculinities, de-essentializ[ing] them from the cis-male body” (Gottzén and Straube 2016, 222). There is a disconnect in masculinities theory between approaches that recognize the multiplicity of masculinities and the more mainstream emphasis of biologically static masculinities (Beasley 2015, 575). The former is a new direction for theorizing masculinities that moves beyond the status-quo, binary narratives (Wright 2005, 243).

J. Halberstam’s 1998 book *Female Masculinity*, was one of the first to call for the inclusion of female masculinity when discussing masculinities. Halberstam argues “the widespread indifference to female masculinity ... has clearly ideological motivations and has sustained the complex social structures that wed masculinity to maleness and to power and domination” (1998, 2). In another sense, people can strategically enact “official transcripts of masculinity” to gain control and power in situations where masculine traits can result in an advantage due to the patriarchal dividend (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994, 24). However, the patriarchal dividend is also profoundly influenced by social factors like religion, ethnicity, class, and race mentioned above, which can have a delegitimizing influence on a person’s ability to profit from the patriarchal dividend (Christensen and Jensen 2014, 69).

The question of whether Promundo and Sonke’s resources recognize LGBTI masculinities (those not exclusively attached to the cis-male body) is examined in the thesis. My hypothesis prior to conducting the research was that trans-masculinities were not explicitly incorporated in documents as a result of the stigma in mainstream society against transgender individuals, and the LGBTI (Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Transgender, Intersex) community in

Brazil and South Africa. There is a risk involved in incorporating theories of trans-masculinities into organizational rhetoric as it could make it hard to reach those who espouse what some may believe to be against “traditional” views. Furthermore, in South Africa especially, organizations that promote LGBTI rights may be accused of imposing a “Western” agenda in a context that does not fit, particularly when the organization does not consider local norms (Ratele et al. 2011). It is important to clarify that for consistency, the term LGBTI will be used throughout this paper, while recognizing this is not an inclusive term for all the non-binary community, as the term does not include queer, Two-Spirit, and other non-binary identities. However, for the purposes of this research, LGBTI is used as it holds more cultural relevance. For instance, Two-Spirit is an Indigenous term used widely in North America but not applicable in Brazil or South Africa, so it would be inappropriate to include the term in the acronym. Furthermore, Sonke uses this term, while Promundo generally interchanges between LGBT and LGBTI (with a few uses of LGBTQ).

2.6 Local Masculinities

Local norms and social realities are contextually relevant when seeking to understand distinct masculinities, and it has been argued that taking them into account ultimately produces more gender equitable attitudes and behaviours (Groes-Green 2012, 93; Haywood and Mac an Ghail 2003, 85). A consensus exists within masculinities scholarship that gender equality programs which ignore local, context specific realities have serious limitations and negative consequences (Casey et al. 2018, 244; Hillenbrand et al. 2015; Ratele et al. 2011). “Idealized” traits of masculinities tend to be conceived through a Western lens, which has resulted in a marginalization of the many local masculinities and gender roles that challenge or occur outside

of the Western landscape (Ruspini 2011, 3). Additionally, there is a harmful tendency for international development organizations to implement programs and goals using language and concepts that are not suited to the cultural context or realities of the communities where the work is being done (Hillenbrand et al. 2015, 19; MenEngage Alliance 2016, 9; Ratele et al. 2011, 253). Historically, over the past twenty years, most scholars in the field of masculinities have been Western based, with scholarship often published in the English language (Morrell et al. 2019, 35; Cserni et al. 2019, 10-12). However, there has been an increase in the number of masculinities scholars from Africa, Asia, and Latin America publishing local and culturally appropriate research in the last decade.

An implication of the Western influence of masculinities research, noted above, is that its language and expectations of norms does not fit into the local realities of gender dynamics. Ratele et al. identify the “gap” of engagement with local community members to grasp contextual and cultural awareness and connect this to global perceptions and knowledge about gender and masculinities found in theory and research (2011, 254). This has resulted in validation of misogynist, patriarchal behaviour, and resistance to programs aiming to foster gender-equitable masculinities which are deemed “Westernized”, neocolonial enterprises (Ratele et al. in Ruspini 2011, 253-254; Wu in Ruspini 2011, 220), fulfilling the “white man’s agenda” (Botha 2008, 6). This position of privilege for some men is a major issue which contributes to gender inequality, one that organizations like Sonke are trying to reform, in a culturally relevant way that is locally led. For example, when speaking about trans-masculinities in South Africa from a Western perspective, there is a risk that people will reject programs working with men to create positive masculinities that accept trans-men, as this is contrary to many African societal

norms (Ratele 2014, 38). Identifying how and to what extent Promundo and Sonke prioritize local masculinities is particularly salient in my qualitative document analyses.

Christian Groes-Green touches on the need to establish a framework that not only suits the local social realities, but also the “complexity of the gender-power matrix” (2012, 96). This is a common issue in the masculinities and development field that “reproduces hierarchical power relations” between western donors and local NGOs (MenEngage Alliance 2016, 17). The importance of implementing a local, deliberate approach when working in masculinities and gender equality cannot be understated. However, it is crucial that this is carried out in conjunction with an intersectional lens.

2.7 Intersectional Masculinities

Intersectional masculinities are an offset of the mainstream masculinities research. They rest on the conceptual underpinnings that “race, sexuality, class, and ethnicity work together to shape men’s relationship with masculinity, as well as with gender more generally” (Harnois 2017, 143). For example, Cristina Alcalde’s (2014, 36) and Hurtado and Sinha’s (2008, 343) research on intersectional engagement with masculinities in Latino communities in the United States has demonstrated that research participants placed an emphasis on being Latino by self-identifying as a “Latino man” rather than just a man. The various ways masculinities are performed represent constructs of power or powerlessness and reflect gender, class, and ethnicity created and maintained through hegemony (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994, 14; Slugget in Cornwall et al. 2011, 33; Coles 2009, 38).

Using an intersectional lens is important in masculinities and gender research and programming (Casey et al. 2018, 236; Dworkin et al. 2015, S132; MenEngage Alliance 2016,

11; Ratele et al. 2011, 255). In the past, laws and policies targeting gender relations and issues have discounted or ignored the importance of intersectionality (Hearn 2011, 166). An intersectional perspective “rests on the fundamental insight that gender intersects with ethnicity, sexuality, class, age, and other forms of social difference and social inequality” (Flood, 2016). Casey et al.’s (2018) review of various programs that incorporate masculinities in gender equality work concludes that a common strategy for ensuring intersectionality is a core component of successful engagement and recruitment techniques.

In addition to determining local relevance and context, an intersectional perspective highlights the reality that what is traditionally masculine or feminine in one scenario may not be relevant in a different cultural or social context. Jane Parpart explains that “gendered practices and power relations are embedded in social, political and economic contexts and have to be addressed in those settings” (2014, 392). Gender and power relations are deeply interconnected to key social structures such as colonialism, class, ethnicity, the political landscape, and the economy (Aretxaga 1997, 78-79).

An intersectional analysis enables understanding how power is distributed within a society (Das and Singh 2014, 75). For these reasons, the use of qualitative document analysis as a research methodology to analyze Promundo and Sonke is conducted using a theoretical framework that evaluates the intersectionality of gender, is embedded within these organizations. Engaging men in gender equality should strategically be “relational and inclusive, intersectional, able to link the personal and political, long term and adaptive, ensuring sufficient consistent financing, as well as focused on men’s accountability rather than leadership” (Edström and Shahrokh 2016, 22).

2.8 Theoretical Framework

The main theories and concepts of masculinities used for analyzing Promundo's and Sonke's documents are as follows: multiple, philogynous/alternative, LGBTI, intersectional, and local masculinities. The latter suggests that these organizations' focus on men and masculinities initiatives need to be relevant to the lived gender realities and context of masculinities in Brazil and South Africa. The analysis of Promundo is influenced by relevant theories of masculinities contextually appropriate in Brazil -- such as how various genders legitimize hegemonic masculinities, hyper-masculinity and the "warrior ethos" mentality, gender inequitable parenting (absence of fathers); and how this all contrasts to the evidence of alternative and subordinate masculinities emerging to successfully challenge the status quo. In Sonke's analysis, South Africa has key context specific masculinities theories that inform the document analysis such as: violent masculinities which result in high rates of HIV and sexual violence against women; multiple hegemonic masculinities; the influence of apartheid; similar issues with high rates of absent fathers and gender inequitable parenting; and the struggle for alternative masculinities to gain legitimacy in society. These organizations are significant because they operate primarily in the global south.

2.9 Methods and Methodology - Qualitative Document Analysis

Qualitative Document Analysis is best defined as "rigorously and systematically analysing the contents of written documents . . . to facilitate impartial and consistent analysis of written policies" (Wach and Ward 2013, 1). This method primarily identifies "background and context, additional questions to be asked, supplementary data, a means of tracking change and development, and verification of findings from other data sources" (Bowden 2009, 30-31).

Qualitative Document Analysis was selected as the method to perform the analysis of Promundo

and Sonke's documents, given the systematic nature of analysis inherent and the method's ability to determine trends and gaps. Furthermore, Qualitative Document Analysis has proven to be an adequate method for qualitative research in specific instances (Bowen 2009, 28-29). As such, I found Qualitative Document Analysis as a methodology very useful given that I was not able to utilize multiple methods of qualitative analysis, such as field interviews. Furthermore, Qualitative Document Analysis being a cost-efficient method, not requiring fieldwork to engage with each organization, made the topic and Promundo and Sonke more accessible to me throughout the research process. Another attractive aspect of the method was that I could utilize the widely available public sources that both Promundo and Sonke have made available online.

Another main reason why Qualitative Document Analysis was the preferred method for this thesis is that it allows for corroborating and verifying evidence or conclusions gained from other sources and methodologies (Bowen 2009, 30). Qualitative Document Analysis methodology was well-suited for answering the research questions: particularly examining Promundo and Sonke's level of engagement with key theories on men and masculinities; identified through the literature review. The Qualitative Document Analysis method allowed me to corroborate the findings of the literature review with Promundo and Sonke's documents, and, where it was not corroborated, it pointed toward areas needing further investigation.

The methodology was informed by Altheide and Schneider's "Qualitative Media Analysis" (2013) and Wach and Ward's "Learning About Qualitative Document Analysis" (2013). Altheide and Schneider's **12 step Chart for Document Analysis** (2013, figure 1.1) provides structure and a guide as follows: Topic -> Ethnographic Study or Lit Review -> A few Documents -> Draft Protocol -> Examine Documents -> Revise Protocol -> Theoretical Sample -> Collect Data -> Code Data -> Compare Items -> Case Studies -> Report. More specifically,

The Qualitative Document Analysis undertaken for this thesis was adapted from Wach and Ward's process (2013, 2) containing the following steps: A. setting inclusion criteria for documents; B. collecting documents; C. articulating key areas of analysis; D. document coding; and E. analysis. The validation stage was omitted, as it is not possible to have someone else perform a qualitative document analysis to validate the results. Some may argue this leads to partiality and a weakened analysis of Promundo and Sonke. However, it is clear the intensive theoretical framework used to perform the document analysis, combined with the comprehensive literature review (completed prior to the document analysis), sufficiently grounds the research analysis. As such, the qualitative document analysis findings for Promundo and Sonke can showcase the theoretical foundation of the masculinities scholarship.

A comprehensive Qualitative Document Analysis on Promundo and Sonke was informed by the research questions. For Step A, the specific groups analyzed were determined based on the research question, scale, availability and accessibility of documents. Only documents with themes connected to masculinities and a country specific theme of South Africa and Brazil were analyzed, which narrowed the scope of documents substantially. Only publicly available documents were used for step B, given the accessibility of documents related to masculinities for both organizations. On a related note, no ethics clearance was obtained in the methodology process given the focus on public documents. However, key ethical considerations had to be addressed consistently throughout the research process. Research of any kind, even when it does not involve engaging with people directly in the field, raises ethical dilemmas. Generally, objectivity and sensitivity must be consistently maintained when analyzing documents (Bowen 2009, 32). For step C., "articulating key areas of analysis" several rounds of scanning the documents occurred to determine which ones were appropriate for in-depth analysis and

protocols that are relevant to the research questions, and which documents simply provide useful supplementary contextual information to frame the analysis.

As this thesis heavily relies upon my interpretation and analysis of the documents, while influenced by academic scholarship, I bring a unique perspective to the method of analysis – also referred to as positionality. As indicated in the literature review, a key issue of masculinity scholarship is the lack of voices from the global south and the application of northern norms in local contexts with no relevance. This is related directly to the ethical issue of positionality, as it plays an undeniable role in informing how documents are interpreted and research findings are constructed. It is of importance to note that my positionality shifted throughout my research process of this project. In the key phases of qualitative document analysis for both organizations, on a personal level, I was connecting with my cultural and identity as an Ojibwe-Saulteaux Two-Spirit person. As a direct result of colonization in Canada, I grew up disconnected from my Ojibwe traditional and cultural roots. My mother's relations are Ukrainian, Irish, and Russian; whereas my father's relations are Ojibwe-Saulteaux. Growing up, I had a vague knowledge of having Ojibwe roots, but no direct knowledge of my ancestral roots or culture. Consequently I grew up in a predominantly white community, with the privilege of being a white passing person. If I was discriminated against because of my race, I could not have recognized it because I did not see myself in that way. However, since connecting with my culture, my positionality has changed. I now know in its entirety, who I am, and the intergenerational trauma impacts and resilience of my entire family history. Within this process of self-learning and healing, by working with Indigenous Elders, and embracing my Ojibwe identity, it became clear that I am also Two-Spirit. Milner IV (2007) has a framework on maintaining racial and cultural positionality as a researcher, suggesting useful questions to pose such as “in what ways do my

racial and cultural backgrounds influence how I experience the world, what I emphasize in my research, and how I evaluate and interpret others and their experiences?” (395). Undoubtedly there is a connection between my masculine spirit and my connection and interpretation of issues faced by men and norms of masculinities. Ultimately, in many ways, I walk in two worlds as a Two-Spirit person with Ojibwe, Irish, Ukranian, and Russian ancestry. This ability to balance and experience life from many different intersections provides a unique vantage point in how I interpret, analyze, and build connections between different ways of knowing and being.

Moving forward with the steps used in the methodological process, the key concepts informed by the literature review and used for the coding process (Step D), for each organization, were as follows: masculinities, intersectionality, local perspectives, heteronormativity, gender binary language, LGBTI masculinities, personal vs. political social issues, and fatherhood. Codes specific to Promundo include: legitimizing hegemonic and toxic masculinities across genders, hyper-masculinities, and emergence of subordinate and alternative masculinities. Codes specific to Sonke include: violent masculinities and HIV issues, intimate partner violence, hegemonic masculinities (a result of intersectionality), and the influence of apartheid. Finally, in contrast to Brazil, the struggle for alternate and subordinate masculinities to hold space in South Africa is a main theme of the literature coded in the document analysis.

This Qualitative Document Analysis methodology focused on published files, and resources for Sonke’s and Promundo’s programs in Brazil and South Africa. For sources that discuss multiple countries, the sections on Brazil and South Africa are analysed. Relevant documents (as per the criteria stated above), 11 for Promundo and 29 for Sonke, were intensively analyzed to uncover what extent prominent themes and concepts of masculinities theories are addressed. As for coding the documents, these themes and concepts were not always overtly

evident and required qualitative and detailed analysis. A data analysis program, NVIVO Pro, was used to code the document themes, including those that aligned with the key theories uncovered in the literature review, and new themes that were not hypothesized or anticipated. While coding the key themes and concepts outlined above, an attempt was made to focus on nuances and elements associated with theory which are generally less quantifiable. For example, analyzing a document by searching directly for the code or keyword “gender binary” may not result in many hits. However, upon in-depth analysis of a document, it becomes evident whether binary language, such as consistent classifications of men and women, is used throughout. As Promundo’s and Sonke’s resources were analyzed to uncover how key themes and concepts of theories of masculinities are incorporated, the theories are not always explicitly emphasized in the text of the document. There are also cases where Promundo or Sonke use masculinities discourse and theoretical perspectives that are contrasting to the theories presented in the literature review. After the data was coded for key themes and concepts in masculinities theories ingrained in country specific norms of masculinities, trends were identified (Step E). Promundo (Brazil) was analyzed first, followed by Sonke (South Africa). The conclusion of the thesis presents a synthesis, comparing the results of the document analysis of both organizations, focusing on contrasting as well as identifying similar aspects of both organizations.

There are limitations to Qualitative Document Analysis methods that must be discussed. For starters, it is important to keep in mind the biases of the author of the documents (in this case Promundo and Sonke) and my biases as a researcher. However, this is not an issue associated with Qualitative Document Analysis alone. Another limitation to the research is that by only completing a document analysis, I am missing a piece of the puzzle in not talking to practitioners from the NGOs directly. However, for the purposes of the research questions, this shortcoming is

not debilitating. The document analysis methodology provides a useful analysis for masculinity and gender equality scholars to explore the past and current theoretical standing of two of the biggest NGOs in the field. Furthermore, perhaps the NGOs will take the document analysis into consideration as evidence of respective theoretical strengths or to improve on weaknesses.

The literature review identified key theoretical perspectives in the masculinities and gender equality field, and the document analysis issues a “masculinities theories report card” to Promundo and Sonke. Qualitative Document Analysis facilitates a systematic, critical and consistent investigation of the proposed research questions (Wach and Ward 2013, 1). This document analysis evaluation aims to identify the strength and gaps in the masculinities approach of Promundo and Sonke based on how well themes and concepts of masculinities and gender equality were integrated into each organization’s discourse and documents. Documents that discuss programs based in Brazil (for Promundo) and South Africa (for Sonke) were analyzed exclusively. Choosing only documents that denote masculinities as a core theme was avoided, since there are key theories of masculinities that do not overtly describe or list themselves as such.

In terms of research value, the findings of this document analysis research provide scholars with a current review of the theoretical landscape in the masculinities and gender equality field. This combined with the analysis of Promundo and Sonke, identifies future areas of research for practitioners and scholars, and suggests to organizations how they can improve engagement with theories and practices that are crucial for attaining truly transformative, inclusive, intersectional gender equality, and alternative positive masculinities.

3.0 PROMUNDO AND SONKE – CASE STUDY OF ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERS IN MASCULINITIES

3.1 Why Instituto Promundo and Sonke Gender Justice?

Promundo and Sonke are significant because they operate primarily in the global south and are grassroots community organizations. Promundo and Sonke are significant because they operate primarily in the global south

Grassroots organizations – bottom up – not top down, often enforce western norms of men and masculinities. This was important to me, given the legacy of colonization in international development, which often sees western organizations operating in the Global South and projecting their ideas about men, masculinities, and gender equality in a way that is often not relevant or effective to produce positive results. The unique position of each organization as community driven, enabled an evaluation of if and how both organizations implemented work from a local, gender appropriate, relational perspective. Another reason for choosing each organization was simply the limited options. Promundo and Sonke are a few of the small number of organizations working with men and masculinities, especially given they have been doing it for so long (22 years and 13 years, respectively). Similarly, there are many research materials and documents available online to analyze the integration of key themes and concepts of theories of masculinities, which are well suited to the qualitative analysis methodology that was utilized.

Finally, I decided to analyze both organizations to enrich the analysis and comparative perspective. Both case studies are important as they offer context and widen the perspective of my analytical abilities. Furthermore, I am an historian by training and contextualizing is crucial to my analytical approach. Country context is extremely important to understanding where and how organizations operate. For this reason, my approach in the literature review stages was not completely systematic. It is half systematic, in that they were both analyzed using the common

masculinities theories as a framework of analyses, but specific in the sense of contextualizing the analysis by investigating integration of themes and concepts of masculinities theories relevant to Brazil and South Africa. Given the limited scope of the thesis, the documents directly connected to Promundo's work in Brazil, and Sonke's in South Africa, were specifically targeted. This enhances the need to understand the historical realities of societal norms and values, gender, and masculinities in Brazil and South Africa. Promundo and Sonke began as small local, regional NGOs and have grown into massive organizations that generate funding and support from a variety of local and international stakeholders. Fortunately, there is a depth of research materials and documents available online to analyze how theories of masculinities have been integrated into Promundo and Sonke's programming and research in Brazil and South Africa. These documents include: website content, year-in-reviews, tool-kits for action, and program reports (for a detailed table of the Promundo's documents used, see Annex A for Promundo and Annex B for Sonke). These documents were the framework of a critical analysis on the use of key themes and concepts of general theories of masculinities programming specific to Brazil and South Africa. Qualitative Document Analysis methodology informed the analysis of Promundo and Sonke's documents. A specific advantage of Promundo and Sonke, not found in other organizations, is their rich publicly accessible online databases with hundreds of resources. However, a personal shortcoming with Promundo for me has been a language barrier as some of the documents are only available in Portuguese, and therefore I was not able to incorporate all relevant documents into my analysis.

Promundo, based in Brazil, was founded in 1997 and has projects in over 25 countries that focus on working with men and boys, in partnership with women and girls, to achieve gender justice. Promundo means "for the world," and its research and initiatives aim to create

positive masculinities and femininities which offer improved realities for all (from Promundo website, “about us” section: <https://promundoglobal.org/about/>). Promundo works across Brazil in both urban and rural contexts, given the differing needs, realities, and gender expectations . Promundo’s projects address a variety of issues such as caregiving, conflict, economic insecurity, prevention of violence, engaging youth, and improving research on men and masculinities.

Sonke Gender Justice was founded in South Africa in 2006 and has grown rapidly in its thirteen years of existence. Sonke, which means “together” in Nguni, operates primarily in South Africa but has a presence in 20 countries throughout the African continent. Sonke was born from a recognition of the need to “engage women, men, youth” using research-based strategies of social change such as “community education and mobilization, policy and legal advocacy, and coalition building” (Sonke Annual Report 2016, 10). Sonke also works in both urban and rural areas within South Africa, and has offices in rural areas to address the unique issues of different regions. Generally, Sonke’s programs and research aim to improve the attitudes of both the government and citizens toward gender equality, preventing and reducing HIV/AIDS, and domestic and sexual violence (Sonke website, “About Sonke” section: <https://genderjustice.org.za/about-us/about-sonke/>). In a 2017-18 annual review, Sonke self-described as creating change through these six innovative strategies:

- 1) Violence prevention,
- 2) Integrating multiple methodologies and strategies to change systems,
- 3) Engaging men meaningfully in programming,
- 4) Uniting men and women to create positive change locally and globally,
- 5) Valuing local perspectives and mobilizing communities for change at the local level, and finally;
- 6) A unique partner matrix that brings together local, national, and global allies to harness the ultimate potential of impact (Sonke Annual Report 2017-18, 25)

3.2 Contextually Relevant Masculinities in Brazil and South Africa

Masculinities are fundamentally complex and heterogeneous in terms of age, class, education, employment, marital status, and urban geography. They are socially constructed, fluid over time and in different settings, dynamic (meaning they may shift over time), and include a range of attitudes and behaviors from equitable to partially equitable to inequitable and violent to nonviolent.” Taylor et al. 2016, 33.

Investigating the research questions of this thesis requires a contextual understanding of masculinities in Brazil and South Africa. Analyzing how Promundo and Sonke incorporate theories of masculinities into various programs, without first reviewing the historical, cultural and local realities of masculinities and gender in Brazil and South Africa, would undermine the research findings. Therefore, the context of masculinities and gender relations in South Africa and Brazil is very important. The existence of multiple masculinities, femininities, and diverse gender norms across Brazil and South Africa is unquestionable. Since Brazil and South Africa is where Promundo and Sonke are based, it must be asked if the key themes and concepts of masculinities are incorporated in the documents of each organization are influenced by a local, context specific perspective. This is a main question the thesis research investigates. Both countries have vastly different histories in racial relations and politics, intersecting with gender and class to embody unique gender norms in society. In terms of common topics, violent masculinities (meaning violence perpetrated by men against women and other men), and issues of absent fathers in parenting are common in Brazil and South Africa (Taylor et al. 2016, 16; Niscimento et al. 2018, 5). Notably, masculinity and fatherhood issues are a “well-developed field globally and in South Africa” (Morrell et al. 2019, 40).

Brazil

Vigoya’s (2001) research on contemporary masculinities in Brazil highlights the importance of masculinities in social life, and how intertwined gender is with cultural identity.

This principle is not unique to Brazil; masculinities and gender are deeply embedded into the fabric of culture and socialization world-wide. The masculinities literature in Brazil places emphasis on the power of hegemonic masculinity. This refers to the social pressure for men to live up to the ideal version of what it means to “be a man” which enhances and legitimizes negative behaviours. Two key behaviours were highlighted to signify dominance of hegemonic masculinities in Brazil; hyper-masculinity and the “warrior ethos” (Zaluar 2010, 19; Nunn 2013, 800; Zaluar 2014, 41; Taylor et al. 2016, 30; Gripp and Zaluar 2017; 6; Niscimento et al. 2018, 5). The “warrior ethos” is a cultural belief that certain types of violence are (1) unavoidable, (2) a “rite of passage” (Taylor et al. 2016, 30), and (3) a way to legitimize masculinity (Niscimento et al. 2018, 5).

Brazilian men are victims of fatality by firearms at rates four times higher than the entire population (Barker et al. 2011, 170; Niscimento et al. 2018, 5). It is clear violence is part of the socialization of men in Brazilian society. Therefore, violence and the root causes of hyper-masculinity and the “warrior ethos” mentality must be investigated and reconstructed if more gender-equitable, positive masculinities are to be integrated into Brazilian society. Does Promundo commit its organizational programming and research into investigating the issues surrounding hyper-masculinity and the “warrior ethos” culture in Brazil?

Another common signifier of hegemonic masculinity in Brazil is the view that raising children is the responsibility of women. This is upheld to such an extent that when a father tries to take an active role in the life of his children, society commonly stigmatizes him and “socially invalidates” his right to parenthood (Vigoya 2001, 248; Carrieri et al. 2013, 18). Parenthood in Brazil is an area of internal conflict for young fathers. There is a pressure to live up to the standards of hyper-masculinity and the warrior ethos, i.e. “demonstrating virility” by

impregnating multiple women; this conflicts with the desire to embody more alternative masculinities, re-imagining parenthood as a shared responsibility (Niscimento et al. 2018, 4).

It is important to note that norms of hegemonic masculinity, such as the belief that women should stay at home, are not exclusively held by all men and resisted by all women. For example, young men interviewed in detention centres in Brazil expressed a strong desire to quit selling drugs and find legitimate jobs to be there for their children since their fathers were absent in their lives (Niscimento et al. 2018). This demonstrates the potential to create more equitable gender relations, as well as a desire to resist dominant masculinities and act out alternative, and equitable masculinities.

Masculinities in Brazil are not binary and simplistic, they are fluid and complex (Vigoya 2001; Nunn 2013; Carrieri et al. 2013). Nunn's research on women working in recycling co-operatives in Sao Paulo, an informal industry dominated primarily by men, provides insights into the way hegemonic masculinities are (re)produced by women daily. In particular, the women working in the co-operatives displayed behaviours and expressed opinions legitimizing hegemonic masculinities in circumstances where performative masculinity brings about distinct advantages. Since the domination of men over women is seen as the status quo of society, women embody and reflect this perspective themselves to gain an advantage over other women, and men, and as a result of being socialized in this environment. The women Nunn interviewed excuse and legitimize hegemonic masculine behaviour embodied by some men as a norm. Furthermore, women interviewed state this is "just the way it is," (2013, 800) that women were the weaker sex (2013, 804) and as such, should exclusively perform all domestic duties (2013, 803). Nunn does not blame women for being complicit in legitimizing hegemonic masculinity, but rather confirms the strength of dominant masculinities in the social fabric of Brazil (Nunn

2013, 796). A consequence of this is limited space for men to embody or produce positive masculinities or femininity in society. This is one of the impediments to creating more gender-equitable relations, as femininity, “acting feminine,” or any act seen as outside of the expectation of what it means to be a man, is typically perceived by many in Brazil as undesirable and a weakness (see Carrieri et al. 2013, 297). Nunn’s research reinforces the importance of creating a society that values gender equitable ideals, and positive masculinities (Barker et al. 2011, 174).

Gripp and Zaluar’s (2017) research on gender performativity in the police force of Rio de Janeiro offer similar conclusions. Like the recycling co-operatives in Sao Paulo, the Rio de Janeiro military police force contains primarily male officers. Women officers, making up a total of 4% of the police force, tend to accept and enforce hegemonic gender norms that demote themselves (as women) to a lower status (Gripp and Zaluar 2017, 9-10). In Gripp and Zaluar’s research, the women officers self-identify as “fem”, which is derogatory slang for female animals in Brazil (2017, 9). This case study highlights the role women play in legitimizing hegemonic masculinity in the workplace, as they accept and perpetuate harmful stereotypes which negatively portray women as weaker or subservient to men (Gripp and Zaluar 2017, 10 and 17). Thus, it is important that programs targeting masculinities take a gender inclusive approach, that looks at the complete scope including women and other gender diverse people, as men are not the only ones who legitimize hegemonic masculinity (for further examples see Taylor et al. 2016, 53 and 69).

The complex local realities of gender norms and relations emphasize the importance of programs that target masculinities from a locally informed lens and perspective. Couto et al.’s 2017 research on patterns of sexual behavior in relation to the embodiment of dominant gender

norms offers a more up-to-date vision of masculinities in Brazil. Couto et al.'s research indicates there has been increasing resistance in adhering to the status quo of masculinities, as the demand for visibility and equality of subordinated and marginalized masculinities is growing (3). Furthermore, there has been a gradual acceptance of a more egalitarian role of fathers in parenting children (Couto et al. 2017, 707). The document analysis examines whether the evolution in the norms of masculinities in Brazil is evident in Promundo's work over the last two decades.

South Africa

South African research on masculinities commonly focuses on violence and race compared to the literature of the international community (Morrell et al. 2012, 20). There is also a large focus on HIV prevention in masculinities initiatives, as South Africa has some of the highest HIV rates in the world. Due to widespread violence taking multiple forms in society, much of the talk on masculinities in South Africa is rhetoric that aims to "transform" men and masculinities (Gibbs et al. 2017, 503). Increasingly, NGO's in South Africa are targeting the role men and masculinities occupy in progressing toward greater gender equality (Hearn and Morrell 2012, 7). There is more than one prototype of hegemonic masculinity governing the lives of South Africans. In order to successfully analyze the documents pertaining to the goals of Sonke, including the evaluations and reports on Sonke's programs, it is necessary to have an appropriate contextual understanding of masculinities in South Africa.

According to Robert Morrell, a prominent researcher on South African masculinities, there are three hegemonic masculinities in South Africa: the dominant white masculinity, rural African masculinity legitimized through customary law and chiefship, and black masculinity formed in urban areas as a direct result of Apartheid (Morrell et al. 12, 2012). Violence is

rampant in South Africa, and women and LGBTI people face a large percentage of physical and sexual violence. Additionally, like Brazil, hyper-masculine behaviour as a prominent norm of masculinity is present in South Africa (Gibbs et al. 2017, 3). South Africa also has one of the highest HIV rates in the world. These are two of the most common themes uncovered when researching masculinities in South Africa. However, once again, it must be emphasized that there are many different forms of masculinities and hegemonic masculinities within South Africa. However, within this comparison, not all South African masculinities are hegemonic. The many intersects of society has laid the foundation for masculinities that sit in different places within the balance of hegemonic privilege (and lack thereof).

To understand why violence, particularly against women and LGBTI people, and HIV rates are so high in South Africa, it is important to first understand the historical colonial, Apartheid reality which encouraged violent masculinities to flourish (Graaff and Heinecken 2017, 624; Morrell 2002, 310; Morrell et al. 2019, 36). Furthermore, an analysis of the state of masculinities in South Africa is also important. South Africa has a complex masculinities landscape, intersecting between various class and racial categories that have divided the country and marginalized groups of people for generations (Bozzoli 1983, 149; Morrell and Morrell 2011, 113).

One reason why violent masculinities are widespread amongst black South African populations is because violence was a way for African men to gain respect in their communities where they were stigmatized and discriminated by racist laws legislating that black South Africans were seen as inferior to their white counterparts (Morrell and Morrell 2011, 115). However, violent masculinities also manifest in the white community, for different reasons, one being a militarized masculinity mindset from mandatory military conscription during Apartheid

(Hamber 2010; 80). The connection between South Africa's apartheid history and development of violent masculinities is clearly very important.

1996 saw the political legislative end of the Apartheid era, whereby a progressive Constitution (on paper) was put into place in South Africa. At the time, it was hailed by legal experts and human rights activists (particularly from the West) as being one of the most gender conscious and gender equality-based constitutions in the world (Leroux 2014, 529; Hassim 2018, 343). Marital rape, discrimination (of any kind) and violence against women were outlawed, quotas were introduced in parliament to ensure 30% of cabinet members are women, and overall greater legislation was passed to give the impression that gender equality was a South African government priority. However, culturally engrained thoughts on gender and the lived realities of masculinities and femininities cannot change overnight with the passing of legislation. Today, there is still much work to do to change societal norms and the harmful gender stereotypes and perspectives that continue to reinforce the social legitimacy of gender inequality, violence, and rape in South Africa. Another part of the equation was the urgent need for the government not just to address gender equality, but more importantly to focus on improving racial equality in South Africa in order to move forward as a country "post-Apartheid". As a result, more government attention and resources were invested into addressing racial injustices over fulfilling the gendered promises enshrined in the new Constitution (Morrell et al. 2012; 16).

The literature review revealed few alternative and "other" masculinities fighting for legitimacy and acceptance in South Africa (Morrell et al. 2012, Gibbs et al. 2017; 514). Furthermore, Gibbs et al.'s research on how social contexts influence the ability of masculinities in South Africa to become more gender equitable revealed that "alternative masculine identities that resonate and are accepted in the symbolic contexts remains an important task in building

more effective interventions” (2017, 14). Does Sonke take the approach of incorporating alternative masculinities during group interventions? This is explored in the document analysis.

South Africa has a complex history of Apartheid, combined with an indigenous system of chiefs and clanship. Apartheid policies, and colonialism in its entirety, had a profound impact on gender relations and structure in South Africa. The way masculinities and gender norms are structured today is a direct consequence of that history. As this thesis is not meant to provide the history of Apartheid in South Africa, it focuses on the direct impact of Apartheid on shaping racial, economic, and masculine identities. For clarity, it is important to mention the four racial groups during Apartheid: Black Africans, Coloured (mixed race), South Asian (majority Indian), and whites. In South Africa during Apartheid, race was the primary factor of power and access to equality in society (Morrell et al. 2012; 15), and therefore there are significant residual racial implications today.

Perhaps the best term to capture the impact of Apartheid on gender in South Africa can be a “patch-work quilt” of patriarchies (Bozzoli 1983; 149). This describes the differentiating levels of privilege men hold as dependent on race and class. For instance, white masculinities were more clearly definitive as a result of a large majority of the white males holding the power of hegemonic masculinities. The complexities in masculinities is evident when comparing South African men who were not white as they were “divided on axes of colour (by Apartheid legal demography), ethnicity, language, geographical location (rural/urban), religion, workplace and socio-economic position” that “resulted in a diverse set of black masculinities” (Morrell and Morrell 2011; 113-114).

Apartheid policies had a particularly significant impact on Black African masculinities when Black Africans were forcibly removed from their land and resettled in Bantustans. This

forced Black African men to become migrant laborers in order to support their families, as the Bantustans were in remote, rural locations (Morrell and Morrell 2011, 114). This led to these men being away from their families almost all the time. The inter-generational implications today are that 40% of households in South Africa are headed by women (Morrell et al. 2012, 13). It is not surprising that there is a high absence of fathers in South African family life today. Clearly, Apartheid had a devastating impact on masculinities in South Africa, which continues to cause pain and suffering today.

Parallel to the Brazil case, fathers in South Africa often play a minimal role in parenting children and are typically absent (Morrell et al. 2012; 14). According to the South African Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa has one of the highest rates of absent fathers in Sub-Saharan Africa, as 60% of children under ten do not live with their biological fathers (Makiwane and Berry 2013). This creates toxic masculine behaviours for sons with absent fathers, creating a higher risk of continuing the cycle of negative, harmful masculinities in the future. Most NGO's that work with men and masculinities focus on fatherhood and ensuring men have a positive influence in the lives of their children, as this contributes to positive outcomes in masculinities and gender equality. One of the contributing factors to absent fathers in South Africa is the high unemployment rates, combined with strict culture of fatherhood that restricts men who cannot provide, and unmarried men from having a relationship with their children (Morrell et al. 2019, 40). This research investigates whether Promundo and Sonke's programs have similar themes, goals, and targets given some similarities in their respective context regarding masculinities. Furthermore, researching both organizations gives room for an analysis that highlights the differences in themes and areas of focus, which are undoubtedly influenced by social, cultural, financial, and political factors.

3.3 Promundo's Organizational Context

In many regards, Promundo's methods, programming, framework, and the rhetoric contained in its documents are ground-breaking, focusing on themes, concepts and theories that are pertinent and prevalent in both the general scholarship on masculinities and suited to the local context in Brazil. The documents used in the analysis were retrieved from the official website of Promundo, under the "resources" tab with the option to select "type" and "area" (theme). The "types" of documents are: reports, educational materials, articles, and annual reports. The nine "areas" include: 1) Conflict and Security, 2) Economic Justice, 3) Fatherhood and Caregiving 5) Health and Equity 6) Preventing Violence 7) Youth and Equality 8) Research for Action (Promundo website: <https://promundoglobal.org/resources/>). There is no explicit mention of masculinities in these key areas, yet they all have connections to masculinities issues, specifically suited for the Brazilian context. The lack of clear articulation of masculinities as a main "area" does highlight the need to look for underlying themes and subtleties when examining how Promundo incorporates masculinities in its relevant programme documents. Furthermore, Promundo's lack of outright discussions of masculinities suggests that masculinities are not a clear area of importance or concern in programming, and changes in masculinities are impacted by the concerns and improvements in other areas of health and gender relations.

3.4 Analysis Summary of Promundo’s Documents: Key Themes and Concepts¹

Analysis

*Documents have recurring themes

| Key Theme (Codes) | # of Docs | # of Nodes | Geographic Coverage | Types of Documents |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------|--|--|
| Absent Fathers | 2 | 11 | Caera, Paraiba, Recife, Rio Grande Do Norte | Reports, Educational Materials |
| Promoting Fatherhood | 5 | 10 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro | Reports, Annual Reports |
| Alternative Masculinities | 8 | 36 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro, Caera, Paraiba, Recife, Rio Grande Do Norte, Belém, São Luís Bahia | Reports, Educational Materials, Annual Reports, Articles |
| Femininities | 3 | 12 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro, Caera, Paraiba, Recife, Rio Grande Do Norte | Reports, Educational Materials |
| Binary Language | 7 | 33 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro, Paraiba, Recife, Rio Grande Do Norte | Reports, Educational Materials, Annual Reports |
| Local Focus | 4 | 16 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro, Belém, São Luís | Reports |
| Intersectionality | 5 | 10 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro, Belém, São Luís | Reports |
| LGBTI Masculinities | 7 | 29 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro, Caera, Paraiba, Recife, Rio Grande Do Norte | Reports, Educational Materials, Annual Reports |
| Hegemonic Masculinities | 9 | 30 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro, Belém, São Luís Caera, Paraiba, Recife, Rio Grande Do Norte | Reports, Educational Materials, Annual Reports |
| Women Legitimizing | 5 | 10 | Codó, Rio de Janeiro, Caera, Paraiba, Recife, Rio Grande Do Norte | Reports, Educational Reports |
| Hyper-masculinities | 5 | 5 | Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Recife | Reports, Educational Materials |
| Total = 11 | N/A | 199 | | |

3.5 Sonke’s Organizational Context

Sonke is consistent in incorporating key themes and concepts of theories of masculinities in general, and in South Africa specifically. For consistency, the documents used for the analysis are also retrieved exclusively from Sonke’s website. Sonke’s website is structured similarly to Promundo’s. The documents are found under the “resources” tab, with a distinction between “themes” and “type”. The “types” of documents are annual reports, books, case studies,

¹ See Appendix A for full list and description of Promundo’s documents used in the analysis.

conferences and symposiums, curriculums trainings and tools, donor reports, external journal articles, external papers and speeches. It is important to note the themes and types of documents listed are program-wide and not specific to South Africa. The 22 themes are as follows: 1) adolescents and teens, 2) community activism, 3) corporal punishment, 4) economic justice, 5) fatherhood, 6) firearms, 7) gender and water, 8) gender equality in the home, 9) gender-based violence, 10) HIV/AIDS and TB, 11) LGBTQTI rights, 12) men's health, 13) migration, 14) paternity leave, 15) positive parenting, 16) prisons and criminal justice, 17) refugee health and rights, 18) religion and culture, 19) sex work, 20) sexual and reproductive health and rights, 21) silicosis, and finally 22) xenophobia (Sonke website, "Resources" section: <https://genderjustice.org.za/resources/>). When clicking on a specific "theme" the website automatically filters out the types of documents to match those relevant to the listed theme. This is useful feature to help sort through and catalog documents more efficiently, and determine which documents are not relevant for document analysis purposes, such as external papers and donor reports.

3.6 Analysis Summary of Sonke’s Documents: Key Themes and Concepts ²

*Documents have recurring themes

| Key Themes (Codes) | # of Docs | # of Nodes | Geographic Coverage | Types of Documents |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------|---|--|
| LGBTI Masculinities | 9 | 23 | Cross-country, Limpopo, Kuyasa, Mhlontlo, Cape Town, Matzikama | Reports, Case Studies, Curriculum training and tools, Conferences and Symposiums |
| Local | 10 | 20 | Limpopo, Kuyasa, Mhlontlo, Cape town, Eastern-Cape Province, Nkandla, Lusikisiki, Johannesburg | Reports, Case Studies |
| Hegemonic Masculinities | 10 | 15 | Limpopo, Cross-Country, Diepsloot, Mhlontlo, Nkandla, Mhlontlo, Cape Town | Reports, Case Studies, Photovoice |
| Women Legitimizing | 3 | 6 | Mhlontlo, Nkandla, Cross-Country, Lusikisiki | Reports, Case Studies |
| Race | 7 | 18 | Limpopo, Cross-Country, Johannesburg, Cape Town | Reports, Case Studies |
| Intersectionality | 13 | 25 | Cross-country, Limpopo, Kuyasa, Eastern-Cape Province, Cape Town, Matzikama, Diepsloot, Mhlontlo, Nkandla, Johannesburg | Reports, Case-Studies, Curriculum training and tools, Conferences and Symposiums, Photovoice |
| Femininities | 3 | 3 | No Regional Focus (2), Cross-Country (1) | Curriculum training and tools, Reports |
| Promoting Fatherhood | 8 | 26 | Mhlontlo, Eastern-Cape Province, Nkandla, Cross-country, Johannesburg | Case Studies, Photo Voice, Reports |
| Absent Fathers | 1 | 3 | Matzikama | Case Studies |
| Alternative Masculinities | 12 | 22 | Cross-country, Limpopo, Mhlontlo, Eastern-Cape Province, Mhlontlo, Nkandla, Cape Town, Lusikisiki | Reports, Case Studies, Curriculum training and tools |
| HIV/AIDS | 14 | 28 | Cross-country, Mhlontlo, Eastern-Cape Province, Nkandla, Cape Town, Lusikisiki | Reports, Case Studies, Photo Voice, |
| Sexual Violence | 14 | 28 | Limpopo, Cross-country, Mhlontlo, Cape Town, Diepsloot, Johannesburg, Nkandla, Lusikisiki | Reports, Case Studies, Conferences and Symposiums, |
| Total = 12 | N/A | 217 | | |

² See Appendix B for full list and description of Sonke’s documents used in the analysis.

4.0 PROMUNDO DOCUMENT ANALYSIS – KEY RESULTS

4.1 Key Themes and Concepts of Masculinities in Promundo’s Documents

The total number of documents coded and subsequently analyzed in-depth as part of Promundo’s qualitative document analysis was 11, with 11 different codes (themes), and 199 nodes (references). For clarification, when referencing “documents” of Promundo and Sonke, I am referring to specific documents that were pertinent to the research and analysis, as discussed below. The initial scan included much more than 11 documents. The 11 documents that were analyzed, were chosen based on their integration of key themes and concepts of the masculinities literature reviews, as well as any emerging masculinities key themes and concepts incorporated that were not in the literature reviews. Promundo shows strength and alignment with the following themes and concepts found in the literature review in this thesis in the following ways:

- 1) Intersectional lens on gender and masculinities
- 2) Programming that breaks down the barriers to fatherhood and promotes gender equitable parenting;
- 3) Examining hyper-masculinities and the warrior ethos complex, and;
- 4) A comprehensive focus on the importance of offering alternative positive masculinities and many examples of this

The findings, which are discussed further below, suggests that these four themes are integral to Promundo and provide insights into how Promundo understands and operates within these themes.

4.2 Intersectional Masculinities

Conceptualizing masculinities from an intersectional perspective is perhaps best described from the micro-level and macro-level. On the micro-level, all individuals experience gender at the same time as they experience other social stratifications (race, class, ethnicity, religion); whereas on the macro-level, social stratification is arranged to form the structure of

institutions, culture, organizations, and physical spaces which determines who receives access to hegemonic privilege (Harnois 2017, 143). Promundo shows a thorough understanding and recognition of the impact of intersecting social identities, particularly how masculine norms are not siloed, but are integrated with and impacted by other social factors. There is a strong theme in the analysis of Promundo's documents to call for an intersectional analysis in research and programming on masculinities (Promundo 2008, 70; Kato-Wallace et al. 2016, 42; Taylor et al. 2017, 117; Heilman and Barker 2018, 23).

In one lengthy report on adolescent masculinities world-wide, Promundo's researchers clarify that although the research findings generalize certain age categories, it must be acknowledged that experiences of the youth are diverse and shaped by intersectional factors including "age, gender identity, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, religion, cultural histories, disability, socioeconomic status, and education level" (Kato-Wallace et al. 2016, 18). Furthermore, in this report, schools and other educational settings are described as ideal environments to challenge the reconfiguration of masculinities by questioning them in conjunction with other intersecting social identities (Kato-Wallace et al. 2016, 42). Promundo places emphasis on an intersectional lens to encourage readers and those working on gender equality programming to think critically about how masculinities are formed and realized. In Promundo's report on adolescent masculinities in Brazil and Honduras, there is a categorization of intersecting factors which impact intimate partner violence; individual, relationship, and community or society (Taylor et al. 2017, 13). Promundo calls this the "ecological model" and uses it as the framework to conceptualize adolescent intimate partner violence in the report.

Importantly, this report published by Promundo titled “Adolescent Relationship Violence in Brazil and Honduras,” calls for advancing research that questions how intimate partner violence is “shaped by race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and sexual orientation” and to ensure this question is integrated into violence prevention programming (Taylor et al. 2017, 117). In many instances, Promundo recommends that violent masculinities, and campaigns to minimize and eliminate violence caused by harmful masculinities analyzed and investigated from an intersectional perspective that values all social stratifications (Promundo 2008, 70). For example, in 2018 Promundo published a substantial report on making connections between masculinities and violence, which describes violent masculinities as “a complex web of intersecting elements, including biology, alongside social conditions, life circumstances, childhood experiences, political economy, gender attitudes, and more” (Heilman and Barker 2018,14). It is evident that Promundo is not only aware of intersectionality but also is a strong advocate for the role that intersectionality has in masculinities and gender issues. From Promundo’s perspective, ethnicity and socioeconomic status are two commonly highlighted intersectional issues that relate to gender and masculinities (Kato-Wallace et al. 2016, 14 and 42; Promundo 2008, 70; Heilman and Barker 2018, 23).

4.3 Barriers to Fatherhood in Brazil

As previously mentioned, in Brazil, many fathers are absent in the lives of their children. Promundo’s analysis of this topic is well integrated into their documents, which is to be expected given that fatherhood and caregiving are one of Promundo’s nine documented themes. Program H provides insights into why this may be the case, as a common response to the survey discouraged fathers who do not have the financial means to support their children from having a

role in their lives (Promundo et al. 2002, 30). Program H (previously called Project H) debuted in 2002, and was one of the first major Promundo programs that worked with young men to inform them about and address issues on the following topics: sexuality and reproductive health, parenthood, encouraging nonviolent masculinities, productively dealing with emotions, and reducing and living with HIV/AIDS diagnoses. This program encourages critical reflection surrounding the norms of manhood and encourages transformation of thinking about masculinities. Program H has since been implemented in several different countries, and the results of the surveys conducted have revealed a fascinating narrative of the reality that men and masculinities encompass in different places. Brazilian men are perceived by all, not just men, as only being useful if they can provide economically for their children and family. This contradicts a narrative that men do not want to father their children. The reality is there are instances where men are forced to stay away by those (including women) that perpetuate harmful toxic masculine norms indicating a man is only suitable as a father if he is providing money to his children.

Promundo discusses the struggles men encounter in fatherhood, as there is a wide perception that men must act a certain way in their roles as fathers and men or be perceived as dangerous to the wellbeing of their children. Project H's 2002 survey found that at nursery schools, fathers are discouraged from setting foot on the premises, as there is a perceived image that a man interacting with kindergarten aged children in a specific way may pose a threat as a sexual abuser (Promundo et al. 2002, 91). However, Promundo simply notes these results without unpacking the problematic nature of this perspective, or how women create an environment that continues to reinforce hegemonic masculinities. These examples are further evidence to support considerations in the literature review of how women are projecting, and even embodying, harmful stereotypes and norms of masculinities which is a common occurrence

in Brazilian society. A shift in the narrative is needed, there is clear justification for engaging women, and gender diverse people in Promundo's programming to reduce toxic masculinities and facilitate alternative masculinities in a more efficient, comprehensive manner.

4.4 Hyper-masculinity and “Warrior Ethos”

Hyper-masculinity in general and the “warrior ethos” specifically, are not overtly discussed in Promundo's documents. The importance and relevance of the “warrior ethos” in Brazilian society, which comes from a hyper-masculine culture, was mentioned throughout the literature review, and as such, was part of the analytical frameworks for the analysis of Promundo's documents. Out of the 11 Promundo documents coded and analyzed as part of the qualitative document analysis, five reflect on hyper-masculinity in Brazil and the concepts of the “warrior ethos” theory. The focus in Promundo's documents tends to be more on the machismo norms of masculinities that are prominent throughout Latin American countries (Promundo et al. 2002; Promundo et al. 2013; Ricardo, 2007; Taylor et al. 2017). Promundo alludes to hyper-masculinity and the warrior-ethos in multiple instances, describing the socialization of certain masculine norms as producing “greater use of violence by men as a way to obtain power and control, defend honor, demonstrate manhood, express anger or frustration, and claim ownership of women's bodies” (Barker et al. 2013, 6).

In another case, Promundo states that boys and men are expected to conform to violent norms based on “rigid codes of ‘honor’” in order to validate their masculinity (Promundo et al. 2002, 12). In Promundo's 2017 research report on adolescent violence in Brazil and Honduras, it is noted that support of machismo behaviours are so dominant in the interviews conducted throughout Brazil that they can be “considered community-level risk factors” (Taylor et al. 2017,

52). This is a clear indication that Promundo views these hyper-masculine behaviours as negative. However, many of the men that Promundo work with at the community level may aspire to embody hyper-masculine behaviours for many reasons, which can explain why Promundo attempts to reduce hyper-masculinity in most community programming initiatives.

Furthermore, in Promundo's 2018 research report connecting norms of masculinity to violence, the analysis centres around norms that are born in this culture of hyper-masculinity and the warrior ethos. It begins with the example that when some men do not feel like they exude enough masculinity, the socialized response is often to use intimate partner violence in their relationships with others, particularly the women in their lives (Heilman and Barker 2018, 9). This is a residual impact of the warrior-ethos norms of masculinities in Brazil: using violence to legitimize masculinity (Nascimento et al. 2018, 5).

Another characteristic of the warrior-ethos norms uncovered in the literature review was the expectations that men are extraordinarily virile beings, which can result in them getting multiple women pregnant as a source of pride their male social circles (Nascimento et al. 2018, 4). Promundo's documents aligned with the literature review, as machismo masculinity is described in the same way, as a norm that "affirms men need sex more than women do and should always be strong and dominant" (Ricardo 2007, 8). Furthermore, Promundo's research displays results from interviews conducted with adolescent boys in Brazil in 2017 that concur with the dominance of this warrior-ethos norm. The interviewees expressed that men must be "always ready to have/initiate sex" and that there is an expectation that boys and men use sex to validate their masculinity and manhood (Taylor et al. 2017, 56). Although it initially appeared that Promundo did not address hyper-masculinity and the warrior-ethos culture; it is clear from a more thorough analysis of the documents that these themes are addressed but called by different

names, such as “traditional norms of masculinity” or “harmful masculinity” (Barker et al. 2013, 6; Promundo et al. 2002, 12; Taylor et al. 2017, 56; Heilman and Barker 2018, 23).

4.5 Promundo Promotes Alternative, Positive (Philogynous) Masculinities

Promundo’s strengths emerge in its focus on alternative (also known as philogynous – discussed in section 2.4) and positive masculinities that challenge the status quo in Brazil.

Promundo researcher Gary Barker (2008) outlines the following as common factors influencing those who resist inequitable, toxic, harmful masculinities:

- 1) Observes role models that embody alternative, fluid, nonviolent gender roles; has experienced a traumatic loss or pain as a result of toxic or violent masculinities;
- 2) Has a supportive group of peers that question traditional, hegemonic perspectives of masculinities;
- 3) Ability to find other identities in settings where gang violence the common path (Barker 2008, 140-142).

Of all the masculinities relevant to the qualitative document analysis of this thesis, positive, alternative masculinities are most often referenced in Promundo’s documents, with the highest number of nodes (36) from seven documents. Promundo advocates for gender transformative messaging in masculinities initiatives that focus on the “transformation of harmful gender norms” such as teaching problem solving and conflict resolution that is compassion-based and developing an acceptance for the limitless ways to be a man beyond the lines of toxic, violent socially conditioned behaviours (Heilman and Barker 2018, 32). Furthermore, frequently cited are examples of how Brazilian society is also creating masculinities that are resistant to the norms of hegemonic and toxic masculinities (Promundo et al. 2002, 102; Taylor et al. 2017, 81, 117; Heilman and Barker 2018, 18; 24). In one example of alternative masculinities, an 18-year-old from a rural village confesses that he only confides in his mother about his relationships with women, as he does not trust his friends, who typically give bad advice (Taylor et al. 2017, 87).

This behaviour is contrary to the hyper-masculinity and machismo attitude, in which young men are keen to brag and even embellish their relationship and sexual activities with women to validate their masculinity (Ricardo 2007; Taylor et al. 2017; Niscimento et al. 2018).

Promundo is not speaking only of men who are resisting oppressive norms of masculinities and working to create positive masculinities. Promundo emphasizes the importance “of all gender identities resisting the violent, unjust, patriarchal order and pushing for brighter futures and a world free from violence” (Heilman and Barker 2018, 24). Furthermore, rather significantly, Promundo calls for further research on positive masculinities in violence prevention programs; which suggests moving away from identifying risk factors towards highlighting how couples can co-develop masculinities that are alternative to the structural norms and forms of violence (Taylor et al. 2017, 117).

Promundo’s research on alternative, or resistant masculinities is in line with the literature review on the necessities of forming alternative masculinities to produce sustained gender equality and improved gender relations. Promundo is successful at presenting positive masculinities, which are at the forefront of its research and programming initiatives. This is one reason why Promundo sees success in creating an environment in some Brazilian communities that reflect Groes-Green’s conceptualization of philogynous masculinities in Mozambique, that is, alternative forms of manhood which favour gender equitable perspectives and respect femininities and the rights and agency of those who identify as women (Groes-Green 2011).

5.0 SONKE DOCUMENT ANALYSIS – KEY RESULTS

5.1 Key Themes and Concepts of Masculinities in Sonke’s Documents

The total number of documents coded and subsequently analyzed in-depth as part of Sonke’s qualitative document analysis is 29, with 12 different codes (themes), and 217 nodes (references). Compared to Promundo, not only does Sonke have a wider variety of themes, but also there is a more obvious connection to relevant masculinities theories. For instance, key themes in the documents included HIV testing, including awareness and encouragement around the benefits of testing. As highlighted in the infographic above, Sonke’s documents, which in many cases described its programming throughout South Africa, emphasized the importance of a local lens. Furthermore, intersectionality is another area of importance, in which Sonke was able to make connections to cross-cutting issues in its daily work. These two factors are a few of the many reasons Sonke has a high success rate in achieving its organizational goals. Sonke shows strength and alignment with the following themes and concepts found in the literature review in this thesis in the following ways:

- 1) Ensuring a local, traditional approach
- 2) An Intersectional lens on gender and masculinities
- 3) Successfully challenging corporate and state power to enhance equality
- 4) Integrating LGBTI perspectives into work on masculinities
- 5) The role of HIV/AIDS in masculinities
- 6) Programming that breaks down the barriers to fatherhood and promotes gender equitable parenting;
- 7) A comprehensive focus on the importance of offering alternative positive masculinities and many examples of this

5.2 Use of Traditional, Bottom-Up Approach

In South Africa, participants are less likely to participate in programming if the latter are perceived to be Western, attempting to influence people to adhere to norms that are not culturally relevant. Far too often, civil society organizations, even those based in South Africa, practice

gender from a Western lens. Sonke has found success in mobilizing traditional community leaders and using culturally appropriate language and meaning to initiate programming in South African communities. A key concept used is “ubuntu”, the African concept of “a person is a person through other persons” (Palitza, 2010, 6). There was recognition early on that involving traditional leaders from the start was one of the only ways to make an impact and create behavioural change. Interestingly, Sonke co-director Bafana Khumalo notes that traditional leaders felt left out of the work being done by local and state bodies of governance that operate with colonial methods of governance (Palitza 2009a, 5). Some of the initiatives in which Sonke engaged traditional leaders in communities include work around gender and HIV/AIDS advocacy, reducing violence against women, and promoting healthy habits and positive masculinities.

5.3 An Intersectional Perspective

The qualitative document analysis shows that Sonke widely incorporates intersectional masculinities, as 13 of the 29 documents analyzed used this as a theory or concept. The importance of an intersectional lens is documented in the theoretical framework of this thesis. An intersectional perspective can be found in a report on the spread of HIV/AIDS amongst farm workers. Sonke recommends farmers receive more training and awareness on racism and racial realities in South Africa (Sonke 2007, 5). Sonke’s successful engagement of LGBTI masculinities in South African communities and engaging traditional leaders confirms the literature review’s conclusions that intersectionality is a critical element of successful recruitment and dedicated engagement in masculinities and gender equality work. In another report addressing gender, mobility, and HIV/AIDS, Sonke recommends that a training course for health service workers be developed from an intersectional perspective. The report advises the

integration of geographical considerations, hours, age of workers, gender, and attitudes such as xenophobia that impact marginalized men and women's access to treatment and services (Greig 2017, 4, 9).

Sonke's work is intersectional; it looks at relevant issues from a variety of levels of impact. A 2013 report on the "Brothers 4 Life" program, which targets South African men over age 30, is described as being "national in its appeal, transcending race, class, age differences and geographic identities and it was inclusive and unconditional" (2013, 9). In another example, in a 2012 case study on refugee health and rights, Sonke's executive director, Dan Peacock calls for NGOs focused on HIV and gender to pay more attention to refugees and their specific needs, and how refugees are often failed in these areas (Greig 2012, 3). Peacocks displays an intersectional analysis, and his statement is a reminder that the issues South African refugees face should be integrated within the scope of gender and HIV/AIDS and not siloed or dealt with as individual situations. Sonke reinforces the idea that institutions and processes of socialization are impacted by sex, gender, violence, and religion in a workshop report on how to engage refugee men and boys to reduce violent masculinities (Aasheim 2008, 7). A similar argument was made in three manuals, titled "A 'Movement for Change' Toolkit", "Faith Communities and LGBT", and "Church Resource Manual on Sexual Gender Violence". These three educational resource manuals published by Sonke discuss issues of sex and gender violence with faith keepers from different religions, with the end goal of building a welcoming, accepting community for all peoples (Sonke 2017, 10).

In 2018, the Singizi Consulting group undertook an external evaluation of Sonke's achievements and results, which comprehensively reviews its major strengths, successes, weaknesses, and items to consider in future programming. This evaluation was measured against

key result areas noted in Sonke's 2014-18 strategic plan (Marock et al. 2018, 6). An indicator of Sonke's recognition of intersectional masculinities can be found in Singizi's evaluation of Sonke that outlines its "strategic and functional shifts over time" leading to "capacity-building related to the structural linkages between gender, poverty, racism, xenophobia, harmful religious and cultural practices, and other socioeconomic factors (Marock et al. 2018, 8).

My analysis of the documents demonstrates that Sonke integrates intersectional thinking into its research and programming. This can clearly be seen in the direct involvement Sonke has with faith keepers and traditional leaders in reducing HIV/AIDS, sexual violence, and LGBTI rights and advocacy. Sonke strategically embeds social and cultural perspectives, ensuring masculinities programming and research is inclusive, relational and interlinking, which is in line with current research that identifies these as highly effective engagement factors (Edström and Shahrokh, 2016).

5.4 Sonke's Success in Challenging Corporate and State Power

As noted in the literature review, Connell indicates the failings of most organizations working in the field of masculinities to challenge corporate or state power, a flaw which becomes problematic in the sense that the culture of corporate masculinity endures (2016, 314). According to Connell, the reason why organizations working in the masculinities field do not challenge state governments and corporations is because they are too dependent on them for funding. However, it was interesting to observe that Sonke does put organizational effort and resources into challenging state and corporate power, in this case the South African Government and various corporations.

In 2016 the government of South Africa was part of a group of African nations demanding that the United Nations suspend the appointment of an Independent Expert on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity. Sonke collaborated with other partners and allies to petition successfully the South African government to change its stance on this issue (Marock et al. 60, 2018). Sonke mainly uses the judicial system when challenging state and corporate powers in areas such as human rights, violence, racism, public health, and gender equality.

One noteworthy example of this is a complaint Sonke filed in 2010 with the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) against one of the largest beer manufactures in the world, SABMiller. Sonke's complaint was in response to a beer advertisement that aired in South Africa which encouraged toxic notions of masculinities by linking excessive drinking to something that is a normal thing for men to do. A portion of Sonke's complaint was "The campaign very clearly implies that moderate drinkers are weak and like laaties/children, and that "real" men drink large quantities of alcohol... it is unacceptable that SAB should choose to run an ad that encourages heavy drinking by linking alcohol consumption to negative stereotypes of masculinity and manhood." (Peacock on behalf of Sonke, 2010). Once again, Sonke's efforts were successful as SABMiller withdrew the advertisement. This is evidence that Sonke is committed to challenging both state and corporate powers that promote toxic masculinity and offers a legitimate threat to what Connell dubbed the "corporate masculinity of the new world" (2016, 314).

5.5 Sonke Does Justice to LGBTI and Masculinities

The literature review highlights the importance of transgender masculinities, particularly of disconnecting masculinity from male bodies (Beasley 2015). It places an emphasis on the

recognition of transgender masculinities, moving beyond the binary biological lens typically seen in the field. The hypothesis stated prior to the document analysis was that both organizations do not adequately recognize the importance of transgender masculinities and are instead in line with the binary traditions of associating masculinities with male bodies and femininities with female bodies, as well as the standard “men” and “women” binary rhetoric in documents.

However, this hypothesis is incorrect for Sonke, as the way in which the organization incorporates LGBTI masculinities into its documents and programming scope is impressive. While there are various terms used under the umbrella of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Transgender people, the term that will be used while here will be LGBTI (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex), as this is how it is generally referred to by Sonke. Given the complex situation of LGBTI rights in South Africa, it is helpful to situate the realities that Sonke operates within. In 1996, South Africa was the first country in the world to outlaw discrimination based on sexual orientation. Indeed, in 2006 marriage rights were made available to all regardless of sexual orientation.

Moreover, LGBTI parents have the same rights as non-LGBTI parents, including the right to adopt children (Van den Berg et al., 2016, 6). Despite the legal protections afforded to LGBTI people, these protections often do not spread to the community level. Those who identify as LGBTI in South Africa often face discrimination, harassment, physical and sexual violence, including rape (Van den Berg et al., 2016, 32; Marock et al. 2018, 31). These are reasons why Sonke is committing resources to this important issue. Many community engagement programs focus on LGBTI issues to reduce the high levels of harassment and discrimination the LGBTI community faces. The document analysis reveals that Sonke successfully synthesizes local masculinities and traditional concepts. The results resonate with Sonke’s participants as the

message is more palatable and context specific, moving beyond language and ideas seen as being Western ideology and norms.

Another critical strategy Sonke uses to promote LGBTI masculinities is engaging with traditional faith leaders. In 2017, Sonke released a toolkit for faith leaders, and the general faith community, which examines how faith relates to the LGBTI community (Sonke Gender Justice 2017) because in most cases these people have been marginalized in the church, and mainstream society in general (Marock et al. 2018, 71). In the rural South African community of Matzikama, communities practicing traditional faith who had previously expressed disapproval and homophobia of LGBTI people, have since expressed support of gay rights and gender equality as a result of Sonke's outreach (Sonke Gender Justice 2014, 7). Sonke has found success extending its network to traditional faith communities promoting LGBTI human rights and perspectives from a local lens. From an organizational perspective, Sonke recognizes its role in reducing homophobia in South Africa, and how it must not only engage at a local community level but also with various levels of governance and the media (Aasheim et al. 2008, 7). Sonke is succeeding in advocating for acceptance and normalization of LGBTI masculinities by promoting context specific, local programming and masculinity norms. While Sonke's work on LGBTI masculinities is impressive, one area of weakness is the absence of racial analyses and program themes to address racial inequalities caused by residual and generational impacts of apartheid. The document analysis uncovered a lack of focus on the impact apartheid continues to have on gender relations and norms, particularly those that define what it "means to be a man". To clarify, although apartheid is no longer an active system in place by the South African government, some of the racial segregation and attitudes prevalent during the apartheid era continue to have a longstanding impact on the race realities in South Africa.

5.6 HIV/AIDS and Masculinities

In direct alignment with one of the main preoccupations found in the literature review, HIV prevention and awareness is a main area of focus and one of Sonke's organizational priorities. This includes educating and encouraging testing and prevention. Furthermore, Sonke uses an LGBTI lens in its HIV focus. In 2017, Sonke analyzed national policies that address the health needs of men and boys in Eastern and Southern Africa (including South Africa). Sonke identifies transgender people as high risk and needing of attention in policies that address the health needs of men and boys (Pascoe and Peacock 2017). In 2009, Sonke launched a "Branching Out" program; a grassroots program that brought together community members with a passion for promoting sexually equitable, non-violent, and HIV conscious behaviours. Furthermore, the "Branches" in each local community are meant to increase the impact of local advocacy campaigns by "leverage[ing] local human, material and financial resources ... to make them sustainable" (Palitza 2009a, 7). As Sonke staff member and program trainer Zithulele Dlakavu explains, "Having a branch enables a community to own the process, make it sustainable and become active role players" (Palitza 2009a, 4). This also aligns with the literature review conclusions on the importance of local lenses in masculinities programming that speak to the various cultural realities and norms of each community.

Going back to the LGBTI community, evidence of Sonke's work and the trust built was apparent in the "Branching Out" program given the open participation of a lesbian couple in a community where homophobic violence, including rape, is common (Palitza 2009a, 12). This sense of safety and acceptance in the community has extended to other issues, such as rape survivors, and has, as a result of the "Branching Out" program's building of community and

trust, meant a great deal to participants who expressed the positive impact this had on their lives (Palitza 2009a, 15).

5.7 Barriers to Fatherhood in South Africa

The literature review on masculinities in South Africa emphasizes the barriers to fatherhood in South Africa that have resulted in a lot of children growing up with absent fathers. One commonality between Sonke and Promundo is that both make fatherhood a key theme. For Sonke it is one of 22 themes. As this is a well-documented area of focus for Sonke, this section will provide a brief overview and discussion of the successes of Sonke's fatherhood programming, particularly those related to the literature review. There are many documents that show Sonke's sophistication and dedication to a fatherhood focus. One of the most extensive is a 2016 Pan-African "Comparative Scorecard" on Policy Support for Engaging Men in Positive Parenting, the "result of extensive research and engagement" (Van den Berg et al. 2016, Acknowledgements).

In another example, the work of Sonke and one of its partners, the Matzikama Men and Boys Network, shows the multi-dimensional layers of the Sonke fatherhood story. Sonke not only advocates for men to be more involved in the lives of their children, but also advocates on behalf of men and their rights as fathers, for instance by insisting that men are seen as more than visitors during hospital visits, and for them to be better informed of the progress of the mother's pregnancy and any developing issues (Promundo et al. 2002, 100). Sonke takes an intersectional perspective, outlining various factors impacting the ability of a man to play an active role in the lives of his children, two of the biggest being socioeconomic position and gender discrimination (Promundo et al. 2002). Furthermore, Sonke reveals its intersectional lens with an appreciation

of “the need to address the underlying norms and attitudes that support patriarchy and violence” and a “stronger emphasis on the emergence of models of engagement with religious leaders” (Marock et al. 2018, 59).

Results have shown that Sonke’s community mobilization programs have been successful (Marock et al. 2018). In 2014, a case study further confirmed the success of Sonke’s work on fatherhood. This case study speaks to Sonke and Matzikama’s positive outcomes when dealing with fatherhood and care issues in South Africa. Statistics showed that before the Program began, 48% of children in South Africa had absent fathers (a figure that was trending upwards), but Sonke and Matzikama’s work began showing positive results immediately, “targeting men and boys to play their part in making gender equality a reality is vital to turning this phenomenon around” (Sonke 2014, 7). The results of this case study, Sonke’s positive fatherhood rhetoric, and the 40-page scorecard report on positive parenting from a variety of angles (such as LGBTI masculinities, and violence and poverty reduction) validate Sonke’s integration of key elements of critical literatures on masculinities and fatherhood.

5.8 Evidence of Positive/Alternative Masculinities

The analysis of Sonke’s documents reveals the organization’s focus on promoting and integrating positive masculinities in multiple programs, yielding transformative impacts. Sonke takes an intersectional approach to positive masculinities, integrating this as a main aspect of many different subject matters. In a 2012 report detailing Sonke’s Refugee Health and Rights Programme, which attempts to reduce xenophobia faced by refugees in South Africa, positive masculinities are one of the key avenues that Sonke uses to reduced rates of xenophobic violence (Palitza and Mnyulwa 2012, 8). Sonke’s approach attempts to give South African men a choice

for a different future by creating positive identifications with manhood, beyond acting in violent ways, which also put these men's lives at risk (Palitza and Mnyulwa 2012, 8). Furthermore, Sonke prescribes "alternative, non-violent methods of discipline" by fathers, and men in general, as integral to protecting children from violence (Van den berg et al. 2016, 6). Another program, Brothers for Life (B4L), contains objectives "centred on promoting an alternative definition of masculinity", including "support for a masculine role based on the values of personal responsibility, mutual respect and support between men and women in intimate relationships" (Collinge et al. 2013, 3). These are various examples of Sonke's innovations in pushing for positive, alternative masculinities. Sonke also uses statements and testimonials from men that have participated in its programs, which demonstrate courage, or the positive impacts gained from walking away from toxic masculinities.

Testimonials are a powerful way to demonstrate the definite impacts of positive masculinities for the South African men working with Sonke. One of Sonke's research methodologies is the use of digital storytelling projects, which "involves workshops that guide participants in creating their own multimedia stories that address critical issues in their communities such as rape, gender roles, HIV/AIDS, and violence" (Reed and Hill 2010, 1). In one digital story telling case study, a participant in Sonke's gender equality programming shares his story on how he has adopted a different role in his community since Sonke provided him with the tools to embody an alternative masculinity. This participant described how his mind "completely changed" and that although his community makes negative comments about his new attitude and actions, he has persisted in moving forward, embodying positive masculinities and "being the kind of man I want to be, not the kind others want me to be" (Reed and Hill 2010, 3).

In another Sonke case study, nine men in Eastern Cape who began working as community caregivers for those with HIV/AIDS were initially ridiculed and laughed at by their friends and families for serving in a role traditionally reserved for women (Palitza 2008, 3, 6). Again, these men were spurred to action by Sonke's programming in their community which emphasized the impacts of harmful gender stereotypes and the potential for change in breaking down these barriers. According to Dan Peacock, Sonke's Director, what differentiates the men described above from most men who care about breaking down harmful gender norms and adopt positive masculinities, is that these men do it publicly, whereas most "prefer to do this behind closed doors and withdrawn curtain" (Palitza 2008, 3). Notably, many men who received the care of the men who pioneered this caregiving group, observed their preference in receiving care from the men, as they are less comfortable with receiving care from women outside their family. This positive impact demonstrates the work of these caregivers in their community has improved the lives of all, not just women. The community began to realize this as well, and the caregivers spoke of how they began to win respect from those in their community who previously disrespected their roles as caregivers. One said "People's attitudes are changing. I get recognition from the school principal, the chief of my area and many men and women in my community" (Palitza 2008, 6) while another man is now a leader at the community school and notes the "respect and admiration he gets from the children" (Palitza 2008, 7).

Sonke's work has been successful in giving men confidence to act in defiance of the toxic norms so common in South Africa. These men are direct examples of the possibility for alternate, positive masculinities to flourish in the face of social ridicule and gossip within their communities. Beyond that, these men are success stories paving the way for a better future within their communities and themselves. Two separate Singizi evaluation reports have

confirmed this analysis, one remarking how Sonke has “redefined masculinity” (Singizi Consulting 2017, 4) and that Sonke’s programming creates “changes in community understandings of masculinity and beliefs and practices in relationships” (Marock et al. 2018, 11). These men and their communities, assisted by Sonke’s programs promoting positive masculinities, represent the future of positive masculinities in South Africa.

6.0 COMPARISONS AND GAPS IN INTEGRATING THEMES AND CONCEPTS OF MASCULINITIES THEORIES

6.1 Similarities in Promundo’s and Sonke’s Integrated Themes and Concepts

This research project uncovers differences between Sonke and Promundo that clearly demonstrates the successes and challenges of the two organizational leaders regarding global masculinities. However, this comparison must be situated in the realities of each country. There are specific, social, cultural, financial, historical and political factors influencing why one organization can be more advanced in integrating key elements of masculinities theories over the other, which is why the historical context and country specific level of analysis is a crucial part of the narrative. This comparison is as a tool for tying together key findings of the research. In terms of incorporation of key themes and concepts of general masculinities theories (uncovered in the literature review), here is a comparative summary of each organization:

| Themes/Concepts of Masculinities Theories Integrated | Promundo | Sonke |
|---|---|---|
| Challenging Corporate / State Power |  |  |
| Philogynous /Alternative |  |  |
| Intersectional |  |  |
| LGBTI |  |  |
| Local |  |  |
| Country Specific: Fatherhood/Gender Equitable Parenting |  |  |

In terms of similarities in the analysis, both organizations focus on positive masculinities, recognizing the importance of achieving transformative, sustainable positive masculinities that

contributing to advancing gender equality. This transformative change was likely possible due to each organization incorporating intersectional perspectives into their documents and programming, another similarity found in the analysis of how each organization incorporates themes and concepts of the general masculinities theories.

Furthermore, Promundo and Sonke both demonstrate the challenges faced by organizations working from a context specific, bottom up community approach. However, the impact of each organization in achieving positive change in the fabric of society, particularly improving gender relations, equality, and norms of masculinities, is a clear indication that working from a local perspective is crucial for effecting change. However, Sonke has integrated this local perspective in documents more thoroughly than Promundo, which is why the organization received a better score than Promundo.

One critical observation in terms of the differences is that Sonke defies certain literature review findings that masculinities activism does not challenge corporate or state power (Connell 2016, 314), whereas Promundo did not. In this sense, this analysis of Sonke's programming challenges the literature review findings and contributes to advancing the masculinities scholarship. Additionally, Sonke has a much more advanced understanding of LGBTI and queer masculinities, and theoretically incorporates these issues into its documents and programmes. Promundo, however, makes very shallow use of studies on LGBTI masculinities in its work in Brazil, and questions associated with LGBTI issues and masculinities are generally referred to as an afterthought, or an area of further research and concern. What are the reasons for this? While LGBTI peoples experience discrimination, violence, homophobia, transphobia in both countries, South Africa is more historically advanced in terms of the legal rights and protections of LGBTI peoples – as a result of the 1996 post-apartheid constitution. This provides Sonke with more

protections and freedom and time to directly integrate LGBTI theories and advocate for LGBTI people's rights, without fear of blowback such as loss of funding from federal, in country partners. In Brazil, these legal rights are more recent, with one example that gay marriage rights were granted as late as 2011.

6.2 Promundo's Gap: LGBTI Masculinities in Brazil

The three main themes and concepts of masculinities theories missing from Promundo's documents are: 1) a lack of LGBTI considerations or focus and binary language that assumes the heteronormativity of men, women, boys, and girls; 2) an in-depth use of a local, bottom-up approach on masculinities work; and 3) analyzing how/whether women legitimize and reproduce toxic masculinities.

Promundo's documents lack incorporation of the theme of LGBTI masculinities. As mentioned above, in many contexts, Promundo's mention of LGBTI issues is vague. For example, in a 2017 report on the "State of the World's Fathers", Promundo notes that there are increasingly diverse gendered and sexual identities in mainstream Brazilian society, and so parental leave policies must adapt to this diversity (Heilman et al. 2017, 51). However, a specific acknowledgment and demanding of LGBTI people's rights to attain the same parental leave benefits as their cisgender and heteronormative counterparts is lacking. One conclusion is that Promundo is "playing it safe" in briefly mentioning the diversity without clearly advocating for their rights.

In a report not specific to Brazil, on adolescent boys and young men globally, Promundo is similarly vague in its critique, making note of the "heteronormative" healthcare systems which fail those with "different gender identities and sexual orientations" (Kato-Wallace et al. 2017,

20). In these two instances, Promundo's use of vague language using politically correct terms such as "different" and "diverse" does not recognize the existence of LGBTI masculinities. Interestingly, later in this same report, the incorporation of LGBTI masculinities appears as Promundo acknowledges the risk of violence faced by those who "identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or intersex" ... and the importance of questioning the normalization of deep-rooted homophobia and transphobia (Kato-Wallace et al. 2017, 44, 50). It is clear there is power in identifying and including the experiences of people with gender identities across the spectrum, which contrasts with the vagueness previously noted.

However, Promundo's "Adolescent Boys and Young Men" report was from a global perspective and published by Promundo USA, expresses a stronger willingness to incorporate LGBTI masculinities and advocacy for inclusion, rights, and respect of the Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Transgender, Queer community. This goes back to the pre-research hypothesis on the landscape of LGBTI/transgender rights and recognition issues in Brazil. Perhaps Promundo Brazil determined that the most effective way to reach Brazilian communities, urban and rural, was to take a more subtle and delicate approach; one that stresses creating positive, alternative masculinities without making LGBTI masculinities the focus. This may have become more important given the recent political realities of Brazil, with a President who openly discriminates against LGBTI peoples and is threatening legislation to deliberately and seriously harm their rights and well-being. Once again, this is a reminder of the importance of an intersectional, local perspective when doing research and programming in the masculinities and gender field.

In Promundo's research on adolescent violence in Brazil and Honduras, there are references to sexual identities that are outside of the heterosexual norms, such as queer identities, and the homophobia that is often associated with these identities. One main difference outlined

was the reporting of sexual orientation amongst interview respondents in urban and rural areas. None of the participants in rural areas admitted to being in or desiring non-heterosexual relationships, whereas in urban areas people were more open in sharing their queer identities and non-heterosexual desires (Taylor et al. 2017, 33).

While Promundo may be a champion for promoting positive, alternative masculinities in its programs, there is a gap in reflecting about LGBTI masculinities. It is a positive sign that Promundo admits there is work still to be done, and identifies LGBTI issues as “important issues that require research attention... and remains invisible” in Brazil (Alice et al. 2017, 117). In 2016, Promundo also partnered with Conexão G, a Brazilian NGO that does valuable advocacy and programming for LGBTI peoples, to publish a Portuguese toolkit titled “Promoting Respect and Diversity in Companies” (Promundo Annual Report 2016, 25). Amongst other issues, this toolkit advocates for inclusion and equality in the workplace for LGBTI peoples in Brazil. Unfortunately, this document was not part of the qualitative document analysis, as it is only available in Portuguese.

While these are positive contributions toward incorporating LGBTI masculinities, given the complex political and cultural realities in Brazil, it may take time before Promundo is able to engage more directly with the realities referenced by LGBTI masculinities scholarship. However, until then, its approach will continue to be less inclusive of the entire spectrum of masculinities and masculine identities, including those that are not attached to biologically male bodies. Promundo does recognize the gap in LGBTI acceptance in rural communities, a signal this may be an area of focus in its future programming as integrating LGBTI masculinities theories and practical concepts are an integral part of the positive masculinities movement.

6.3 Promundo's Gap: Local, Bottom-Up Approach

Only four of Promundo's documents concentrate on operating and researching masculinities from a local, bottom-up perspective. That is minor implementation, considering the importance placed on the local contexts of masculinities in the literature review. Although Promundo is a leader in masculinities initiatives world-wide, the organization could strengthen its programming and research by giving more attention to the importance of doing work that is locally focused, respecting and integrating progressive gendered, cultural, social, traditional, and political norms on a community-to-community basis. Intimate partner violence and adolescent masculinities in Brazil is an area where Promundo gives heed to the local lens. Promundo offers research that argues toward one "program strategy" that supports "local sociocultural contexts ... and encourage community-norm change" (Taylor et al. 2017, 7). Promundo later provides an example of why it is important to think locally, giving the example that in North America, many programs with violence reduction goals advocate for the use of a bystander approach, which is inappropriate in the context of Brazil as the reality of urban violence can cause serious harm to those who speak out or try to intervene to assist (Taylor et al. 2017, 58).

In a 2018 global report on adolescent masculinities worldwide, Promundo offers another case to illustrate the importance of taking into account local, cultural contexts, using a statistic that demonstrates a significantly higher percentage of young people are bullied in Ghana as compared to Kuwait (Kato-Wallace et al. 2016, 44). In a 2003 report on sexual and reproductive health in Rio de Janeiro, Promundo states differences in childbearing norms in low income communities compared to middle income communities, in that becoming a parent a young age is a reality for the former and a problem for the latter (Barker et al. 2003, 20). These comparisons are reminders that interventions must be tailored to the specific issues that are relevant in one

country or even community. A successful anti-violence campaign in Rio de Janeiro will not automatically be applicable or appropriate in Recife, even if both are led by Promundo.

Promundo reminds its readers that research recommendations “must be carefully adapted to local contexts, but they can be considered for other settings” with similar characteristics (Taylor et al. 2015, 126).

Despite Promundo more typically not featuring a local, bottom-up perspective, a 2015 ground-breaking research report on child and adolescent marriages across Brazil stands out as integrating an extensive locally focussed analysis (Taylor et al. 2015). This research is grounded in a culturally specific, local lens that provides thoughtful consideration of factors that lead to child and teen marriages in rural Brazilian communities, and the ways these factors can be successfully challenged. The executive summary begins by explaining that child marriages in Brazil often challenge assumptions, and “must fundamentally be understood within the context of power differentials and constraints on the choices available to girls. In Latin America, child marriage tends to differ from the more ritualized and formal nature of the practice in other high-prevalence settings” (Taylor et al. 2015, 11).

The study clearly lays out local attitudes, using in-depth interviews, and group discussion as research methods. An anonymous Brazilian academic interviewed in the report provides perspective on the harsh local realities, seeing in childhood a “white and Western construct” that does “not account for perceptions grounded in local understandings of childhood in which many aspects of life, including sexuality, begin at ages earlier than what accepted by the Western human rights discourse” (Taylor et al. 2015, 51-52). This perspective is directly aligned with the literature review findings of the global disconnect that often occurs when gender equality and human rights discourse assumes Western expectations about human rights norms as a one-size-

fits-all solution to inequalities (Ratele et al. 2011; Botha 2008). One of the research findings of Promundo's study describes that early marriage for girls is often seen as the best alternative amongst a variety of safety risks, and this understanding is crucial to forming an appropriate response to this widely accepted cultural practice (Taylor et al. 2015, 19). The qualitative document analysis results show that Promundo clearly understands the importance of a local perspective.

6.4. Promundo's Gap: Women and Society Legitimizing and Enforcing Constructs of Toxic Masculinities

Another gap in Promundo's documents is an analysis that would emphasize how various genders, not only men, legitimize and uphold hegemonic ideals of masculinities in Brazilian society. This was identified as one of the key areas of focus in the literature review. In the Promundo texts examined, there are several instances where women hold attitudes that reinforce hegemonic and toxic masculinities. For instance, in a report on the state of fatherhood worldwide, Promundo lists a few survey results where a significant portion of women responding to the survey questions agreed with problematic ideals of hegemonic masculinity, which perpetuate gender inequality, such as that men should be in the workplace and women should stay at home (Heilman et al. 2017, 36). These survey results provided a missed opportunity for Promundo to discuss the role of women in perpetuating rigid gender norms. In this instance, Promundo should have gone further in its analysis, to discuss the role women have in informing toxic masculinities.

In 2017, Promundo published survey results on adolescent relationship violence in Brazil and Honduras. These survey results showed that young women, in addition to young men,

engaged in victim blaming which validates violence against women, and believed that men are responsible for initiating sex (Taylor et al. 2017, 55). Furthermore, both young men and women agreed that violence was justified and acceptable if women were behaving contrary to their expected roles in society (Taylor et al. 2017, 6). In this same survey, a woman frustratingly notes a situation where she confided to a friend that she had experienced violence in her relationship, to which the friend responded “that it was normal, that women had to put up with it” (Taylor et al. 2017, 87). Although Promundo does provide cases of women legitimizing toxic hegemonic masculinities, there is a gap in that an analysis is missing that explains how this is problematic. Furthermore, I believe that if Promundo were to recognize how women perpetuate norms associated with toxic masculinity, its role as leader in creating a more gender equal world would be strengthened. In 2002, Promundo published an extensive resource manual, including several modules for educators, religious, and community leaders to use when discussing these topics with young men in the community (Promundo et al., 2002). Further instances are found within this resource manual of women expressing support for masculinities that are toxic and heteronormative.

6.5 Sonke’s Gap: Ignoring the Topic of Race in South Africa

One significant area of weakness is the absence of racial analyses and program themes to address racial inequalities caused by residual and generational impacts of apartheid. The document analysis uncovered a lack of focus on the impact apartheid continues to have on gender relations and norms, particularly those that define what it “means to be a man”. The literature review reveals race as a key theoretical consideration for studies of and interventions on masculinities in the context of South Africa. Unfortunately, although South African masculinities research usually has a race focus (Morrell. Et al. 2012, 20), race was not a key

theoretical consideration for Sonke in its programming, research, or literature on masculinities. Despite Sonke having over 20 themes of work, race or racism is not included. This lack of focus on race is surprising given the history of racial tensions in South Africa, and leads to the interesting questions. In almost 30 documents, the search for the term “race” yields 9 results – none directly focused on race, racism yields 0 results, and apartheid yields 4 results. One of these search results was a participant in one of Sonke’s programmes stating that the personal impact of Sonke’s training programs had (not explicitly stating which) helped “shape [my] perspective on race and gender” (Singizi 2013 – training report). This perspective was certainly an outlier based on the findings in the report, as the general feedback focused on gender norms with no mention of race. Another recognition of racial complexities inherent to South Africa was found in Sonke’s review materials of the “Brothers for Life Campaign” (2013), which is a programme targeting men to end violence against women. This brief reference describes participants in the campaign as “men of all colours” (Collinge et al. 2013, 9) without delving into an analysis of what this means or the importance of involving men of all colours.

This directly contrasts with the literature review, as Sonke does not account for or explore the lasting impact of Apartheid on South African masculinities issues. In 2007 (Sonke’s second year of existence), a report was published on an initiative that worked with farmers to reduce gender inequalities on farms, specifically those that lead to an increase risk of HIV/AIDS. For this project, Sonke originally planned to integrate farm owners, who almost exclusively were white, but were unable to do so as farmers viewed issues of gender inequality and high rates of people with HIV/AIDS to not be their responsibility. As a result, the white farmers did not show up to any of the workshops or awareness events (Sonke Gender Justice 2007, 14). In this analysis, Sonke admitted the farm owners would benefit from training and education around

racial issues in South Africa, especially given the racialization of HIV/AIDS issues, and the possibility that in the future a training manual may be developed on this topic (Sonke Gender Justice 2007, 5). Although Sonke brings up the racialization of HIV/AIDS issues and gender equality, it does not analyze racism as a standalone issue.

Interestingly, Sonke has programming that helps refugees and migrant workers cope with racism, xenophobia, and discrimination faced by newcomers to South Africa. One aspect of this programming focuses on migrant and refugee rights, including access to basic healthcare needs. In one interview, a refugee expressed that violent attacks from a South African mob made him wish he could return to his politically precarious country rather than possibly die from xenophobic, racist attacks (Palitza and Mnyulwa, 2012). The willingness to confront xenophobia against migrants and refugees by South Africans, juxtaposed against the hesitation to address the legacy of apartheid and racial violence and discrimination within South Africa, may indicate a political sensitivity that makes the issue too delicate to pursue. However, if Sonke wants to improve as an organization, confronting South Africa's challenges with racial tensions and the resulting negative impacts on gender and masculinities is a must. These issues would be interesting to explore further in field research interviews with representatives from Sonke.

To summarize the key comparisons, Promundo and Sonke offer a comprehensive focus regarding the importance of alternative positive masculinities and many examples are contained within each organizations' programming documents. Furthermore, there is a focus in both organizations on intersectional lenses of gender and masculinities. An final common theme is that Promundo and Sonke work to reduce barriers to fatherhood and promote gender equitable parenting. In terms of contrasting observations, the document analysis found that Sonke successfully challenged corporate and state power, and thoroughly integrated local perspectives

and LGBTI masculinities considerations, while Promundo did not. From a country specific lens, the document analysis uncovered a gap for Promundo in a lack of in-depth analysis and awareness of the negative impacts when women legitimize and support hegemonic masculinities in Brazilian society. Meanwhile, for Sonke, the findings of the literature review suggest that Sonke's analysis was perhaps hindered by the absence of a racial analysis in programming to address the impacts of racial inequalities that are a direct rest of apartheid in South Africa. These primary comparative findings uncovered by document analysis methods are open for interpretation, questioning, and further elaboration in future areas of research.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

Promundo and Sonke are positively contributing to the masculinities scholarship, and more significantly, facilitating transformative change in the cultural and social fabric of communities in Brazil and South Africa. As a reminder, this research sought to investigate: 1) Promundo and Sonke's level of engagement with key theories on men and masculinities; identified through the literature review; 2) key masculinities themes and concepts are integrated into the documents; and, 3) each organizations gaps regarding the integration of these themes and concepts. Prior to investigating these questions, an extensive literature review analyzed the current relevant theories in masculinities scholarship. This was used to investigate the level of engagement with key themes and concepts of men and masculinities theories in Promundo and Sonke's documents, from both Brazil and South Africa. The overall key masculinities themes and concepts uncovered by the literature review that informed the Qualitative Document Analysis of Promundo and Sonke were:

- Multiple (hegemonic) masculinities
- Alternative masculinities
- LGBTI masculinities
- Local masculinities
- Intersectional masculinities
- Challenging corporate and state power structures

Other themes of relevance applicable for Brazil included hyper-masculinity ("Warrior Ethos"), women legitimizing hegemonic and toxic masculinities, and fatherhood and parenting. For South Africa, they included violence (sexual violence, violence against women, and community violence), race and the effects of apartheid, the high prevalence of HIV, fatherhood, and the struggle for alternative masculinities. The integration of the key themes and concepts in

Promundo and Sonke's documents has been a key tool for determining the extent of each organization's leadership in the masculinities landscape.

The thesis provides an original empirical contribution to the advancement of knowledge, has provided an analysis of the extent to which and the ways in which these two major organizations have engaged in the field of gender equality integrate and deploy core concepts and themes of theories of masculinity in order to encourage men in gender transformation. Overall, the qualitative document analysis found that Promundo integrates many key themes and concepts of masculinities theories, with room for improvement (described below). As indicated in chapter 4, Promundo consistently uses an intersectional analysis, recognizing the role of intersectionality in masculinities and gender initiatives to achieve and sustain equality and improve norms of masculinities.

Promundo shows strength emphasizing the importance of positive parenting, particularly the benefits of having fathers play a role that is equitable to that of mothers. Furthermore, Promundo's programming also attempts to change the perception of the role of men in parenting from a societal cultural perspective. One of Promundo's main goals in programming is to change the landscape of parenting in South Africa and give men more of a chance to participate. As Promundo demonstrates in its documents, even if men desire to play a role, there are social and institutional barriers that sometimes prevent this from happening. Promundo aligns with the literature review in seeing hyper-masculinity as a barrier to positive gender relations and positive masculinities in general. Although the use of the term 'warrior ethos' is not used, the descriptions, impacts, and concerns are synonymous. Promundo calls for the breakdown of hyper-masculinity norms that expect men to be extremely virile by having sexual relations with multiple women, a reduction of violent behaviors men are expected to portray in order to

conform to the “rigid codes of ‘honor’” as a validation of their manhood (Promundo et al. 2002, 12). Perhaps most significantly, the document analysis found that Promundo has had much success in promoting positive, alterative masculinities in its programming documents, including various examples of successful community-wide changes that have been realized and sustained as a result of Promundo programming.

Some areas of where Promundo can improve in the future are to ensure that LGBTI and queer masculinities are more thoroughly considered in their programming and publications. Currently, Promundo’s inclusion of LGBTI masculinities and issues of in program documents is superficial, brief and vague. Promundo would substantially benefit from engaging women, and gender diverse people in programming to reduce toxic masculinities and facilitate alternative masculinities in a more efficient, comprehensive manner . This qualitative document analysis also showed that Promundo would benefit from integrating local masculinities more into its resources and programming. Although Promundo does have a few initiatives and programs, as noted in key documents reviewed, the overall rhetoric analyzed in the relevant documents does not fully realize the importance of a local lens. Promundo does provide a strong example of local masculinities in the document on child marriage, which is a cross-country specific look at the local factors that influence child marriage.

This document can be used as a framework toward fully integrating a community-specific lens and analysis on a country-wide scale throughout all of Promundo’s programming. A final area of improvement recommended for Promundo is to critically analyze the negative impacts on women (specifically) and society (generally) of legitimizing toxic and negative masculinities, an area highlighted in the literature review as a prominent Brazil-specific masculinities issue. There are many instances where Promundo describes this occurring, without unpacking the impacts or

consequences. Ultimately, Promundo requires heightened critical analysis of certain themes of masculinities theories (such as how women legitimize toxic masculinities) to elevate its position as a leader and produce further transformative change. Despite these shortcomings, Promundo is clearly a leader in integrating, in an innovative way, key elements of masculinities theories, and is creating sustainable change culturally to promote gender equality and positive alternative masculinities in Brazil.

Sonke's overall rating on the integration of key elements of prominent masculinities theories is strong in most of the sources used in the qualitative document analysis process. Sonke is successful in consistently embodying a traditional, local, intersectional lens, challenging corporate and state power, championing a thoughtful, context specific integration of LGBTI masculinities in daily programs, targeting masculinity norms that foster high HIV contraction rates, minimizing barriers to fatherhood in multiple communities, and promoting programming tailored to fostering positive and alternative masculinities that can create permanent social change in expectations about manhood and masculinities in South Africa. In fact, the research shows that Sonke moves beyond Gibbs et al.'s (2017) theory that in South Africa alternative masculinities struggle to hold space, gain legitimacy, and become a true alternative compared to hegemonic, violent masculinities. This is a key to Sonke's high success rate changing cultural norms in South Africa. One critical observation in terms of the differences is that Sonke defies certain literature review findings that masculinities activism does not challenge corporate or state power (Connell 2016, 314). Sonke successfully challenges literature review findings and contributes to advancing the scholarship in the field of masculinities.

One of the most remarkable and unexpected findings of the qualitative document analysis is how well integrated LGBTI masculinities are in Sonke's work, particularly in the various

toolkits Sonke has published with targeted audiences, including faith leaders and traditional leaders. This is the area where Sonke is truly out in front and serves as an example of how to facilitate LGBTI acceptance in a way that is relevant to the traditional, locally appropriate norms of a particular community. Sonke also legitimizes the literature review insistence on the importance of a bottom up, culturally appropriate perspective, particularly in South Africa. It is clear Sonke is a very well organized, strategic, sophisticated leader that is influencing notable cultural shifts masculinities and in improving gender relations on different scale.

However, the main suggestion to Sonke as a result of this research project is to acknowledge the significance of race in the current masculinities landscape and the macho culture of South Africa in general; and to move forward using race as a theoretical lens to improve gender relations and masculinities. The literature review indicates race is typically a focus in South African masculinities theories and projects (Morrell. Et al. 2012, 20), but Sonke does not do well in this area, as the organization almost avoids the topic of race entirely. Furthermore, given the residual impacts of Apartheid in South Africa, race must be critically examined in the context of gender relations and improving norms of masculinities. As a future area of research, conducting interviews with Sonke's policy analysts and field practitioners to investigate the lack of a racial lens could prove beneficial to answer the primary question why this is absent.

Essentially, this qualitative document analysis research provides an in-depth look at the historical realities of masculinities in both countries, how this has impacted the integration of the masculinities theorizing within Promundo and Sonke, and how Sonke and Promundo have evolved within the field of masculinities throughout the years. Promundo and Sonke are the leaders in this field, and this thesis research provides the framework for moving forward with full

integration of prominent theories in the field of men and masculinities. Ideally, Promundo and Sonke will consider these research findings and consider possible integration of key theoretical gaps. Furthermore, these research findings can be used as a blueprint for innovation for other organizations working with men and masculinities, as well as scholars, particularly the evidence of the transformative social and cultural impacts in gender relations as a result of Sonke and Promundo's success in soundly integrating key themes and concepts of theories of men and masculinities. Furthermore, the strengths of this theoretical analysis on masculinities, gender, and development is evident, as two cases of organizations working with masculinities are presented in a side by side analysis. This comparison adds key observations to the masculinities scholarship, which adds a new perspective on how masculinities organizations are succeeding in the Global South. Additionally, this synthesis creates options for future research avenues. The main avenues of future research should include:

- 1) Interviews with Promundo's policy analysts and field practitioners to investigate the lack of integration of LGBTI masculinities prove beneficial to answer the primary question why this is absent.
- 2) Interviews with Sonke's policy analysts and field practitioners to investigate the lack of a racial lens would help answer the primary question why this is absent.
- 3) Analyzing funding sources to provide more context of why some concepts and theories are addressed over others.

Due to the scope of the thesis, it was not possible to investigate these three important areas.

However, this approach would benefit from field research as talking with Promundo and Sonke directly would undoubtedly provide rich insights and further contribution to the field.

Additionally, a funding analysis of each organization would also provide another layer of

complexity and sophistication, since funding does play a key role in how each organization operates. As it stands, this research synthesizes findings on two different development organizations that focus on working with men, in different parts of the world, and have analyzed some similar conclusions, as well as important areas of strength and weakness. While this research lacked field work, it still provides insights into how each organization is making a difference in what they are doing, or not.

In closing, one of the pertinent observations uncovered from this document analysis case study is the real impacts Promundo and Sonke are achieving on the ground, in terms of transformational change, by using a masculinities lens and working directly with men to improve lives and gender relations in many communities. Furthermore, analyzing each organization in this way can assist future fieldwork research, with comparative knowledge of the multiracial societies with long histories of racism, class, and gender issues in Brazil and South Africa at hand. This document analysis provides the intellectual backdrop for seamless integration into the field for future researchers as it is a very important first step for both understanding and pushing forward research and policies about masculinities in two different communities. It is an opportunity to challenge or affirm these research findings and receive a response to the complex questions formed through this thesis process. Ideally, this document analysis will prove useful to researchers interested in pursuing further field work research on Promundo and Sonke's fieldwork in the men and masculinities landscape. Ultimately, it is clear that Promundo and Sonke provide a strong blueprint of the importance of masculinities and working with men in international development organizations, and the important role that key themes and concepts of masculinities theories play in this process.

Appendixes

Appendix A – Promundo Sources in Qualitative Document Analysis

| Title/Description | Type of Document | Key Theme(s) (code) |
|---|------------------|---|
| <p><i>2017 State of the World's Fathers – A Time for Action</i></p> <p>Description: This report draws from nearly 100 studies and reports, discussing gender equality and the role men and boys play, particularly how they can have an increased role in parenthood.</p> | Report | <p>Alternative Masculinities, Binary Language, Promoting Fatherhood, LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, Women Legitimizing</p> <p>Theories cited in literature:</p> |
| <p><i>Adolescent Relationship Violence in Brazil and Honduras</i></p> <p>Description: A qualitative study (focus groups and in-depth interviews) that examines risks and preventative factors, to suggest areas for future prevention and research on the topic of adolescent intimate partner violence in Brazil and Honduras. The findings outline that participants recognize physical violence as abusive, but not emotional violence or manipulation. The report also discovered that intimate partner violence was fairly balance amongst adolescents regardless of gender in Urban areas of Brazil.</p> | Report | <p>Alternative Masculinities, Promoting Fatherhood, Femininities, Binary Language, Local Focus, Intersectionality, Women Legitimizing, LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, Women Legitimizing</p> |
| <p><i>Adolescent Boys and Young Men: Engaging Them as Supporters of Gender Equality and Health and Understanding their Vulnerabilities</i></p> <p>Description: Discusses the importance of engaging young boys and men in both reproductive and sexual health rights and gender equality. The report also suggests actions to include men and young boys in education and comprehensive activities that promote gender equality, reproductive rights, and sexual and reproductive health.</p> | Report | <p>Alternative Masculinities, Femininities, Binary Language, Local Focus, Intersectionality, LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, Hyper-masculinities</p> |
| <p><i>Engaging Men in Public Policies for the Prevention of Violence Against Women and Girls</i></p> <p>Description: This report discusses and outlines effective methods, lessons learned, and challenges of already implemented policies, action plans, and programs that engage men in preventing violence against women and girls in Latin America.</p> | Report | <p>Alternative Masculinities, Binary Language, LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities</p> |

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| <p><i>Family Practices and Child Participation: An Exploratory Study in Latin America and the Caribbean</i></p> <p>Description: A study of six countries examining child raising practices in Latin America and the Caribbean.</p> | Report | Intersectionality, Women Legitimizing Masculinities |
| <p><i>Guy to Guy Project: Engaging young men in violence prevention and in sexual and reproductive health – Rio de Janeiro</i></p> <p>Description: A report on Promundo’s journey including young men in gender equality, violence prevention, and sexual health education in low-income Brazilian communities.</p> | Report | Promoting Fatherhood, Local Focus, LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, Women Legitimizing Masculinities, Hyper-masculinities |
| <p><i>Masculine Norms and Violence: Making the Connections</i></p> <p>Description: This report outlines the connection between norms of masculinities and the perpetuation or experience of violence in the lives of men. Some examples of the topics explored are intimate partner violence, sexual abuse, bullying, homicide, and suicide.</p> | Report | Absent Fathers, Alternative Masculinities, Binary Language, Intersectionality, Hegemonic Masculinities, Hyper-masculinities |
| <p><i>Program H: Working with Young Men</i></p> <p>Description: This resource guide provides over 50 activities appropriate for men ages 15-24 to address the topics of gender, sexuality, fatherhood and caregiving, reproductive health, drug use, HIV, and violence prevention</p> | Educational Material | Absent Fathers, Alternative Masculinities, Femininities, Binary Language, LGBTI Masculinities, Women Legitimizing Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, Hyper-masculinities |
| <p><i>Promundo Annual Report 2017</i></p> <p>Description: Annual report released on the 20th anniversary of Promundo containing major accomplishments, lessons learned, areas for improvement, and outline of advocacy work and much more.</p> | Annual Report | Promoting Fatherhood, Binary Language |
| <p><i>Promundo Annual Report 2016</i></p> <p>Description: Annual report containing major accomplishments, lessons learned, areas for improvement, and outline of advocacy work and much more.</p> | Annual Report | Promoting Fatherhood, Alternative Masculinities, LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities |
| <p><i>“She goes with me in my boat” : Child and Adolescent</i></p> | Report | Alternative Masculinities, Local |

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| <p><i>Marriage in Brazil</i></p> <p>Description: This report is an in-depth look at cultural norms, attitudes, and practices around child and adolescent marriages in two Brazilian states that have high rates of the practice. This report offers important insights into the importance of local perspectives and intersectionality in relation to masculinities and gender equality.</p> | | <p>Focus, Intersectionality, Hegemonic Masculinities, Hyper-masculinities</p> |
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Appendix B – Sonke Sources in Qualitative Document Analysis

| Title/Description | Type of Document | Key Theme(s) (code) |
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| <p><i>Addressing gender inequalities driving the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS on farms in Hoedspruit, Limpopo Province, South Africa</i></p> <p>Description: This report outlines the Hoedspruit project targeting HIV/AIDS on farms in South Africa. The project approaches the topic of HIV/AIDS holistically, in that it targets the issue in the workplace, supports, behaviour changes, and the gendered lens.</p> | Report | Local, Race, Intersectionality, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>Addressing Gender, Mobility and HIV/AIDS: Recommendations for PHAMSA II</i></p> <p>Description: This report describes recommendations for addressing the intersections of issues in gender, mobility, and HIV/AIDS.</p> | Report | LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, Local, Intersectionality, Alternative Masculinities, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>Addressing the Health Needs of Men and Boys: An Analysis of National Policies in Eastern & Southern Africa</i></p> <p>Description: Literature review that describes various national policies across Africa in relation to men’s health, and how to target these policies to improve men’s access to health services.</p> | Report | LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, HIV/AIDS, |
| <p><i>Africa Belongs to All Those Who Live and Work in it</i></p> <p>Description: A case study on strategies to increase refugee access and rights, reduce xenophobia, decrease violence and HIV rates, and essentially contribute to lasting change in the realities that migrant and refugee populations face in South Africa.</p> | Case Study | Local, Hegemonic Masculinities, Race, Intersectionality, Alternative Masculinities, HIV/AIDS, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>Branching Out - Sonke's First One Man Can Branch</i></p> <p>Description: This research outlines the development, successes, challenges, lessons learned, and community engagement of Sonke’s inaugural One Man Can Branch opening in a region of South Africa.</p> | Case Study | LGBTI Masculinities, Local, Intersectionality |

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| <p><i>“Don’t Keep it to Yourself” - Young people in Mhlontlo (Eastern Cape) tell their stories through the Digital Storytelling Project</i></p> <p>Description: Digital Storytelling workshops that assisted eight participants to share their experiences with critical issues in gender equality and masculinities in their communities.</p> | Case Study | LGBTI Masculinities, Local, Promoting Fatherhood, Alternative Masculinities, HIV/AIDS, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>Faith Leaders and the LGBT Community Toolkit - Promoting Safe and Welcoming Faith Organizations For All God’s Children</i></p> <p>Description: A resource for faith organizations to think critically about how they can grapple with, enhance understanding, acceptance, and ultimately support LGBTI individuals within their communities.</p> | Curriculum Training and Tools | LGBTI Masculinities, Intersectionality, Alternative Masculinities |
| <p><i>“I Have Two Healthy Hands” - A Group of Men in the Eastern Cape Overcame Gender Stereotypes and Cares for the Sick and Disadvantaged</i></p> <p>Description: This case study explores the experiences of nine men that work as caregivers for those living with HIV/AIDS in their community. These men are now well respected community leaders that have created permanent change in the gender norms of their community by promoting positive and alternative masculinities.</p> | Case Study | Intersectionality, Promoting Fatherhood, Alternative Masculinities, HIV/AIDS |
| <p><i>Engaging Men and Boys in Refugee Settings to address sexual and gender based violence</i></p> <p>Description: This article was comprised from a four-day workshop facilitated by Sonke, in partnership with the Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, and the UNHCR. The focus of the workshop was to build capacity for each organization in encourage men and boys to become more involved with work against sexual and gender-based violence.</p> | Conferences and Symposiums | LGBTI Masculinities, Intersectionality, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>MenCare in Matzikama - Sonke and the Matzikama Men and Boys Network Transform a Rural Community’s Norms Around Gender, Sex, and Family</i></p> <p>Description: A case study of the Matzikama Men and</p> | Case Studies | LGBTI Masculinities, Intersectionality, Absent Fathers |

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| <p>Boys Network, providing an overview and outcomes of the Network, which is an initiative that to promote gender equality by encouraging men and boys to play leadership and positive roles in their communities and families.</p> | | |
| <p><i>Men's Use of Violence against Women: Urgent change is needed in Diepsloot</i></p> <p>Description: This report outlines the context and statistics of men's use of violence against women in Diepsloot, an urban settlement north of Johannesburg. As part of the research process, Sonke interviewed 2600 men, asking them to self-report their experiences with violence in general, and against women particularly.</p> | Report | Hegemonic Masculinities, Intersectionality, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>PhotoVoice to Empower Children and Educate Men in Two Rural Communities</i> <i>Sonke Gender Justice Network's Fatherhood and Child Security Project</i></p> <p>Description: This project uses PhotoVoice technology, that teaches children to use photography and writing to document their daily lives. In this project, the participants expressed their perspectives, concerns, and wishes to create positive changes in their communities, particularly in the subject of fatherhood impacting child security.</p> | Photovoice | Hegemonic Masculinities, Intersectionality, Femininities, Promoting Fatherhood, HIV/AIDS |
| <p><i>Policy Support for Engaging Men in Positive Parenting in Ethiopia, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe - A Comparative Scorecard</i></p> <p>Description: This document defines and advocates for involvement of men in positive parenting, and the benefits this has for the entire family dynamic. Additionally, positive parenting policies in Eastern and Southern Africa are analyzed to conclude that most need improvement or further development.</p> | Report | LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, Promoting Fatherhood, Alternative Masculinities, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>The Role of Men in our Lives</i></p> <p>Description: This report interviewed children in Nkandla and Mhlontlo to observe how children describe and evaluate the role of men in their lives. The social issues often discussed by the children were the role men play and the impact of HIV/AIDS, violence, and school.</p> | Report | Women Legitimizing, Hegemonic Masculinities, Femininities, Promoting Fatherhood, Alternative Masculinities, HIV/AIDS, Sexual Violence |

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| <p><i>Silence Speaks - Using Narrative and Participatory Media to Explore the Links Between Gender, Violence, and HIV and AIDS in South Africa</i></p> <p>Description: This case study used Narrative and Participatory Media methods to investigate the intersection of violence and HIV/AIDS in South Africa. This project places emphasis on positive masculinities, as participants offer hope and vision of change in masculinities and reducing gender-based violence.</p> | Case Study | Local, Alternative Masculinities, HIV/AIDS |
| <p><i>Sonke Gender Justice: Reviewing Achievement against Results Practising Respect; Navigating Complexity; Engendering Justice</i></p> <p>Description: This document reviews Sonke’s contribution over the last decade, to achieving gender equality, reducing gender-based violence, and improving the HIV/AIDS issues within South Africa, and on a global level. To form the conclusions, five extensive research and evaluation methods were undertaken by external evaluators, which provided a rich analysis on the impacts of Sonke’s work.</p> | Report | LGBTI Masculinities, Hegemonic Masculinities, Local, Race, Intersectionality, Promoting Fatherhood, Alternative Masculinities, HIV/AIDS, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>“Sometimes I Don’t Feel Safe” - Sonke's One Man Can Campaign uses PhotoVoice to Ensure that Children's Needs are Heard</i></p> <p>Description: This project uses PhotoVoice methodology to give children a voice through photograph and writing. The 20 children who participated discussed their dreams and how adults, especially men, can help with fulfilling their dreams. The methodology used in this project and outcomes are discussed in detail in the report.</p> | Case Study | Local, Promoting Fatherhood, HIV/AIDS, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>A Report on Training Programmes Provided by Sonke Gender Justice and Partners - Evaluation undertaken by Singizi Consulting, 2017</i></p> <p>Description: This report is an evaluation undertaken by external evaluator, Singizi Consulting. The topic of the evaluation is three core training education programs offered by Sonke, which teach how to create gender transformation and build gender justice in areas of public health, rights, and access issues.</p> | Report | LGBTI Masculinities, Alternative Masculinities |

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| <p><i>“Sport Laughs in the Face of Discrimination” - Township Street Soccer Tournaments Pave the Way for Reintegration</i></p> <p>Description: This case study is centered around a Sonke program that uses street soccer to target social problems such as unemployment, poverty, alcoholism, and xenophobia, violence, and discrimination against refugees and newcomers. This report outlines the positive results and relationship building the soccer tournament produced in a community that saw recent trends of hostility, violence, and disconnect between immigrants and South Africans.</p> | Case Study | Hegemonic Masculinities, HIV/AIDS, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>Talking Man-to-Man - The Story of Brothers for Life</i></p> <p>Description: This report is about Sonke’s “Brothers for Life” campaign; a community mobilization initiative to create social movement and improve masculinities and HIV prevention.</p> | Report | Women Legitimizing, Intersectionality, Hegemonic Masculinities, Femininities, Alternative Masculinities, HIV/AIDS, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>Traditional Leaders Wield the Power, and They Are Almost All Men - The Importance of Involving Traditional Leaders in Gender Transformation</i></p> <p>Description: This case study emphasizes the importance of engaging Traditional Leaders in rural areas in social issues such as masculinities, gender equality, HIV/AIDS and violence (domestic and sexual). The document outlines the ways that Sonke works with traditional leaders in programming, and the positive outcomes for the community.</p> | Case Study | Local, Women Legitimizing, Alternative Masculinities, HIV/AIDS, Sexual Violence |
| <p><i>Understanding Men’s Perceptions of Their Own and Government’s Response to Violence Against Women - Findings from a survey of 945 men in the greater Johannesburg area.</i></p> <p>Description: A survey of 945 men from Johannesburg, selected from diverse ethnic and racial groups, which investigated how men view violence against women and the responsibility of the government and individual to address this issue. This specific report overviews the survey and describes the outcomes.</p> | Report | Local, Intersectionality, Promoting Fatherhood, Sexual Violence |

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