Understanding the longitudinal implications of a gender transformative intervention for the attitudes and reported behaviours of men in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

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Declaration

I, David Ramaglia Swanson confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

Gender transformative interventions have been implemented since the early 21st Century to advance women's sexual and reproductive health and rights, reduce rates of gender-based violence, and promote gender equality across all levels of society, with particular focus placed on redefining masculinity and inequitable gender roles and norms among boys and men. A significant gap exists in determining the longitudinal impacts these programmes have on participant lives, attitudes, and behaviours considering the short time in which they have been implemented. This thesis seeks to fill a part of this gap through understanding the attitudes and reported behaviours of men who participated in Instituto Promundo's *Jovem Pra Jovem* programme, one of the first gender transformative interventions, over 20 years ago.

I interviewed seven of the 15 original participants of this programme in two favelas of Rio de Janeiro, one current partner of a participant, and former leadership, facilitators, and staff of the organisation to gain an understanding of the men today and how the programme may have had a longitudinal influence on their attitudes and behaviours regarding relationships, sexual and reproductive health, gender equality, fatherhood, roles and responsibilities in the household, and the use of violence. Theories of gender as a social structure, structure and agency, gender transformative change, and violence were used to analyse participant attitudes and behaviours to determine intervention impact and external factors that have maintained influence since programmatic exposure.

This thesis discusses my findings and associated analysis, presenting implications of the conclusions made for the development, implementation, and evaluation of future gender transformative interventions. While programmatic impact can be seen to have influenced gender-equitable attitudes and reported behaviours, existing social structures, structural violence, and the lack of continuity in programmatic and role model exposure appeared to have limited its longitudinal effectiveness.

Impact Statement

My findings contribute to cross-disciplinary work both in and outside of academia. The insights and new knowledge presented have implications for stakeholders on various levels in addressing gender equality, gender-based violence, and sexual and reproductive health and rights including international organisations, local non-governmental organisations, and governmental health and education ministries. The thesis analyses the longitudinal impact of a gender transformative intervention on men in two favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It develops and presents a critical understanding of how gender has been constructed for these men through the intervention and through societal, cultural, and peer influences, emphasising the implications of such evidence for the theoretical foundations of gender transformative work. Thus, this thesis provides insights into the development and implementation of future gender transformative work, governmental policies, and academic research within the favelas of Rio, Brazil, and other environments and cultural settings.

Academically, my research helps to fill a recognisable gap in the longitudinal evaluation of gender transformative interventions. It presents a need for additional long-term evaluation to determine the influence of existing social structures, gendered norms, and structural violence on the effectiveness and impact of gender transformative work. It also advances the ongoing structure and agency debate in gender through recognition of the limited capacity of individual agency to influence gendered social structures, with significant implications for existing gender transformative intervention methodologies. Additionally, I used gender structure theory in my research analysis to encourage recognition of cultural and material processes that influence the perpetuation of gender inequalities on individual, interactional, and macro levels of society.

This research provides a critical understanding of potential limitations and deficiencies in existing theories of gender transformation, pointing to the need for

further evidence-based reflection on the ability of these theories to remain useful in their current form to encourage longitudinal behavioural change and gender transformation. I also incorporated the input of former programmatic leadership in my evaluation methodology of which allowed for institutional reflection on intervention effectiveness and deficiencies to inform future work in this field.

The impact of this study has both local and international potential through presentation of areas in which the programme had been unable to maintain longitudinal impact on participant attitudes and behaviours or on structural-level change. Developers and practitioners of existing and future programmes could learn from the findings to address potential deficiencies in their own programmatic design or expand operations to ensure intervention theories of change can support individual change, influence structural change, and develop participant agency to encourage further change beyond their personal lives. I will present the results of this thesis to the implementing organisation and will submit to international scholarly journals to encourage reflection on existing approaches to gender transformative work, within diverse cultural contexts, and critical understanding from the recognised barriers to long-term programmatic effectiveness and impact.

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The process of a PhD can be a very isolating experience. Coupled with a global pandemic, regular contact with friends and family became secondary to the development and implementation of my research and preparation of this thesis. However, throughout my PhD, there was significant support, guidance, and encouragement from key individuals that I would like to acknowledge here.

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List of Abbreviations

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

GBV: Gender-based Violence

GEM: Gender-Equitable Men (Scale)

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Viruses

ICPD: International Conference on Population and Development

IMAGES: International Men and Gender Equality Survey

IPV: Intimate Partner Violence

JPJ: *Jovem Pra Jovem* (programme)

LMICs: Low- and Middle-Income Countries

NGO: Non-governmental Organisation

SRH: Sexual and Reproductive Health

SRHR: Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights

STD: Sexually Transmitted Disease

STI: Sexually Transmitted Infection

TPB: Theory of Planned Behaviour

TRA: Theory of Reasoned Action

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WHO: World Health Organization

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Chapter 1   Introduction and Research Approach

1.1   Introduction

In September 1994, at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo, 179 governments adopted the ICPD Programme of Action. This event solidified a shared understanding from around the world that reproductive health is a basic human right and that, more specifically, women's rights to sexual and reproductive health (SRH) are key to women's health on a global scale (UNFPA, 2004). A year later, through the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the Fourth World Conference on Women asserted women's rights as human rights. This Declaration, enacted by 40,000 government delegates and civil society representatives, committed to address civil, political, social, economic, and cultural inequalities to achieve gender equality and provide better opportunities for women and girls around the world (UNDPI, 1995). Both conferences notably drew attention to the positive and negative influences that men can have on women's health outcomes, both directly and indirectly, and recognised the importance of their inclusion in efforts to advance gender equality (Dudgeon and Inhorn, 2004).

However, since the implementation of the ICPD Programme of Action and Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, it has become apparent just how much work must still be done to achieve their goals. Around the world, one in three women has experienced physical or sexual violence during their lifetime (WHO, 2021). Women continue to face numerous barriers to accessing family planning options, reproductive health services, and autonomy over their bodies and sexuality, particularly in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) (Ruane-McAteer et al., 2019; Lorist, 2018; Levy et al., 2020). Moreover, women consistently experience an unmet need for family planning and reproductive health services, high rates of intimate partner violence (IPV) and preventable obstetric morbidities, and an overall societal neglect of their sexual and reproductive well-being (Glasier et al., 2006; WHO, 2009).

Simultaneously, there is significant evidence of the negative impacts that existing gender roles and norms have had on men's overall health and well-being. Suicide rates are universally high for both boys and men, and adolescent males are more vulnerable than females to health problems related to violence and homicide, substance abuse, accidental injury, and social risks (Mokdad et al., 2016; Coleman et al., 2020). Masculine gender norms have also been linked to increased poor health-related beliefs and behaviours among men, while also limiting their opportunities to satisfy psychosocial and emotional needs (Kavanagh and Graham, 2019). Despite significant progress since the introduction of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, these realities indicate a continuing and substantial hindrance to women's basic rights and autonomy over their own bodies, the health and well-being of boys and men, and the advancement of gender equality on a global scale.

Gender transformative interventions take approaches that directly address the inequitable gender norms, roles, and relations that are the underlying cause for negative outcomes and behaviours (WHO, 2011; Ruane-McAteer et al., 2019). They increasingly engage men and boys to play an active role in supporting women's health and combatting gender-based violence (GBV) (Barker et al., 2010, Jewkes et al., 2015a). This engagement of men incorporates a need to address the impact of traditional perceptions of masculinities and restructure long-held inequitable gender roles and norms (Scott-Samuel et al., 2009). There is ample evidence that men are primarily the perpetrators of violence against women and girls (VAWG), often in positions of power restricting women's access to contraceptives and SRH services and are, in large part, upholding inequitable gendered roles within society (Jewkes et al., 2015a; Amin et al., 2018; Hay et al., 2019). Existing patriarchal structures and understandings of masculine ideals worldwide are often to blame for this reality and will continue to maintain a strong hold within gender relations until ideas can be questioned and restructured on a large scale (Starrs et al., 2018; Ruane-McAteer et al., 2019). This is the intent behind gender transformative programming and why it has an important role to play in the advancement of gender equality.

From a personal perspective, I recognise that research considering how we, as a global community, can address and combat the complex influence of negative societal perceptions of masculinity on men's actions towards, and influence over, women's health and rights is urgently needed and has the potential to bring about change. While this may be optimistic, I believe that society is increasingly open and willing to face the current state of gender, masculinities, and the health and rights of women. While considerable work has been conducted over the past two decades to restructure the traditional perceptions of masculinity and inequitable gender norms held by men and boys in a variety of cultural settings, there remains a significant gap in understanding the level of effectiveness of these efforts, particularly from a longitudinal perspective. This gap is what I hope this thesis will help fill: what can we learn about gender transformative interventions and the individuals and social structures on which they intend to have an impact? What lasting impacts can be recognised in the attitudes, behaviours, and agency of men who are exposed to such interventions? And how can gender transformation be achieved through the implementation of these interventions?

1.2   Study Overview

This study was designed to interrogate the potential longitudinal implications of one of the first gender transformative interventions: to determine lasting impacts that exposure to the programmatic materials had on the attitudes and reported behaviours of participants 20 years later. The intervention in question, *Jovem Pra Jovem* (*Guy to Guy*)*,* was implemented by Instituto Promundo (Promundo) in two favelas of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 2000 to engage a group of 15 young men as peer promoters in their communities, critically interrogating prevailing masculine norms to develop more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours in their own lives and promote SRH and GBV prevention in their communities. The study was conducted in Rio in 2022 with seven past participants of the *Jovem Pra Jovem* (JPJ) programme, two former facilitators of the programme, the executive director during its implementation, the founder and CEO of Promundo, two former staff members of

the organisation, and one current partner of a past participant. The intention was to analyse the attitudes and behaviours of the programme's past participants regarding SRH, violence, fatherhood, roles and responsibilities in their households, relationships, and gender equality to determine programmatic effectiveness and deficiencies and understand who these men have become today. It also incorporated cyclical feedback from the former facilitators and leadership of the programme to support analysis of study implications for future gender transformative intervention development and implementation.

The methodology applied principles of social constructivism, feminist ethnography, and transformational research through the development and implementation of semi-structured interviews, reflective journaling, and a survey. These research methods were applied in the field over a period of four months and the data collected were collated, coded, and analysed through the application of thematic network analysis. A foundational understanding of relevant theories was applied to analyse determined themes and recognition of disconnects between acquired knowledge and gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours, connections between violence exposure and perpetration, reported feelings of abandonment and loss, the influence of social structures and human agency, and overall determinations of programmatic effectiveness or deficiency in attitudinal and behavioural change.

Findings suggest that the continued influence of traditional masculine ideals, upheld through social institutions and their communities and peer groups, affected the ability of participants to maintain full adherence to principles learned from their time with the programme to varying extents. Assumed gender roles and norms were adhered to by some participants regarding household and fatherhood roles and responsibilities and ascription to traditional perspectives on gender equality, intimate relationships, and violence. There were instances of recognisable disconnection between their knowledge, attitudes, and reported behaviours, and there was an opportunity to analyse the disconnections through the personal, social recognition they sought within their communities and determination of inadequate knowledge or the lack of sufficient knowledge that could have been provided by

programmatic materials. There was, however, also evidence supporting the ability of these men to recognise structural norms in their communities and to apply principles learned from Promundo to maintain attitudes and behaviours that contrasted with traditional perspectives.

Existing social structures and structural violence also influenced the personal agency of study participants in applying lessons learned from programmatic exposure. While some showed an ability to use their agency to apply learned gender-equitable principles to their personal lives, others appeared to have allowed the influence of existing social structures to impede agency and apply it in manners considered 'less gender-equitable'. The men exercised agency in being active fathers who did not abandon their families, passing learned principles along to their children, and ending intergenerational cycles of IPV and GBV. However, agency was not sufficiently developed to combat traditional masculine norms among their peers and fellow community members, modify gendered roles and norms in the household, and influence the reduction of violence and gang control in their communities. Such inabilities reflect not simply on Promundo's effectiveness but have also been recognised in relation to the prevailing social structures and marginalised environment in which they live.

Feelings of pride in what was accomplished as part of the programme, and gratitude for what the institution and its former leadership and facilitators provided, were shown to influence the continued application of more gender-equitable ideals learned during programmatic exposure. Connections were also made between the lack of continuity in programmatic or role model exposure and feelings of abandonment by the Promundo institution, and its former leadership and facilitators, and potential deviations from programmatic principles and impacts on the participant's lives. While the deviation varied across thematic categories, and direct causation cannot be determined from the data collected, the evidence points towards the potential for continued exposure to the support and guidance provided by Promundo to have been able to have a positive influence in preventing particular attitudes and behaviours that could be categorised as 'less gender-equitable'.

The role of the men's exposure to violence in their households and communities was also analysed in connection to reported instances of violence perpetration since their involvement with the programme. Exposure to the programme was seen to have both inhibited the use of violence by study participants and encouraged reflection on instances of perpetration to prevent future use. Normative social structures surrounding violence had an influence on some men's perspectives on violence, but most had maintained adherence to an understanding that no form of violence was ever justified. As previously mentioned, there was evidence to support the influence of JPJ in preventing the intergenerational transfer of IPV and GBV, but evidence also supported an intergenerational transfer of corporal punishment norms, and a lack of knowledge had normalised such actions without continued guidance from programmatic exposure to aid in the correcting of such behaviours.

The research findings summarised here have implications for the future development and implementation of gender transformative interventions in a variety of cultural contexts. These are discussed throughout the thesis along with recommendations for theoretical application and future research.

1.3   Research Approach

Throughout my research trajectory, I have become strongly interested in determining the best methods to advance gender equality through work that addresses men and the impacts of masculinity and inequitable gender norms on their attitudes and behaviours. This inquiry has led me to not only understand existing efforts to conduct this type of work, but also to question the ability of programmes and interventions to have a lasting impact on gender equality, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) for women, and reduced VAWG. The approach to my research has therefore been framed by a desire to gain as much knowledge as possible within this field and understand how I may best be able to play a role in the development and implementation of effective strategies that work to restructure inequitable views of gender and masculinity.

1.3.1   Rationale and Aims

Programmes like JPJ have only been in existence for the past 20 to 25 years. As I will discuss in Chapter 2, the evaluations of these programmes have primarily only analysed effectiveness up to one year after programmatic exposure and have not yet determined whether participants were able to continue and apply what they learned throughout their lives. Considering that any changes to participant attitudes and behaviours regarding gender equitability will continue to be highly influenced by the community and cultural contexts that they are a part of and interact within after their involvement, the question is whether the perceived changes in participant thought can be maintained in the long term and translate into corresponding, desired gender-equitable behaviours that may influence wider society. If the goal of programmes or interventions is to influence existing gender norms and understandings of masculinities to create more gender-equitable men and societies, it must be possible to determine and ensure that the desired outcomes and positive changes are occurring. This knowledge would have a strong influence on how future iterations of programmes can and should be developed, modified, expanded, and implemented in various contexts around the world.

This thought process was the rationale for my research. I have sought consistently to understand what longitudinal impact gender transformative interventions may have and, potentially, what influence the resulting attitudinal and behavioural changes in men can have on the SHR of women. As a result, my research rationale led me to inquire directly about the individuals who participated in the JPJ programme and to gain an understanding of the men that they have become today. I aimed to approach this level of inquiry holistically through analysis of existing research and evidence on gender transformative programming, considering key characteristics of applying interventions in a variety of cultural contexts, taking a life history approach to best understand the individuals that my research participants have become today, and developing an understanding of how programmes may best be implemented to achieve their desired outcomes. While many approaches exist to expand and work towards gender equality, in a variety of contexts, and at various

scales, I believe it is important to better comprehend how the restructuring of societal perceptions of masculinity and inequitable gender norms among young men may play a role in working towards such a goal.

1.3.2   Research Questions

This begins by examining existing evidence surrounding gender transformative interventions then analysing my own field research to gain further insight into *Jovem Pra Jovem* and its potential longitudinal impacts. The central research question guiding the process was:

What are the longitudinal implications of a gender transformative intervention for the attitudes and reported behaviours of men in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro?

Secondary questions included:

1. **How have gender and masculinity been constructed for these men through exposure to the intervention and amidst existing gendered social structures?**

2. **What role did social structures and programmatic exposure play in influencing the development of individual agency in gender transformation?**

3. **What exposure to programmatic materials and role models was available after the programme ended and what implications did such exposure have for the former participants and longitudinal gender transformation?**

1.3.3   Research Objectives

In support of the research questions, I developed the following research objectives:

1. To develop systematic knowledge of the theoretical foundations of gender transformation and the evaluated effectiveness of gender transformative interventions.

2. To conduct in-depth qualitative research on the development, implementation, and evaluation of a particular intervention (*Jovem Pra Jovem*) and form a longitudinal understanding of its impact on the attitudes and reported behaviours of programme participants.

3. To determine the theoretical and practical implications of this research that will inform further programmatic development towards addressing masculinity and societal norms to advance gender equality in a variety of population demographics and cultural contexts.

1.4   Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured to provide a complete narrative of my PhD research process. I begin in Chapter 2 by introducing the theoretical foundations on which my approach to the study, data collection, and analysis are based: an understanding of gender, masculinity, social structures, human agency, and violence with the inclusion of Southern perspectives and implications of the incorporated theories for gender transformative work. I then transition into developing a holistic understanding of gender transformative interventions and their approach to, and reported effectiveness in, working with boys and men to redefine masculinity and inequitable gender norms in the advancement of women's SRH, combating of GBV, and promotion of gender equality. Chapter 3 provides contextual information on Brazil, with a focus on the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, and my methodological approach to the study is described in Chapter 4. The data collected are presented and analysed in Chapters 5 through 8, including examination of the programmatic experience reported by the study participants in Chapter 5 and the inclusion of institutional perspectives on the data in Chapter 8. The thesis concludes with presentation of the implications of my research and my contribution to knowledge, in Chapter 9, along with discussion of recommendations for future research and the development, implementation, and evaluation of both existing and future gender transformative programmes.

Chapter 2   Background and Theoretical Foundations

"We are guided from childhood not to allow women to play the same role as ours."

- *Marcelo, 40, Colina*

2.1   Introduction

The following chapter contains concepts, theories, and evidence that support an understanding of gender transformative interventions, Promundo's work in this field, and the methods of analysis that will be utilised throughout this thesis. I have divided the chapter into two parts to ease with comprehension of its elements. Part A discusses the theoretical foundations of my research and methods of analysis including a comprehensive understanding of gender and masculinities, the ongoing structure and agency debate in gender, and the role of violence as a social structure and its implications for gender transformative programming. Part B discusses gender transformative interventions, developing an understanding of their role in encouraging the involvement of men and boys in gender equality and health promotion, a critical analysis of their approaches to individual and societal change, and a comprehensive look at the existing evidence of their impact and effectiveness in implementation efforts around the world.

Part A – Theoretical Foundations

2.2   Gender and Masculinities

Gender transformative work requires an understanding of the concepts of gender and masculinity. These concepts have come to be critically considered because of a wider recognition of the non-binary fluidity of gender and the recognised implications of traditional perspectives of masculinity on the health and well-being of all people (Waling, 2019). Intersectionality recognises a reality "that different social categories mutually constitute each other as overall forms of social differentiation or systems of oppression, as well as in creating complex identities,

where different identifications are always mutually constitutive" (Christensen and Jensen, 2014, p.69). Individual identities based on the social categories that people are a part of will vary their experience of the world around them, the opportunities available to them, their perspectives on topics, and the knowledge they acquire from family, peer groups, education, and programmes or interventions they are exposed to (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 1989). In this respect, when considering gender and masculinity, social categories and experiences must be understood within the structural systems that a population live in and efforts to approach change in an effective manner should aim to reduce disparities, strengthen social movements, and address persistent inequalities (Risman, 2018; Fehrenbacher and Patel, 2020). In this chapter, perspectives on the concepts of gender and masculinity in Latin America will set the stage for a contextual analysis of the construction of gender and masculinity in Brazil and in the favelas of Rio (*Chapter 3*).

In gender studies, a Southern perspective encourages a more inclusive, diverse, and contextually relevant approach to understanding gender issues and challenges the 'colonial gaze' and stereotypes that have been recognised in Northern gender scholarship and feminist thought (Connell, 2014a). Southern Theory was introduced by Connell to challenge the dominance of Western or Northern perspectives in the social sciences and to diversify perspectives in academic discourse by incorporating viewpoints and experiences from the global periphery, commonly referred to as the 'Global South' (2007). This periphery represents regions that have historically been marginalised or underrepresented in shaping dominant theories and knowledge. It was the colonised world that provided the foundations for feminist debate in the North on issues of the gendered division of labour, male violence, marriage, family, globalisation, and gender symbolism (Connell, 2014b). Even after decolonisation, the urban and cultural centres of the major imperial powers, labelled by Connell as the 'metropole', remain the centre of theory and methodology. In recognition of the dominant theories of gender that have developed within the imperial metropole of knowledge on gendered issues, the following sections will incorporate perspectives and thought from scholars in both the North and the global periphery, primarily

Latin America, and contextual information from the Latin American region will be provided throughout.

Southern Theory has been criticised for its overgeneralisation of a strict North/South divide and potential homogenisation of the South, its lack of a clear systematic methodology in which to apply it to empirical research or policy implementation, and its inadvertent underestimation of the interconnectedness between the North and South (Emirbayer, 2013; Reed, 2013; Rosa, 2014). While valid, these criticisms highlight the complexity of globalised sociological thought and further emphasise Connell's claim that genuine forms of knowledge from the global periphery are needed to incorporate social processes and debate from outside the metropole into the core of social theory. Connell admittedly states that the reconstruction of the sociology of gender from Southern perspectives is in its early stages. However, she accurately emphasises that "only a gender analysis systematically incorporating the experience and thought of the majority world will be powerful enough to understand gender dynamics on a global scale" (2014b, p.562). It is from this vantage point that I sought to understand the construction of gender and masculinity for my research and with which I support my data analysis.

2.2.1   Gender as Social Structure

Gender itself is derived within the social structures of patriarchal systems through which most societies in documented history have associated hierarchical dominance with men and have therefore been overwhelmingly controlled by men (Goldberg, 2008). Walby (1989) introduced an understanding of patriarchy that allowed for flexibility in theorising its many forms to encompass historical and cross-cultural variations in gender inequality. She defined patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women" (Walby, 1989, p.214). This definition, like current conceptualisations of gender, rejects biological determinism and a belief that all men are in dominant positions and all women in subordinate ones. Walby conceptualised six structures of which patriarchy is composed: modes of production, male violence, and relations in paid

work, sexuality, the state, and cultural institutions such as education, religion, and the media (1989). These patriarchal structures together form a system of patriarchy, defined in terms of social relations, and specific forms of patriarchy are dependent on the relations between them in the public and private spheres and impact the subordination of women in different ways (Goldberg, 2008). Not only has social stratification across gender lines been influenced by patriarchal hierarchies in most societies, but in the global periphery, and particularly in Latin America, Western influences from colonisation ensured stratifications in which race and ethnicity also played a significant role in the construction of gender structures (Lugones, 2008).

Bourdieu's habitus refers to the set of deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions that individuals acquire through socialisation and experience (Bourdieu, 1977). These learned behaviours and attitudes operate on a subconscious level and are closely linked to an individual's social position, encompassing their class, gender, education, and cultural background. In patriarchal societies, the habitus of individuals is often shaped in a way that perpetuates and reinforces gendered roles, expectations, and power dynamics, as well as replicating existing gender inequalities, thereby maintaining the status quo (Behnke and Meuser, 2002). The influence of patriarchal systems on one's habitus values and normalises certain traits and behaviours for men and women, creating social structures of gender where power, opportunities, and expectations are unequally distributed. Although habitus is deeply ingrained, it is not fixed or immutable. As an idea, it helps to explain how social structures and individual agency are interconnected, influencing one another in a continuous process (Bourdieu, 1977). From this point of reference, it becomes possible to critically examine gender as a social structure and the potential for deliberate efforts to challenge the habitus that perpetuates gender-based inequalities within patriarchal systems.

The idea of gender as a social structure has been around since the late 20th Century when consensus among scholars conceptualised gender as a stratification system existing outside individual characteristics and along various axes of inequality (Risman and Davis, 2013). Lorber introduced this idea in terms of gender as a

process in which individuals construct gender for themselves and those with whom they interact, and gender as a structure, regime, or institution in which the gendered division of social worlds allows little room for resistance or rebellion (1994). In this understanding, gender is viewed not just as a personality trait but as an ordering of social practice which restricts individuals and encourages patterned behaviours involving, and perpetuating, inequality (Viveros Vigoya, 2003; Risman, 2018). This conceptualisation is further built on multidimensional frameworks of gender as a historically established social institution that exists in micro and macro levels of politics and across all facets of societal life (Lorber, 1994; Martin, 2004). Gender stereotypes function within it to create expected divisions and roles of individuals that become the building blocks of the social order in a given cultural context and are built into all major social institutions (Lorber, 2005). The cumulative effect of gender stereotypes maintains the power differentials between men and women (Fiske, 2001). This foundation also recognises the environmental and social contexts that affect human behaviour to not only incorporate concepts of 'performativity' and 'doing' gender, but to recognise the structuration of gender in societal life (Risman, 2018). This structuration is understood as the conditions which govern the continuity or transmission of the rules and resources encompassing properties of the reproduced relations between actors or collective groups, organised as social practice (Giddens, 1984). In Giddens' structuration theory (1984), social structures shape individuals just as individuals shape social structures and, therefore, gender as a social structure should be understood to both constrain individuals and be reshaped by their agentic choices over time (Risman, 2018).

A Southern perspective recognises the role of oppression in the creation of gendered systems and the social structure of gender (Banerjee and Connell, 2018). Capitalist societies have historically incorporated racial and gender oppression into the modes of capital accumulation and the colonial expansion of Europe imposed forms of oppression on women and other non-wage labourers in their colonies (Berberoglu, 1994; Mies, 1998). Oppression itself is internalised by individuals to become part of the self, and inequality is socially structured to play a role in the development of individual identity (England, 2016). Recognising the effects that

internalised oppression has on individuals therefore acknowledges the power of social structures to influence one's consciousness. In Latin America, while practical gender relations are often characterised by men's domination of women, they are also considered a source of oppression and dissatisfaction for both women and men (Viveros Vigoya, 2003). Considering that gender identity in Latin America is "constituted within a multiplicity of differences of age, class, ethnicity, and other factors" (Fuller, 2003, p.136), individual experience is therefore determined by the place one occupies within racial, ethnic, class, regional, and institutional categories.

Risman (2004; 2018) developed gender structure theory as an integrated theoretical framework that recognises the individual, interactional, and macro factors that contribute to gender inequality. This understanding of gender pushes beyond an individual's personal identity to view gender as "a system of inequality embedded in all aspects of society" (Risman, 2018, p.19) and using the term 'structure', rather than 'institution' (Lorber, 1994; Martin, 2004) or 'system' (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999), is intended to situate gender as central to social life and society's core organisation, like economic or political structures. Gender structure theory posits that gender inequality should be analysed at the individual, interactional, and macro levels of society, with each level containing material and cultural processes (Scarborough and Risman, 2017). The material processes at each level of analysis recognise how physical bodies, laws, or geography can impact social lives while the cultural processes recognise the socially constructed ideas or ideologies which orientate individual worldviews or perspectives. There is a dynamism in this gender system in which a change at any level has the potential to reverberate to the others (Risman, 2018), emphasising the ability of material and cultural processes in the reproduction of gender to influence change across all levels of society (Scarborough and Risman, 2017). Lastly, the gender structure also operates in congruence with other systems of inequality like race and class. These systems are shaped by gender in their own way and are equally important in recognising and addressing inequalities across society. It is the co-constitutive nature of racial, class, and gender inequalities which emphasises that achieving gender equality requires also achieving other forms of equality (Scarborough and Risman, 2017).

Gender structure theory appears to have predominantly been used by Risman and colleagues in analysis of two articles on family socialisation and care giving (Risman, 2018) and of the social domains of work, family, and gender identity (Scarborough and Risman, 2017). It remains underutilised in methodological application, underdeveloped in practice, and stems from White sociology of the North with little emphasis placed on Southern perspectives of gender. However, I have chosen to approach my analysis with this theory for its ability to look beyond the individual and recognise all factors of influence that perpetuate gender inequalities. There is merit in applying such an approach to understand how individuals relate to the gendered social structures of their environments and I therefore apply it to develop an understanding of how gender and masculinity are structured for the participants in my study through material and cultural processes on the individual, interactional, and macro levels.

2.2.2   Understanding Gender

While sex refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women, gender refers to the non-biological, socially constructed roles, behaviours, attributes, and activities that a given society considers appropriate for women, men, boys, and girls (WHO, 2023). In other words, gender is the social construction of a sexual difference and consistently remains an interaction between the social and the biological. Butler has further conceptualised the difference as the product of "a process whereby regulatory norms materialise 'sex' and achieve this materialisation through a forcible reiteration of those norms" (1993, p.2). This analysis provides a perception of gender as something almost uncontrollable; something that must be understood as, in essence, forced upon individuals by their surrounding environments. Expected roles and norms exist on a personal, structural, institutional, and societal level whereby individuals first learn their expected norms and roles in childhood from parents and peers which are further reinforced by their families and broader socio-contextual interactions (Cislaghi and Heise, 2019a). These expectations are embedded in and reproduced through societal institutions

and upheld through policies and regulations, all of which maintain and reinforce the existing gender system. Restrictive gender norms have negative implications for the health and well-being of all individuals across society and result in the inequitable division of labour, the inequitable division of power on political, institutional, and economic levels, and the perpetuation of masculine and feminine stereotypes that limit opportunity for, and reinforce marginalisation of, various groups in society (Connell, 2021).

To further analyse it in relation to the physical, biological distinctions between men and women, Connell has provided a definition of gender as "the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes", or, more informally, "gender concerns the way human societies deal with human bodies and their continuity, and the many consequences of that dealing in our personal lives and our collective fate" (Connell, 2021, p.12). There is also a conceptualisation of gender within what each individual society will value and uphold as a 'gender system' (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999; Cislaghi and Heise, 2019a). This system includes gender norms, roles, socialisation, and power relations and utilises these processes to justify inequality based on the differences between males and females. Gender norms can therefore be viewed as the social rules and expectations placed on individuals to keep the gender system intact (Cislaghi and Heise, 2019a). Given the high rate and various forms of interaction between men and women, in families, households, workplaces, and everyday society, the enforcement of a gender system is perpetuated through the realities that gender differences are perceived to be pervasive, interactions among peers of equal power and status show little behavioural gender differences, and most interactions between the genders exist in the structural context of unequal roles or status relationships (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999). Gender is not just about difference but ultimately about the distribution of power, property, and prestige (Risman, 2018). Gendered differences continually uphold and support power differentials between men and women which are dictated to individuals throughout their lives and impact the opportunities made

available to them and the ways in which they approach their relationships or social interactions (Wingood and DiClemente, 2002).

Gender socialisation is the process by which individuals are conditioned from birth to take on the expected roles, norms, and behaviours associated with their ascribed gender (Denmark, 2004). This incorporates cultural, structural, and cognitive influences on their understanding of the expectations associated with being a man or woman and stems from observational learning and witnessed reinforcement of expectations by various avenues of influence. According to Bem's gender schema theory, children grow up adjusting their behaviour to fit with the norms that their culture places on their ascribed gender and this socialisation continues to occur consistently throughout an individual's life due to society's insistence on the importance of a gender dichotomy (Bem, 1981). This socialisation highlights the relational nature of gender as a social structure in which an individual's social relations influence the way they form and present their gendered identity outwardly in different environments (Connell, 2021). Identity theory provides further explanation for the formation of one's self-identification through the various influences and socialisations that play a role in its formation (Carter, 2014). According to the principles of identity theory, individuals create separate identities as an individual self, as a role in society, and as part of a group; all of which will be different and can conflict with one another, and all of which play separate roles in socialising an individual's understanding of their place in society. When applied to gender identity, such a theoretical approach offers a framework with which to understand how individuals perpetuate gendered expectations from within the family, peer groups, work environments, and cultural contexts they are a part of so that their actions and behaviours fit with the normative roles they assume those around them will accept and validate (Carter, 2014). Such social identities allow individuals to feel a sense of unity with those around them and mutually reinforce actions that allow self-enhancement of identity and reduce uncertainty in their surroundings.

Due to its relational nature, gender should be perceived as something that an individual 'does' or 'performs' rather than simply as something an individual 'is'. In their widely recognised and referenced work, West and Zimmerman present an understanding of gender identities as fluid and being continually formed through social interactions, always allowing for the meaning of gender to be capable of change (1987). Gender is "something created and maintained in *practice*; doing a task associated with a specific gender creates and perpetuates meanings that define who one is and what it means to be a man or woman, or masculine or feminine" (Carter, 2014, p.246). West and Zimmerman also note the role that accountability plays in the performative nature of gender. Social relationships ensure an accountability, encouraged by others, in which gender incorporates the 'essential' differences between men and women that are relevant and enforced, making the action of 'doing gender' unavoidable (West and Zimmerman, 1987). "Whether they are privileged or oppressed, people do gender because not to do so is to be shamed as unmanly or unwomanly" (Lorber, 2018, p.6). The reality that the meaning of gender itself is capable of change, within an individual, peer group, community, or society, is the driving principle on which gender transformative interventions are based and is founded on the ability to change and redefine what it means to be a man or a woman within a given cultural context.

Gender relations, in many cultural contexts, are "relations of inequality and injustice" (WHO, 2010, p.10). Though dynamic, the inequalities not only show on a societal level, but are interpersonal and present themselves within gendered hierarchies and disproportionate power relations among the sexes. Chant and Craske considered gender in Latin America to be multi-dimensional and segmented in employment, inequalities in access to resources and basic services, and disparities in political participation (2003). The late 20th Century saw increased institutional support for women with higher levels of education and employment, weakened patriarchal household arrangements, and reduced fertility, although indicators of gender inequality remain significant across all countries (Medina-Hernández et al., 2021; Chant and Craske, 2003). A backlash against gender, feminist, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) ideologies

began in the 1990s, creating today a conservative, reactive politicization of gender in the public and political spheres which aims to threaten women's rights, SRH services, and comprehensive sex education guided by principles of equality and diversity (Biroli and Caminotti, 2020). Many Latin American governments, including that of Brazil, make persistent efforts to "control, regulate, and contain what they see as threatening or unruly sexual or reproductive behaviour or insufficient adherence to reigning gender norms" (Nolan, 2022, p. 958). As a result, although a 'Pink Tide' of post-dictatorship, liberal administrations have sought to advance sexual, LGBTQ, and women's reproductive rights since the turn of the century, overall policy and political results have shown mixed, polarised, or regressive progress towards gender and sexual justice in the region (Friedman, 2018). Traditional gender roles, norms, and perspectives on male-female relationships in Latin America have had a significant impact on VAWG (de Koker et al., 2014), IPV, youth vulnerability to STDs/STIs, and the mental health of men and boys (Separavich and Canesqui, 2013).

A primary understanding of gender in Latin America is the colonial influence of European gender structures, particularly under Spanish and Portuguese rule, that have created modern understandings of the patriarchal systems in these countries and universalised a western sociocultural order based on gender (Lugones, 2010; Mies, 1998). Hegemonic ideology from the North imposed a racial, economic, and social hierarchy on colonies, imposing hierarchical gender norms, racialised and sexualised power dynamics, religious influence, and persistent gender inequality (Lugones, 2010). Evidence also shows that low-intensity patriarchal systems existing in Latin America prior to colonial conquest, were exacerbated by colonisation (Segato, 2011), and that such systems also developed because of nation-state formation post-independence (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2004). The European gender system had a profound influence on gender relations under colonial rule and, as a result, women, especially indigenous and Afro-Latina women, have historically faced marginalisation, discrimination, violence, and limited access to resources, education, and opportunities (Mendoza, 2016). Such deeply ingrained societal

structures continue to present significant challenges to achieving gender equality in Latin America.

2.2.3   Understanding Masculinities

Research on the relationship between gender norms and health behaviours has expanded in recent decades to increasingly analyse how masculinity and masculine norms influence behaviours that affect both women's and men's health (Fleming and Agnew-Brune, 2015). In her ground-breaking book *Masculinities*, Connell defines masculinity as "simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices which men and women engage in that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (1995, p.71). Any given cultural setting provides its own version, or multiple versions, of masculinity which impact the perceptions of boys and men on how they are to interact with the world around them. Men no less than women are tethered to the gendered patterns they have inherited, and the body cannot escape from the constructions of masculinity (Connell, 1995). Connell expanded on this conceptualisation through the idea of hegemonic masculinity, the "configuration of gender practices which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, guaranteeing the dominance of men and the subordination of women" (1995, p.77). Hegemonic masculinity need not be the commonest or most powerful pattern of masculinity in a given setting, but it is typically upheld through cultural consent, discursive centrality, institutionalisation, and the marginalisation or de-legitimation of other forms of masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2018).

In contrast to a biological assumption of masculinity and men's inherent behavioural traits, the plurality of masculinities allows for societal, parental, and peer influence over the desires and behaviours of men and boys rather than focusing on ways to restrain their impulses (Gutmann, 2019). Various alternative forms of masculinity exist in congruence with hegemonic masculinity that either uphold its role—as complicit, subordinate, and marginalised masculinities—or reject and seek to modify it, as with protest masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2018). There is also a

distinction to be made between dominant and dominating forms of masculinity. Dominant masculinities prevail in a given social formation and are, in that sense, authoritative. These masculinities dominate others but only in a broad sense such that any emphasized norm tends to marginalise the non-normative. Dominating masculinities, conversely, are those which involve more overt, explicit, or brute oppression of men who ascribe to other forms of masculinities (Christensen and Jensen, 2014). Additionally, masculinity and femininity are to be viewed as two different personality dimensions (Lorber, 2005). Men and women both apply varying levels of masculinity and femininity in the development of their personality and identity. However, the outward presentation of personality and identity are influenced by the acceptable norms of one's social environment, creating variation in, and conflict between, the masculine or feminine characteristics one applies as part of their personal identity and those they present to others with whom they interact (Carter, 2014).

The dynamic among masculinities is further complicated by the widespread reality of 'patriarchy-as-usual' in most cultures (Kandiyoti, 2013). This ensures the dominance of men across all aspects of society and limits the potential for women to reach equal levels of influence or control. When there is an expectation that patriarchal structures will remain prevalent, deviation by alternative masculinities is discouraged and boys and men face pressure to behave according to currently acceptable stereotypes, often negating emotions and adopting aggressive attitudes (Gupta et al., 2023). As with gender, the responsibility to uphold masculinities, particularly among young men and boys, discourages deviation from the norm. Youth do gender in interaction with others and accomplish gender in a manner accountable to their interactions, adapting to particular social situations that they come across (Messerschmidt, 2009). This reality underlines the complex nature of work that seeks to modify and change traditional perceptions of masculinity.

In Latin American scholarship, the widespread use of the term *machismo* has both defined and complicated the role of men in all aspects of society, though it often ignores the cultural and societal differences among men from different countries

(Guttman, 2003). It has been used to refer to a deeply embedded structure of masculinity that equates with aggression, sexual prowess, paternalism, and a willingness to face danger (Sternberg, 2010). It also glorifies hypermasculinity, associating men with virility, drinking, and violence against women (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). This culture is upheld through women's expected role in society, what theorists have called *marianismo* or the *Modelo de María* (Model of Mary), which instils values of modesty, chastity, and submission to men regarding household roles and sexuality (Demir et al., 2020; Baldwin and DeSouza, 2001). Viewing women as sex objects is a critical component of *machismo* culture and, due to the social unacceptability of displaying emotions, evidence suggests that frustration and anger are often expressed by men through violence (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). The message to men is that "differences, verbal or physical abuse, or challenges must be met with fists or other weapons" (Ingoldsby, 1991, p.57). Traditional *machismo* and *marianismo* cultures essentially construct Latino and Latina identity to uphold the dominance of men and the subjugation of women, supporting inequities in health outcomes (Demir et al., 2020). However, Latin America contains multiple masculinities that are defined contextually, and narratives of male dominance do not always reflect the everyday behaviours of most men in the region (Fuller, 2003; Fonseca, 2003). The potential transformation of masculine identity in Latin America is neither homogenous nor without contradictions. Masculinities should be considered within a larger gender structure and the gendered experiences of men should be understood as determined not only by sex but by the space they occupy within class, ethnic-racial, and generational categories (Viveros Vigoya, 2003).

A growing body of literature has sought to move away from a rigid conceptualisation of *machismo* and incorporate positive images of male gender roles like chivalry, bravery, and as breadwinner of the family, an idea called *caballerismo* (Arciniega et al., 2008). This counterpart to *machismo* places value on male integrity and on nurturing, family centred characteristics to advance a positive, prosocial form of masculinity (Estrada and Arciniega, 2015). While the use of *machismo* in discussion on men and masculinities in Latin America remains ubiquitous, it has been called

into question, requiring broader recognition of the diversity of masculinities among Latin American men (Gutmann and Viveros Vigoya, 2005). For the purposes of this thesis, I will not use the terms *machismo* or *caballerismo* in relation to the study participants' understandings of masculinity. My analysis will be grounded in their individual understandings of what it means to be a man in the context of their personal lives, communities, and social environments.

2.2.4   *Masculinity as Social Construct*

Masculinities are socially constructed configurations of gendered practice and developed through historical processes (Connell, 2014b). A social constructivist view considers the social influences on its development among individuals and allows for fluidity in its presentation (Moynihan, 1998). Postmodern theory allowed for masculinity to be understood within the idea of gender as a 'floating signifier', reinforcing the social constructivist viewpoint and recognising the differing realities of individual constructions of masculinity in which a fluid mixing of masculine traits depends on varying social influences. These distinctions interact with cultural representations and expectations to create what has been called a 'crisis in masculinity'; an elusive idea in which men suffer from a conflict between seeking to reconcile their private understanding of personal masculine presentation with public perceptions (Itulua-Abumere, 2013). These 'crises' have been further problematised with the introduction of 'toxic' and 'healthy' conceptualisations of masculinities. The terms emerged in the late 20th Century to signify understandings of how men present themselves outwardly (Waling, 2019). They were primarily used in therapeutic and social policy in the early 2000s, but have gained traction in societal jargon to distinguish between men who adopt more feminist values and men who ascribe to hegemonic perceptions of masculinity often equated with homophobic, misogynistic, and violent inclinations (Harrington, 2021). While such terms serve to encourage men towards attitudinal and behavioural modification to fit with what may be viewed as 'healthy' masculine presentations, they have also been seen to further alienate disenfranchised and marginalised men, often perpetuating their

adherence to continued hegemonic presentations of expectations (Waling, 2019; Harrington, 2021).

According to Bourdieu, masculinity is constructed and maintained through the perpetuation of power relations in various social domains (2001). He emphasises the idea of 'symbolic violence', which refers to the ways in which power imbalances are maintained through social structures, norms, practices, and cultural representations that often go unquestioned. Violence is exercised upon individuals with their complicity, but they misrecognise it because "their mind is constructed according to cognitive structures that are issued out of the very (social) structures of the world" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004, p.272). Masculine domination is not just a result of physical strength or overt control, but is ingrained in social structures, language, and everyday practices that sustain the dominance of men over women and over other men. This dominance, across all levels of society, is sustained when individuals do not question existing power relations, perceiving them as natural and unchangeable, and do not question the role they themselves may play in the production and reproduction of domination and subordination (Thaper-Björkert et al., 2016). The subtlety of symbolic violence therefore perpetuates inequality across cultural and societal structures and constructs environments in which masculine discourse can maintain the use of violence as normative through mechanisms of racial inferiority and gender subordination (Menéndez-Menéndez, 2014; Viveros Vigoya, 2016).

Like gender, hegemonic masculinity has been linked to health inequalities among both men and women through the perpetuation of fundamental causes such as inequitable distributions of power, money, knowledge, and positive social connections (Scott-Samuel et al., 2009). Masculinity studies have over time allowed for an expansion of this single hegemonic conceptualisation to incorporate the multiplicity of alternative masculinities, as described in the previous section, to address inequalities and provide discourse on the 'male role' in working to change the inequitable distributions that have resulted in the health inequalities experienced by all members of society (Nascimento and Connell, 2017). The

expansion of this conceptualisation, however, requires a recognition of the constantly changing atmosphere in which masculinities function, and an incorporation of the various perspectives of individuals working to apply this field of study socially, politically, and institutionally in practice (Bridges, 2019).

The construction of masculinity in Latin America has, like gender, been linked to European colonial influence and remains inextricably linked to historical practices of racial and gender oppression (Hadin, 2002). As such, it is understood by Latin American scholars to be a historical manifestation, a social construction, and a cultural creation that is not an essential or static quality of men from the region (Viveros Vigoya, 2003). A similar 'crisis of masculinity' has been discussed in the region as "an expression of the clash between attributes culturally assigned to men and subjective reactions on the part of men to important social, economic, and ideological changes that produce this gap and that are instigated and supported in various ways by women" (Viveros Vigoya, 2003, p.28). The internal conflict is particularly pronounced among marginalised and impoverished communities in which men face continued pressures to maintain dominance over women and other men. This has problematised the role that men are able to play in reproductive events, like birth control or fatherhood, by questioning a potential relationship between masculine identity and values associated with sexuality, like assuming responsibility for family planning (Viveros Vigoya, 2003). Latin American masculinities are often constrained to the public sphere of work, politics, and the street, while the private sphere of the home is considered the feminine space in which women carry out domestic chores (Willis, 2005). Although men still often maintain dominance in decision-making and income generation in the home, these roles, and the spaces they occupy, affect constructions of masculinity as well as their acceptability by others and wider society.

Gender socialisation and variants of identity theory support an understanding of masculinity in which individual and societal forms of masculinities are interpreted and internalised by individuals, groups, and institutions who then reinterpret and 'reconstruct' them and, in turn, reflect them back onto society (Carter, 2014;

Messerschmidt, 2018). This 'reconstruction' not only paves the way for continual modifications of masculinities, but also reinforces the idea that they can be changed. Therefore, there is potential for work with individual men, and within societies, to restructure the concept and practice of masculinity. On the assumption that masculinity derives from learned behaviours and societal influence, early interactions with boys and young men are viewed as an effective method by which to influence cultural change (Amin et al., 2018). To effectively approach the redefinition of differing conceptualisations of masculinities among individuals, groups, and populations, the operationalisation of this term has been considered in relation to gender transformative interventions. Each programmatic approach has developed distinct understandings of masculinity and has been proposed to best be accomplished by building their theoretical understandings of masculinity from the narratives that emerge from research data rather than seeking to support change from established conceptualisations of the concept (Zielke et al., 2023).

2.3   The Structure and Agency Debate: An Ongoing Tension in Gender

A foundational understanding of structure and agency supports my theoretical framework of gender as a social structure and conceptualisation of masculinities. Human behaviour has been understood to be causally influenced by social factors (Elder-Vass, 2010). These factors are social structures and debate has been ongoing for decades as to what they really are, the causal power they hold over individual behaviour, and the role of human agency in social behaviours amidst them. Social structures incorporate the formal and informal rules that govern institutional, collective, and individual practices and include material conditions, interests, and ideas (MacArthur et al., 2022; O'Neill et al., 2004). They have also increasingly been viewed as a process rather than a state, meaning that their production and reproduction are influenced by social action and therefore change with the application of the rules and resources of societal actors (O'Neill et al., 2004). Human agency is the capability that an individual has to act in their own right. There are two lines of thought on this, voluntarist and determinist; meaning either that individuals make conscious decisions about their actions or that actions flow

unconsciously from set dispositions acquired from social context (Elder-Vass, 2010). The extremes of human agency can be viewed to, at one end, represent a fully atomised individual with unfettered choice, and at the other, a deeply socialised individual who unwittingly acts to reproduce existing social structures (Coburn, 2016). Between these extremes, structural constraints have varying influence over individual action and, in the context of health interventions, must be approached intersectionally to understand the complexity that categories of disenfranchisement play in the power relations between social structures that impact the agency of individuals across the societal spectrum (Choby and Clark, 2018).

Social structures can be divided into categories that Crossley describes as the three R's: rules, resources, and relations (2022). While rules and resources represent the social norms of a society and the prestige attached to status within it, social structures comprise a network of relations and interdependence between social actors. They are always being driven by the individual and collective agency of actors who together form, reproduce, and transform them. However, while individuals have the ability to transform social structures, their agency is constrained by the collective structure that has been produced (Crossley, 2022). International development discourse has increasingly focused on human agency to frame development work as the growth of human capabilities and capacities through the empowerment of the individual (Chandler, 2013). Through increasing the recognition of social structures and the choice-making capacity of individual agents, development programmes can enable them to make behavioural choices that are less constrained by external social relations or structures and, by doing so, utilise their agency to encourage change in these structures (Chandler, 2013; Shiffman, 2018).

Development work can not only increase the capacity and capabilities of individual actors, but can simultaneously work to disrupt and change organisational practices. This concept has been called the 'bifocal approach' and was utilised by de Vries and van den Brink to link theory and practice as a feminist intervention strategy (2016). The relations inherent within structure and agency involve a balance of power that

can become imbalanced by the gendered structures within society, further limiting women's agency to seek and transform the social structures that maintain their subordination to men (MacArthur et al., 2022). The 'bifocal approach' links the agency of the individual with the structure of organisational change to allow interventions to use individual development, through gender insight and the development of agency, to influence transformative organisational change in gender relations (de Vries and van den Brink, 2016). This approach to simultaneously maintain a lens on both individual agency, through individual-based approaches, and macro-level change, through structural-based approaches, reinforces what has been deduced in earlier theoretical analyses: effective behavioural change interventions must focus on knowledge acquisition and attitudinal change within the individual that are supported by wider institutional, collective, socio-structural changes.

A pedagogy of structure and agency, even though not often explicitly stated, has been the foundation of gender transformative interventions since their inception, having been recognised in their gender analysis frameworks and continually applied to their development, implementation, and measurement (MacArthur, et al., 2022; Hillenbrand et al., 2015). This is supported by the reality that gender and power are inextricably linked across all institutional levels of society, politically, organisationally, and socially influencing the structures at play which can inhibit and determine human agency potential (Levy, 1996). Considering that gender is shaped by cultural expectations, workplace norms, and state laws, these structures, in addition to the individual, need to change for a societal understanding of gender to change, requiring the agency of individuals, group pressure, and broader social movements (Lorber, 2005). For the purposes of the thesis, I apply a lens of structure and agency to my earlier discussion of gender as a social structure to analyse how gender and masculinity are structured for the study subjects within their communities and wider society, the agency that they have gained through exposure to the JPJ programme, and the manner by which these structures play a role in potentially constraining their agency to apply what they have learned to their lives.

2.4   Violence as Social Structure

In expanding on the social structures at play within gendered understandings of roles and norms in society, one factor that has broad implications is the use and perpetuation of violence. In particular, the explicit or implicit expectation and encouragement of men to utilise various forms of violence to ensure their dominance and maintain a level of power over women and other men is supported in most every society (Jewkes et al., 2015b). This is accomplished through hegemonic masculinity and the prevailing gendered roles, norms, and expectations that are sustained within gender systems, maintaining patriarchy-as-usual across societies (Kandiyoti, 2013). Violence against women exists as a social structure across all societies and is a manifestation of the unequal power relations between men and women which have been normalised and upheld through gendered norms and roles (Council of Europe, 2014). Such violence is exacerbated in urban environments and the decisions of some women to not resist, and cope with violence, are often incorrectly viewed as passivity rather than an ongoing process of gender marginalisation (Hume and Wilding, 2019). In recognition of this structure, Heise proposed an ecological framework to conceptualise GBV, beyond simply placing blame on patriarchy, to recognise the personal, situational, and sociocultural factors that influence violence against women at all levels of the social ecology (1998). This framework can be used to analyse all forms of violence and recognise the various components that affect its perpetuation, which must all be considered when attempting to combat the use of violence against women. One component of this perpetuation includes the structural violence that is enacted on marginalised populations, in which violence maintains a disproportionate role (UNDP, 2023).

The concept of structural violence was developed in the mid-20th Century, through the field of liberation theology, in recognition of violence that is "built into the (social) structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life choices" (Gultang, 1969, p.171). It therefore explains the political, economic, religious, cultural, or legal "avoidable limitations society places on groups of people that constrain them from achieving the quality of life that would have otherwise

been possible" (Lee, 2016, p.110). Often originating from institutions with authority over groups of people, such violence is often so embedded within social structures that it becomes overlooked or seen as a normal life difficulty. Farmer described it as "exerted systematically – that is, indirectly – by everyone who belongs to a certain social order" and "intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression" (2004, p.307). This type of violence differs from physical and psychological violence in representing the invisible forces of social inequality that perpetuate social relations which exclude and marginalise populations or groups (Scheper-Hughes, 2010). Structural violence plays a significant role in reproducing the exclusion and marginalisation of youth within impoverished communities by ensuring their continued marginalisation and potential erasure, maintaining the cycle of community and intergenerational violence as a social structure within cultural contexts and among particular populations, and perpetuating stigmas and dangerous discourses that continue to exclude them from society at large (Scheper-Hughes, 2010). These implications support the associations of gendered norms with violence perpetration and maintain the 'status quo' of hegemonic masculinity through the maintenance of power structures across society (Scott-Samuel et al., 2009).

Structural violence is situated amidst symbolic violence and normalised violence in what Bourgois calls 'The Pandora's Box of Invisible Violence' (2009). Understanding invisible violence implicitly moves away from blaming victims and recognises that there is a struggle by subordinate groups to establish conditions whereby they are not subject to harms and injuries as a result of routinised relations and practices designed to benefit dominant groups (Parsons, 2009). Changes in economic distribution, improved access to education and healthcare, legal reforms that ensure equal opportunity and, most significantly, an increase in the quality of human agency in terms of organised collective action can affect structural changes designed to reduce violence across societies and advance human rights (Scheper-Hughes, 2010; Parsons, 2009). Structural change in the gendered structures of societies, therefore, is inextricably linked to addressing the realities of structural violence, symbolic violence, and normalised violence on all societal levels.

To expand on the symbolic and normalised violence present within society, the concept of 'violent sociability', as articulated by Machado da Silva (2004), offers a framework for understanding urban violence. This theory recognises a social order in which the universal use of force serves as the organising principle, consolidating itself within everyday routine. Rather than view the use of force as an eventual means of obtaining interests, it becomes a principle for organising and regulating social relations; an end in itself and a pervasive 'way of life' that eliminates self-control, highlighting how violence is ingrained in the fabric of social interactions (Machado da Silva, 2004; 2011). Drawing primarily from the context of drug-trafficking gangs in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro as emblematic, though not exclusive, 'carriers' of violent sociability, Machado da Silva posits it as an expression of contemporary individualism perpetuated by power dynamics and structural inequalities. Adherence to this paradigm is characterised less as subordination than as involuntary submission, instilling "fear in social agents who continue to be constituted in such a way that they are not prepared to 'abandon' violence as a principle" (2004, p.313-314).

This theory has faced considerable criticism due to a lack of, or inability to conduct, field work that could test Machado da Silva's hypothesis and formulate analytical perspectives in the face of actual circumstances (Grillo, 2019; Leite et al., 2021). Machado da Silva has also admitted that the idea of violent sociability had weakened due to the rationalisation process of economic accumulation activities in drug trafficking that occurred in Rio during the 2010s. In light of this, he has recognised that as time progressed, the validity of violent sociability as a notion has not been completely lost (Machado da Silva and Menezes, 2019). It continues to highlight how violence remains pervasive as a 'way of life' in the urban periphery beyond the state apparatus. It also provides a unique perspective regarding the ubiquitous presence of violence in the favelas of Rio and indicates the significant role it plays in shaping and defining the lives of their inhabitants, a topic that will be discussed further in Chapter 3 and incorporated throughout my data analysis.

2.4.1 *Violence Exposure and Perpetration*

Substantial research links a child's exposure to violence in the household and surrounding environment with the perpetration of violence later in life (Delsol and Margolin, 2004; Roberts et al., 2010; Eriksson and Mazerolle, 2015; Kimber et al., 2018; Shields et al., 2020). Several studies have shown a fourfold increase in the odds of IPV perpetration in adulthood by individuals exposed to IPV in their childhood, although these results are primarily specific to physical acts of violence (Kimber et al., 2018). Violence perpetration has also been shown to be role- and gender-specific, indicating that variations in perpetration from childhood exposure depend on the gender of perpetrators, their partners, or the offending caregiver, as well as whether the individual was exposed to abuse against themselves or simply observed the acts of violence (Kimber et al., 2018; Shields et al., 2020). Although there is an indication of connections between exposure and perpetration, consideration must be given to associated factors that either potentiate or mitigate the linkage. Variables for men include the potential development of antisocial behaviours as a result of exposure to IPV, the impact and meaning connected to the experiences of violence, potential attitudes developed in adolescence regarding the legitimacy of IPV, and ongoing processes and circumstances throughout life including substance abuse and interpersonal connections (Delsol and Margolin, 2004). It is possible that men who have witnessed IPV in an environment where they still receive emotional support from their family might fail to psychologically distance from the violence and potentially identify with the perpetrator, influencing later propensity to perpetration (Roberts et al., 2010; Delsol and Margolin, 2004).

Connections have also been made between the excessive levels of community violence that youth are exposed to in urban environments and their use of aggression and perpetration of violence in late adolescence and adulthood (Gorman-Smith et al., 2004; Sieger et al., 2004; Scheper-Hughes, 2010). There is a protective effect that family functions, including emotional support, can play in limiting the exposure that individuals have to community violence and their resultant risk of perpetration later in life (Gorman-Smith et al., 2004; Roberts et al.,

2010). However, living in lower-income households and impoverished areas has been linked to higher exposure and higher risk of perpetration (Scheper-Hughes, 2010), indicating reduced family functions that could mediate such effects. The exposure of children to community violence has also emerged as a risk factor for their development of behavioural and emotional problems in adolescence, and child victims of community violence have been shown to sometimes develop post-traumatic stress disorder or depression, and be at risk for substance abuse, suicidal ideation, and future aggressive behaviours (Sieger et al., 2004). These impacts serve to reinforce established community structures of violence as accepted or assumed norms for exposed individuals, and a cycle of violence perpetration continues if not addressed on all levels of the social ecology (Armstead et al., 2018).

There has also been considerable debate in the global health and development field regarding the negative implications of corporal punishment of children in the household and the extent to which corrective punishment has become normalised and remains allowable or understood in many cultural contexts (WHO, 2020). Studies in the late-20th Century began to increasingly indicate that normative, corrective, physical punishment resulted in childhood aggression and antisocial behaviour, while also determining that physical punishment was no more effective than other punishment methods in eliciting a child's compliance (Durrant and Ensom, 2012; Gershoff, 2022). Into the 21st Century, associations become more apparent between corporal punishment and a range of mental health problems at all stages of life, disruptions in parent-child attachment, slower cognitive development and resultant reduced academic achievement, and adverse physical health. Higher rates of corporal punishment have also been related to an increased prevalence, and endorsement of, violence on a societal level, indicating a reinforcing, cyclical relationship that perpetuates cultural norms of violence as a social structure (Lansford and Dodge, 2008).

According to the WHO and UNICEF, nearly 1 billion children suffer some form of violence every year and, in a majority of countries, over two-thirds of children aged under fourteen experience violent physical or psychological discipline from a parent

or caregiver (WHO, 2020; UNICEF, 2023). Just as intergenerational transmission of violence can occur through exposure to IPV and violence within the household, there is evidence to support the intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment due to the established normative function it creates within a child's behavioural development and the associated aggression that it has been shown to lead to later in life (Widom and Wilson, 2015). Efforts are being made globally to curb the use of physical violence as a form of corporal punishment, and there are laws banning it in 79% of countries, but only 30% of countries were perceived to have sufficient enforcement to ensure a high likelihood of preventing the laws from being broken (WHO, 2020).

From a theoretical perspective, the intergenerational and cultural transmission of violence can be understood as a social learning process, indicating that exposure to various forms of violence instils a belief system that condones the use of violence in similar contexts, be it in intimate relationships or cultural and societal settings (Eriksson and Mazerolle, 2015). Analysis of the potential for violence exposure to result in later perpetration can be understood within the realms of behavioural development and addressed as such in potential behavioural change interventional approaches, such as those applied through gender transformative interventions (Widom and Wilson, 2014; Casey et al., 2018). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the men from the JPJ programme grew up, and remained living within, communities and a society that exposed them to violence on a regular basis. Gangs had been, and remained, both a consistent source of attachment and support as well as of community violence, and police incursions in the favelas they lived in were an ongoing threat. Almost all the men were also exposed to violence inside their households when growing up (*Chapter 6*). This included uni- and bi-directional violence between their parents, violence directed at them, and violence in which they would get involved in trying to separate their parents from fighting. For the purposes of the thesis, the structural nature of violence and the impacts that exposure to it have on violence perpetration aided in analysing the men's perspectives on violence, their own perpetration of it throughout their lives, and their involvement in gang-related activities.

2.4.2 Implications for Gender Transformative Programming

Considering that the intent behind several gender transformative interventions is to combat GBV and IPV, and that men's propensity to aggression and violence is reinforced by traditional perceptions of masculinity and structural gendered norms and roles, it is imperative to approach development and implementation with an understanding of the structural nature of violence that pervades societies all over the world and the impact that exposure to violence at a young age has on perpetration later in life. From the perspective of structure and agency, contextual and cultural understandings of violence need to be addressed not only within individual intervention participants, but also at the community and societal levels to support and reinforce their changed perspectives. Additionally, the agency of the individual must be empowered to avoid the use of violence and aggression in response to life situations and to reduce the propensity to violence of those in their peer groups and wider community and potentially combat structural violence in the economic, legal, and political structures of their societies.

Due to the structural nature of visible and invisible violence in many aspects of societal life as well as within global hegemonic masculinities, reduction of violence across cultures and populations will take time. From a perspective of violent sociability, efforts to reduce violence also require its decoupling with everyday routine in the urban periphery; to restructure the 'way of life' that it has come to define. However, as will be discussed in the following sections, the promising results of gender transformative interventions thus far in reducing participant use of violence, and positive changes in attitudes regarding violence against women and other men, indicate the potential for such programming to play a role in local, societal, and global efforts. In relation to the intentions of my research, the foundational understanding of violence presented here aids in the analysis of participants' exposure to, perspectives on, and perpetration of violence throughout their lives, particularly as inhabitants of Rio's favelas.

Part B – Gender Transformative Interventions

2.5   The Involvement of Men and Boys in Equality and Health Promotion

Since the Cairo ICPD and Beijing World Conference on Women, importance has been placed on advancing gender equality to better the SRHR and overall well-being of women. Considerable research has been conducted in support of the need to incorporate men into such efforts as those most often in positions of power which uphold inequitable gender relations. Studies have shown that reproductive health issues, like the use and effectiveness of contraceptives, access to abortion services, and pregnancy and childbirth decisions, depend on male involvement (Dudgeon and Inhorn, 2004; Ruane-McAteer et al., 2019). As such, a foundational understanding of gender inequality and restrictive gender norms as determinants of health and the existing evidence supporting the engagement of men and boys in achieving equality is important when considering the potential for, and evaluation of, gender transformative interventions to bring about positive change.

2.5.1   *Gender Inequality and Restrictive Norms as Determinants of Health*

Gender inequality and restrictive gender norms are two distinct determinants of health (Heise et al., 2019). The social determination of health paradigm was proposed by Breilh to recognise that health and disease are socially, as opposed to individually, determined by one's lifestyle and their particular social location, including gender, and the broad structural characteristics and power relations of particular social forms (Breilh, 1977; Harvey et al., 2022). Through his own work on the social determinants of health, Marmot has indicated that gender inequality is likely the "most pervasive and entrenched inequity" among the determinants (Marmot, 2007, p.1155). An ecological study of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member countries has found that greater gender inequality is associated with lower life expectancy and healthy life expectancy, increased premature mortality measured in years of life lost, and increased morbidity measured in years lived with disability and disability-adjusted

life years (Veas et al., 2021). At the same time, restrictive gender norms intersect with social factors, and are reinforced by parents and peers, with multiple short- and long-term health consequences throughout an individual's life that differ for boys and girls, although quantitative measurement of these impacts is underdeveloped (Weber et al., 2019). Despite this, compelling evidence has long supported the connection between addressing the negative influences of gender inequality, and the associated restrictive gender norms, in improving overall population health and well-being (Krieger, 2003; Sen et al., 2007; Heise et al., 2019).

While both influences are reinforced at the individual, household, and community levels, structural determinants support the power differentials that maintain inequality at a societal and global level (George et al., 2020). These determinants include how societies are organised, how laws are made, how economies function, and ultimately, how ideologies are shaped and maintained within patriarchal societies that are upheld by masculine ideals and unequal relations between men and women. Structural determinants influence women's health and well-being by perpetuating socioeconomic and political processes that structure hierarchical power relations and determine the distribution of resources, division of labour, political participation, and social norms. Gender inequalities are replicated and reinforced in health systems around the world which interact with and mirror the restrictive gender norms of communities they serve, prioritising care in ways consistent with traditionally held norms and, in doing so, compromising the health of those lower in the gender hierarchy (Hay et al., 2019). Restrictive gender norms do not only translate to poor health outcomes for women. Men also experience negative health implications supported by traditional masculine ideals which influence behavioural risk taking, mental health, and delayed health seeking (Fleming and Agnew-Brune, 2015). Not only is it necessary to address gender inequalities to advance the health of women, but the associated restructuring of systems that perpetuate masculine and feminine norms can address negative health outcomes for men and boys and gender and sexual minorities, positively affecting a broad spectrum of health outcomes for all individuals (Heise et al., 2019).

2.5.2   The Engagement of Men and Boys

While availability of resources plays a major role in the health inequalities that women face, they are also exposed to unfavourable environments due to religious influence, gendered expectations and, significantly, patriarchal culture and the control that men exert over female sexuality (Plan International, 2019). Men and boys are unavoidably involved in gender issues due to the existing patterns of gender inequality that place men's position as the dominant gender category, tying "men's practices and identities, men's participation in complex and diverse gender relations, and masculine discourses and culture" intimately with these patterns (Flood, 2015, p.4). Their involvement in attempts to improve health outcomes for women is important, particularly in relation to acts of violence. Additionally, adolescent boys are more likely to endorse unequal gender norms than girls, due to the normality of male privilege in most societies; they experience greater freedom and power at puberty than girls; and social barriers and ridicule often inhibit them from taking on more gender-equitable attitudes (Amin et al., 2018). Among young men in Latin America, it is also masculine gender norms that enforce male dominance and toughness, leading to bullying and sexual harassment in schools (DeSouza and Ribeiro, 2005) and are linked to substance abuse, violence, and delinquency as well as the perpetration of IPV (Kågesten et al., 2016). Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) found that men's equitable attitudes in relation to gender are associated with more equitable practices, including reduced use of violence. The researchers endorsed programmatic approaches that attempt to change attitudes, in addition to "policy and structural approaches that create lived experiences of gender equality for men" (Levtov et al., 2014, p468). As a 'structural driver' that produces health inequities for women, gender is a complex social terrain that affects health on a global scale (Connell, 2012), and requires interventions that, in essence, 'undo gender' and focus on ways in which to make social interactions less gendered and change the gender system through structural approaches (Deutsch, 2007).

Young men are not a homogenous group. Particularly within Latin America, interrelations between gender, race and ethnicity, social class, age, sexual orientation, and geography must be considered when approaching interventions with socially vulnerable young men, not least in the health field (Nascimento, 2018). A widespread message from studies is that it is important for gender transformative interventions directed at boys and young men to take an intersectional approach to their programmatic development and implementation (Dworkin et al., 2015; Levy et al., 2020; Kågesten and Chandra-Mouli, 2020), and that programmes tend to privilege a gender lens rather than taking an intersectional perspective (Dworkin et al., 2015). The intersectional approach should focus on identity categories as both distinct variables and interactive processes to determine how a gender transformative framework can address the nuances within a particular group's understanding and configuration of, and relationship with, gender and masculinity (Fehrenbacher and Patel, 2020).

A breadth of literature emphasises the importance of engaging men in the promotion of SRHR and prevention of GBV in low- and middle-income settings (Connell, 2003; Aguayo et al., 2016; Hook et al., 2018; WHO, 2010), and a variety of interventions have been developed to determine best methods by which to accomplish this. Well-designed programmes have been able to produce short-term changes in the attitudes and behaviours of boys and men regarding SRH and the use of violence against women (Barker et al., 2010). Interventions have also shown reduced IPV and GBV (De Koker et al, 2014, Wolfe et al., 2009, Keller et al., 2015), decreased support for inequitable gender norms (Verma et al., 2006), and increased contraceptive use (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008). However, past studies of the assessment of programmes with men (Elwy et al., 2002, Rothman et al, 2003, Sternberg and Hubley, 2004) have recognised a dearth of evaluation studies that focus primarily on interventions with men and boys, and few take a gendered approach in seeking best practices when addressing perceptions of masculinity (Barker and Ricardo, 2005). In the promotion of gender equality, there is a need for increased scalability, sustainability, and impact of work done with men and boys (Peacock and Barker, 2012), and links between gender theory and activism need to

be further examined (Jewkes et al., 2015a). This need will be analysed further through the examination of the effectiveness, best practices, and implications of gender transformative interventions.

2.6   Gender Transformation

From a foundational understanding of the negative impacts that gendered roles and norms have on the health and well-being of individuals in societies, it has become a focus of international development efforts to not only recognise and address inequitable realities of the gender system, but also work to transform the widely accepted roles and norms that perpetuate inequality. Through behavioural change work to redefine traditional perceptions of masculinity and masculine norms, transformative methods have allowed for the engagement of men and boys in working to achieve gender equality and making them active partners in SRHR and in addressing VAWG.

Behavioural change is at the foundation of what gender transformative interventions aim to accomplish through their theories of change. A theory of change is a method by which clear connections are made between an intervention's approach and its outcomes, using underlying assumptions based on evidence and articulating hypotheses on how change will occur through the intervention's implementation (Reinholz and Andrews, 2020). A foundational theory of change makes explicit an intervention's rationale to support its development, implementation, and evaluation. For gender transformative interventions, theories of change are commonly based on established behaviour change theories, encompassing "psychosocial determinants of behaviour, positing how environmental and programme inputs lead to output behaviours via individual, interpersonal, and structural processes" (Robinson et al., 2021, p.2). Considering that these interventions are complex and multifaceted in their development and implementation, a combination of theoretical approaches and strategies is often used to address gender inequality, and the selection of theories is informed by a

thorough understanding of the specific context, target population, and objectives of an intervention (Lorist, 2018).

In their systematic rapid review of behavioural change theory use in family planning interventions that involved men and boys, Robinson et al. (2021) found that the most utilised theoretical approaches were social learning theory, social cognitive theory, the theory of planned behaviour, and the information-motivation-behaviour skills (IMB) model. They also found that few programmes applied gender informed elements in their theories of change and chose to base them primarily on these established theories of behavioural change. Their findings highlight a need for more gender aware and gender transformative theory to be implemented in future programmatic designs given the ability for the promotion of gender equality to be a catalyst for change in transformative health programmes (Kraft et al., 2014; Schriver et al., 2017). Central to the behavioural change theories applied in a gender transformative context was the integration of elements to improve knowledge and skills while promoting positive social norms regarding family planning and sexual health behaviours (Robinson et al., 2021). There was some indication that the theories of change for effective interventions incorporated approaches to address both individual factors and environmental and structural features. Such an ecological approach has been shown to maximise the uptake and maintenance of positive health behaviours when applied to behavioural change interventions and allow for the integration of multiple theories at the various levels of influence in the ecological model (Sallis and Owen, 2015).

The tension between structure and agency is central to the process of gender transformation. The development of gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours requires encouragement for programme participants to utilise their agency in maintaining change within themselves amidst existing social structures, which are typically contrary to what they have been exposed to in an intervention and can constrain their ability to maintain this change. Additionally, they are encouraged to use their agency to influence change in their personal lives, among their peer groups, and in their communities to modify these social structures in the

advancement of gender equality. The effectiveness of a gender transformative intervention therefore relies on the ways in which participants are able to develop such agency, sustain change within themselves, and ideally, work to advance further change in their surrounding environment.

2.6.1   Gender Responsive Assessment Scale

Rao Gupta introduced the concept of gender transformative approaches in her address to the International AIDS Conference in 2000 (Rao Gupta, 2000). The conceptual framework was established in gender mainstreaming approaches of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2011 and later developed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Interagency Gender Working Group in 2013. It distinguishes the following categories in interventions that address gender: gender unequal (or gender exploitative), gender neutral (or gender blind), gender sensitive, gender specific (or gender accommodating) and gender transformative. Table 1 provides a brief comparison of these categories as summarised in the WHO Gender Responsive Assessment Scale (2011) and Ruane-McAteer et al. (2019).

Table 1. Continuum of Approaches to Address Gender Equality in Programming

Gender unequal or gender exploitative	Perpetuates gender inequality by reinforcing unbalanced norms, roles, and relations.
Gender neutral or gender blind	Ignores gender norms, roles, and relations and thereby reinforces gender-based discrimination
Gender sensitive	Considers gender norms, roles, and relations but does not address inequality generated by unequal norms, roles, or relations
Gender specific or gender accommodating	Considers women's and men's specific needs or roles but does not seek to change them.
Gender transformative	Directly addresses the unfair gender norms, roles, or relations that are the underlying cause for negative outcomes and behaviours.

While particular approaches vary based on their understanding of what is meant by gender transformative practices and the cultural context in which an intervention will be implemented, programmes are likely to question gender norms and expectations (Casey et al., 2018) in an effort to promote more gender-equitable relationships between men and women (Barker et al., 2010; Jewkes et al., 2015a; Dworkin et al., 2013). They seek to actively examine, question, and change the gender norms in a cultural setting to address the associated imbalance of power as a means of reaching health as well as gendered objectives (Green and Levack, 2010). This involves an intention to question and reveal the personal and societal costs of harmful, inequitable gender norms and power relations to make explicit the benefits of changing them (Lorist et al., 2018), and critically questions and works to change the socio-cultural, community, and institutional factors that have cultural influence along with individual beliefs and attitudes (Carlson et al., 2015).

Often with the intention of advancing positive health outcomes and combatting VAWG, gender transformative interventions challenge the constraining definitions of masculinity among men, fostering gender equality and aiming to democratise the relationships between men and women (Fleming et al., 2014). They reconceptualise and measure gender as a cultural system of practices and beliefs rather than a trait or quality (Kato-Wallace et al., 2019). In doing so, interventions often incorporate gender consciousness, raising awareness of diversity, empowering girls and women as agents of change, creating spaces for gender non-conforming individuals, building social movements around change, and working with boys and men to make them active partners in the work of advancing gender equality (Plan International, 2019; Lorist et al., 2018). Focus is often placed on promoting shared decision-making between partners and enhancing societal services in ways that ensure women's agency in decision-making (Kraft et al., 2014; Comrie-Thompson et al., 2015).

Gender transformation is as much a form of intergenerational change as immediate change within individuals and localised cultures (Hillenbrand et al., 2015; Karver et al., 2016). Previous discussion of the structural nature of gendered roles, norms, and

violence shows just how deeply embedded inequalities remain in everyday society, complicating the work to address them on individual, interactional, and macro levels (Lorber, 1994; Behnke and Meuser, 2002; Scheper-Hughes, 2010). Considering that the idea of gender transformative practices has only really been discussed for the past 25 years, its definition and practice will continue to change over time as components are reworked in varying cultural contexts and evidence of effectiveness is analysed on more longitudinal scales. For the purposes of this thesis, gender transformation will be defined as the modification process of gendered roles, norms, and practices on the individual, interactional, and macro levels to reduce inequalities and inequities between men and women.

2.6.2   Cultural Context and Population Demographics

Gender transformative interventions cannot be understood to work in the same way across different population groups and cultural contexts. Each community, society, peer group, country, and cultural environment will have their own understanding of expected gender roles, definitions of gender and masculinity, perceptions of violence and sex, and religious, political, or cultural barriers to equitable change that will influence the theoretical and practical approaches needed when developing and implementing an intervention (Dworkin et al., 2015). This includes factoring in the demographics of the target population, their prior exposure to violence and gendered roles and norms, and any intersectional marginalisation they face in their daily lives (Barker et al., 2010). Evidence from the programme-specific and context-specific effects of interventions has also shown the need for programmatic content to be targeted to the intended outcomes and to the enabling environment of the study subjects to best achieve desired results (Beckwith et al., 2022). This includes a need to consult with community and thematic organisations, external experts, and individual activists from the local and cultural environment in which a programme will be implemented (Lorist, 2015).

Taking intersectional factors into account when developing and implementing gender transformative programming for a particular population can greatly increase

the intended impact and desired programmatic outcomes (Fehrenbacher and Patel, 2020). For example, given the history of racial apartheid and a vibrant human rights emphasis in civil society in South Africa, men were able to connect more to intervention material on gender inequality, violence, and HIV because they 'knew what it was like' to be treated as inferior (Dworkin, 2015). As a result, they were able to critically reflect on masculinities and critique gendered power relations that privileged men over women. This connection not only emphasises the extent to which intersectionality must be considered as a component in understanding masculinities, but also how its incorporation in a gender transformative paradigm can lead to further advancement of gender-equitable attitudes as well as the overall effectiveness of these interventions (Dworkin and Barker, 2019).

2.6.3   Critical Analysis of Gender Transformative Interventions

While widely considered the most effective approach to addressing masculinity and inequitable gender norms among boys and men, there has been recent discussion around the validity of gender transformative interventions and whether or not they further deepen 'benevolent sexism'—paternalistic and patronizing attitudes toward women and girls through characterising them as delicate and in need of men's protection (Hammond et al., 2017), create the desired behavioural and attitudinal changes within participants, or ignore violence that is perpetrated among men. In 2019, Brush and Miller published a critique of gender transformative programming, particularly in relation to interventions that work on violence prevention. In support of their critique, they said that some studies had found changes in behavioural outcomes, but not in the attitudes that researcher hypotheses rest upon, while others had only found positive changes in attitudes, but saw no significant behavioural change; still others reported changes in some attitudes and behaviours, but not others. These discrepancies support their claim that the 'social norms' model, on which many gender transformative approaches rest, must be modified. It communicates a counterintuitive message that women are weak and need to be protected, which does not promote gender equality (Brush and Miller, 2019).

Through further criticism of social norms theory, Brush and Miller also point to researchers' overestimation of both 'descriptive norms' and 'injunctive norms' among men and boys. Descriptive norms, what one actually does or thinks, include the prevalence and intensity of gender-inequitable attitudes in individuals, while injunctive norms, what one thinks others do or think, include the perceived shame, condemnation, and emasculation imposed by same-sex peer groups on men and boys who present gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours (Brush and Miller, 2019). In discussing the complex nature of the circumstances in which gender transformative approaches are implemented, Brush and Miller call into question the overall effectiveness of interventions that take such an approach.

In the same year that Brush and Miller produced this critique, Dworkin and Barker published a response pointing out that it was reductionist to say that the 'social norms' model was the only one utilised when developing a programmatic paradigm and that, conversely, some interventions have largely not focused on norms, but rather on the idea of gender norms that came from second-wave feminist theory. As a result, they were unfortunately reduced by scholars to an emphasis on 'harmful individualised masculinities' (Dworkin and Barker, 2019). Both Dworkin and Barker play a considerable 'insider' role in the development, implementation, and analysis of gender transformative approaches, and do recognise limitations within them, particularly those that fail to take an intersectional approach or a perspective of 'doing gender'. And yet, they emphasize how diverse gender transformative interventions really are in their theoretical approaches and to what extent they integrate various components of gender equality efforts and approaches which must be considered when determining overall effectiveness. Programmes today remain variable in their approaches conceptually, methodologically, with relation to their levels of analysis, and regarding the content and technical skills or abilities of their implementors (Dworkin and Barker, 2019).

These criticisms, along with a lack of longitudinal analysis, do call into question the effectiveness, in part, of gender transformative interventions, but do not discount existing evidence of effectiveness and the potential for greater impact with

conceptual or methodological changes in different contextual settings. The response of Dworkin and Barker suggests that there is potential and promise still within this field. Much work needs to be done to advance and better organise and implement gender transformative interventions, but they remain a substantial advance on previous interventions with men that tended to be 'risk group-focused' and single-topic approaches. The field remains young, with few rigorously tested interventions, but is showing signs of success and is growing (Dworkin and Barker, 2019).

2.7   What Works in Gender Transformative Programming

Gender transformative language has been incorporated into the development sector since the end of the 20th Century and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and expanded Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have provided frameworks through which gender transformative interventions have been developed and implemented to seek gender equality and the empowerment of women in the development sector (MacArthur et al., 2022). Broadly, interventions have centred on organisational, relational, and sectoral approaches, although these categories have overlapped in their practices and MacArthur et al. have recently suggested five guiding principles for gender transformative programming (2022). These include a programmatic motivation towards lasting, revolutionary gender transformative change founded in critical consciousness and a normative view of equality; a multi-level, systematic approach to restructure social, political, and economic inequalities to fairly redistribute power and resources; strategic outcomes founded in gender interests that reimagine social norms by modifying status and relations between sexes and in relation to other genders; a recognition of the diversity in gender identities through the application of a holistic, intersectional lens to programmatic design, research methodologies, and evaluation synthesisation; and the integration of action-based, reflexive, collaborative, and participatory methodological practices that have proven transformative potential in programmatic approaches. Such distillation of gender transformative foundational principles benefits the development and implementation of future programming, but also introduces a risk of over-simplification, reducing the uniqueness of each approach considering the

institutional and organisational abilities of each intervention may be limited in their scope to embody all principles as desired. Evidence of effectiveness in programmes must be analysed considering programmatic designs, approaches, and implementation methodologies.

The design of gender transformative interventions that have produced positive outcomes incorporated a combination of approaches including small group education and discussion, social marketing campaigns, community mobilisation, and policy advocacy and changes (Carlson et al., 2015; Casey et al., 2018; Barker et al., 2010; Dworkin et al., 2013; Levy et al., 2020; Ruane McAteer et al., 2020). Programmes included the participation of multiple and diverse stakeholders and worked with sectors beyond health to create further change within the wider community and not just among programme participants (Zielke et al., 2023; Fisher and Makleff, 2022; Levy et al., 2020; Flood, 2011; Morrison et al., 2004; Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020). Additionally, increased effectiveness was shown for programmes that worked with both girls and boys and women and men collectively to help sustain gender transformation (Jewkes et al., 2015a; Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020). This allows women and girls to be empowered to identify and reflect on problems and work collectively on enacting solutions they see as necessary for their communities (Kraft et al., 2014). One review found that mentorship-focused interventions with boys and young men produced positive results regarding social assets and soft skill development relating to reproductive health and gender norm transformation (Plourde et al., 2020). Another introduced the concept of gender synchronisation as a step beyond gender transformative programming. This idea incorporated gender transformative work with men, women, boys, and girls, of all sexual orientations and gender identities, although there has been little indication since this review that such an approach has been applied and evaluated for evidence of increased effectiveness (Greene and Levack, 2010).

Effective programmatic session messaging for men and boys generally focused on designs that challenged traditional norms of masculinity, discussed the negative results of inequitable gender and social norms on individuals and society, increased

the level of knowledge on HIV and STDs/STIs, and made efforts to reduce violence or sexual risk (Pérez-Martínez et al., 2023; Fisher and Makleff, 2022; Dworkin et al., 2013; PLAN International, 2019). Among gender transformative interventions that engaged theoretically or conceptually with masculinities, Zielke et al. observed transformations in gender-equitable norms within men's relationships with intimate partners, with their children, and regarding their roles in the household; around the availability and accessibility of alternative representations of masculinities for both boys and men; and in the effective provision of knowledge in social learning atmospheres that presented reported reductions in gender-inequitable behaviours (2023). Additional analysis has shown that effective programming also focused primarily on men and their overall health with messages presented on questioning the characteristics of contemporary masculinity that prevent them from using health services and, on the affective level, by creating safe places for men to actively recognise, challenge, and reconfigure gender norms in the presence of other men (Zielke et al., 2023; Fleming et al., 2014). However, increasing condom use among men and increasing their use of health services did not inherently reduce gender inequality unless efforts were made to reduce the burden on women for contraceptive use or to change the ways in which men view or interact with women (Barker et al., 2010). Among interventions that work with young adolescents, evaluation has indicated similar importance to work beyond the individual level to incorporate small-group, participatory methods in addition to the importance of ensuring sufficient training and preparation of facilitators for programmatic activity implementation, the inclusion of healthcare providers to provide additional educational channels for participants, and work with parents and teachers to encourage the reinforcement and maintenance of a wide array of gender-equitable attitudes and beliefs (Mmari et al., 2023; Levy et al., 2020).

Effective interventions were also seen to encourage critical awareness of gender roles and norms and participatory reflection to determine actions that can be taken to shift individual attitudes and behaviours to shape personal relationships, with both other men and the women in their lives, in the advancement of gender equality (Plan International, 2019). It has been proposed that such self-reflection

and awareness is founded in the teaching of empathy, which encourages men and boys to imagine and better understand the suffering or positions of women and girls in their cultural environments to aid in the encouragement of change and adoption of more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours (Keddie, 2020). These efforts also involve fostering critical awareness and participation among members of a community who are affected most by inequitable gender norms and traditional ideals of masculinity and encouraging them to become active agents in shaping their own health (Levy et al., 2020). This idea was a founding principle for *Jovem Pra Jovem* and similar gender transformative work: to support more gender-equitable young men to serve as role models for others and create alternative peer groups around them where discussions can be had to aid in understanding the costs of traditional masculinity and community awareness can be fostered about domestic violence and gender equity (Barker, 2000).

A comprehensive systematic review of gender transformative programming with men and boys by Ruane-McAteer et al., based on an evidence and gap map they developed in 2019, found that few interventions addressed the structural level of unequal power relations in their programmatic approach, maintaining primary focus on the small group or community levels (2020). In agreement with evidence discussed above, they found that effective interventions had incorporated multicomponent activities, multilevel programming, and work with both women and men in addition to the adequate training of facilitators and programmatic durations of at least three months. They also found a moderate to high risk of bias in all studies they analysed, indicating a limitation to the quality of evidence discussed throughout this section. They noted that no programme with boys and men had addressed their engagement with the facilitation of women's access to safe abortions, addressed infertility, or engaged men in SRHR during disease outbreaks or in support of women during periods of postpartum or breastfeeding, and that evaluation of gender transformative interventions was heavily heteronormatively weighted with little consideration provided to LGBTQ relationships (Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020).

Table 2. Summary of Characteristics of Effective Gender Transformative Interventions

Characteristics of Effective Gender Transformative Interventions
- A combination of approaches including small group education and discussion, mentorship, social marketing campaigns, community mobilisation, and policy advocacy and changes.
- Participation with multiple and diverse stakeholders, working with sectors across society.
- Inclusion of both boys, girls, women, and men in programmatic activities.
- Sufficient training and education of facilitators.
- Programmatic durations of at least three months.
- Challenged traditional norms of masculinity, discussed negative results of inequitable gender and social norms on individuals and society, increased knowledge on HIV and STDs/STIs, and made efforts to reduce violence and sexual risk.
- Focused on men's overall health, questioning components of contemporary masculinity that prevented their use of health services and created safe spaces for men to recognise, challenge, and reconfigure gender norms in the presence of other men.
- Encouraged critical awareness of gender roles and norms and participatory reflection to determine actions to shift individual attitudes and behaviours and shape personal relationships in the advancement of gender equality.

I determined early in my research that, while gender transformative interventions show promising results regarding attitudinal changes and short-term behavioural change, almost all research to date has emphasised particular limitations that remain a hindrance to determining programmatic effectiveness: longitudinal analysis and lasting behavioural change (Ruane-McAteer et al., 2019; Dworkin et al., 2013; Barker et al., 2010; Carlson et al, 2015; Plourde et al., 2020). Considering that only about 20 years have elapsed since the first gender transformative studies were implemented, there is a clear research gap around whether interventions can create long-term behavioural changes in the boys and men with whom they work (Stewart et al., 2021). It also remains unknown whether gender transformative programmes can actually improve long-term health outcomes (Dworkin et al., 2015; Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020). While gender transformative interventions continue to be influenced by the monitoring and evaluation of models around the world that work

within a variety of cultural contexts, population groups, and programmatic objectives, the question remains as to the long-term implications of these programmes and their ability to not only determine short-term attitudinal changes among study participants, but to fully evaluate behavioural changes and the impacts on societal and structural components that could support them. Institutions, policy, governmental regulations, and the media all have a role in fostering environments that are amendable to changes on the individual level, but deeply embedded, structural gendered norms require significant attention to ensure long-term behavioural changes (Ruane-McAteer, 2020; Stewart et al., 2021).

2.8   Conclusion

The theories and concepts discussed in this chapter will be utilised throughout this thesis to analyse the various influences on the JPJ men's understandings of their gendered roles and responsibilities and their current attitudes and reported behaviours, the ability of Promundo to develop individual agency in the men to encourage change in their communities and wider society, and the implications of my findings for longitudinal gender transformative change and the role of gender transformative interventions. My analysis will be framed by gender structure theory, the ongoing structure and agency debate, and theories of violence, incorporating critical concepts of gender and masculinities. A foundational understanding of gender transformative interventions and existing evidence of effectiveness will provide both comparison to my findings of longitudinal programmatic impact and additional evidence on which I support the implications of the findings and my associated recommendations. The theories and perspectives of academics from Latin America and Brazil additionally support an understanding of the context and environment in which both the JPJ programme and my study were based. This cultural and programmatic context will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 3   Cultural Context and Promundo's Approach

"The people who live in favelas know that here, at any time, it can get bad."

- *Carlos, 38, Colina*

3.1   Introduction

The following chapter develops an understanding of the cultural and programmatic context on which my research and analysis are founded. Data are first provided encompassing the current state of gender equality in Latin America, Brazil, and Rio de Janeiro with particular focus on the political environment in Brazil, the favelas of Rio, and an understanding of gender, masculinity, and structural violence in the favelas. Ethnographic research and relevant statistics have been incorporated to provide comparative data for my research analysis. The chapter then provides information on Instituto Promundo and the *Jovem Pra Jovem* programme, incorporating Promundo's theoretical approach to gender transformative change, their classification of gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours, and the role they played in early gender transformative work.

3.2   Cultural Context

While the maternal mortality ratio within Latin America and the Caribbean has steadily declined an average 40% since 1990 and is considered 'low' (WHO, 2014), it was recently reported by the WHO to be 74 per 100,000 live births (2019). In the Latin American region, ratios ranged from 13 per 100,000 live births in Chile to 169 in Guyana. Progress made since 1990 has been threatened by the suspension or limitation of reproductive, maternal, newborn, and child health (RMNCH) services that occurred as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic (Castro, 2020). In addition, when compared with global trends, "the Latin America and Caribbean region has the most legally restrictive abortion laws… limiting the provision of safe abortion and post-abortion quality care" (Romero et al., 2021, p. 2). Beyond this, Latin American adolescents face substantial barriers to SRH education and services, resulting in

many of them facing serious sexual health problems, early unplanned pregnancy, and STDs/STIs (Pozo et al., 2015). From a societal standpoint, women do not even constitute one-quarter of landowners in most Latin American countries because of gender bias (Deere and Leon, 2003), the percentage of female landowners ranging from as low as 8% in Guatemala to 31% in Peru (FAO, 2020). Additionally, policies in Latin America related to economic liberalisation and associated structural adjustment are understood to have increased inequality with negative effects on male income and status, creating a clear link with increased domestic violence (Seguino, 2008).

In the Brazilian context, women have historically evaluated their health less positively than men and face considerable difficulty regarding maternity or abortion care, access to a variety of contraceptive options, and undue abuse and disrespect in health care (Diniz et al., 2012). The maternal mortality rate in 2020 was 72 per 100,000 live births and the rate of adolescent fertility was 45.2 per 1,000 women aged 15 to 19 in 2021 (World Bank, 2023). Brazil only allows abortion in cases of rape, incest, anencephaly, or to save a woman's life, leading to an estimated 500,000 illegal abortions every year, with half resulting in complications that require emergency room visits (Malta et al., 2019). Additionally, evidence regarding women's intentions to become pregnant has shown an increased need for public policies that guarantee both access to and expansion of effective contraceptive options (Melo et al., 2020). In written legislation, the Brazilian National Health System can be perceived to protect and attempt to provide for the sexual and reproductive rights of women. However, due to racism and social inequality, many women face difficulty in accessing health services and in being treated appropriately and equitably by healthcare professionals (Silva et al., 2022).

Outside the health care system, structural inequality in Brazil imposes limitations on marginalised populations within the social and class hierarchy that are based on race and gender. There are significant racial disparities in wage earnings in which non-White men and women suffer unequal access to valuable resources and opportunity and further gender disparity is present among women and men of the

same race (Figueiredo Santos, 2011). Social divisions from racial oppression have also created environments where racial divide is a more difficult barrier for non-White women to overcome than is gender inequality. The structural interactions between race, class, and gender can therefore not be understated when analysing the position of women in Brazilian societies (De Barbieri, 1992). Female professionals in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo have also reported overt gender discrimination in work environments, despite Brazil having gone through significant workplace changes, due to technological advancements, economic shifts, and demographic forces, that have increased women's participation in the labour market (Santos and Garibaldi de Hilal, 2018). In 2022, female labour force participation was 54% compared to men's 73% and 26% of young women were not in education, employment, or training compared to 16% of young men (World Bank, 2023). The proportion of time that women spent on unpaid domestic and care work in 2017 was reported to be 12% compared to men's 5%. Brazilian society therefore continues to reinforce an expectation that women fulfil roles traditionally ascribed to them through marriage and motherhood, and women often act as agents to uphold these roles rather than to defy them (Santos and Garibaldi de Hilal, 2018).

There is also a high prevalence of violence against women which links with family histories of violence, men's use of alcohol, unemployment, socioeconomic status, poor social support for women, and their emotional dependence on perpetrators (Silva and Oliveira, 2015). To this day, almost 3 in 10 women in Brazil experience some form of violence, with over 75% reporting the violence from someone they already know (de Paulo Gewehr, 2021). The rate of femicides in 2021 was 1.7 per 100,000 women, with a reported 1,900 women killed by GBV in the same year (ECLAC, 2023). The recent pandemic only served to increase the rate of violence against women in Brazil (Vahedi et al., 2023), with Rio de Janeiro seeing a reported 50% increase in domestic violence cases within just the first weekend of social distancing (Marques et al., 2020). Despite under-reporting in the city, it was determined that more than 250 women faced violence every day during the 2020 lockdown, 61% of which occurred inside the household (ISP, 2021). While additional, reliable statistics on the prevalence of VAWG in Rio remain limited, there is an

understanding that such violence is part of a continuum of violence and criminality that is upheld by traditional ideas of masculinity in Brazilian culture and that to address the issue requires gendered considerations in policymaking (Giannini et al., 2017). These considerations also require a reflexive analysis of the structural mentalities that uphold and perpetuate the systems of gender inequality.

3.2.1 Brazil's Political Landscape

On the political level, the discussion surrounding, and push towards, male involvement in health and reproductive rights issues in Brazil emerged from feminist activism (Lyra and Medrado, 2016). Brazilian law has advanced, with laws focused on domestic violence, sexual harassment, and femicide, as well as with strategies that account for institutional and cultural obstacles (Biroli, 2018). However, while these policy and institutional advancements were implemented to advance SRH, in addition to others in the early 2000s that recognise the importance of addressing traditional perceptions of masculinity (Lyra and Medrado, 2016), a conservative shift in Brazilian morality and politics over the past decade has resulted in significant setbacks to sexual health education, abortion rights, sexual violence and associated health care, the prevention of STIs, homosexual citizenship, and the overall advancement of the sexual and reproductive rights of women (Brandão and Cabral, 2019). In addition, political statements on gender and feminism, sexism, harassment, and misogyny within governmental institutions and the discouragement and constraint of women in politics have all been presented as examples of 'political violence' against women within Brazil, which maintains no policies defining or preventing such forms of violence (Biroli, 2016). Women currently only hold 17.5% of elected federal deputy positions (IPU, 2023), and few political parties incorporate gender inclusive language in their party texts (Eduardo et al., 2023). These inclusive statutes encourage, and indicate the importance of, women's participation, but have little influence or relationship with the number of women the parties elect.

After the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018, it became apparent that significant efforts needed to be made by civil society and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to curtail the conservative shift that threatened the advancement of SRH efforts. "Anti-gender ideology has penetrated the state apparatus and is being systematically translated into government policies" (Corrêa and Faulhaber, 2022, p. 50). The concept of 'gender ideology' has been adopted in Brazilian politics, particularly through Christian religious rhetoric, to threaten gender diversity, sexual orientation, and the ideals of gender equality (Medrado et al., 2019). Even the term 'gender' in public education has been demonised by Brazilian politicians as a threat to 'traditional' family values and the normal, basic 'family model', reaffirming economic models of family arrangement that are markedly sexist and patriarchal. Attacks against gender present themselves in policies that limit comprehensive sex education, encourage the gender pay gap, and criminalise the dissemination of 'gender ideology', creating a generalised environment of misogyny in the political, institutional, and societal spheres (Payne and Santos, 2020). The election of former-President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva on 30 October 2022 has provided some hope that positive changes will be made towards ending the gender pay gap and reducing violence against women, but much is still unknown about his vision for gender equality and significant work is yet to be done to achieve it.

3.2.2   Gender and Masculinity in the Brazilian Context

It is the body itself that is the avenue through which gender is constructed and reconstructed, and power relations inherent in the gender sphere are what organise sexual life (Parker, 2003). Based on his research in Brazil, Parker suggests that gender roles can be influenced by sexual practices in which a distinction is made between the active role of the masculine and the passive role of the feminine. He describes how it is within "this symbolic distinction between *atividade* and *passividade* that notions of *macho* and *fêmea*, of *masculinidade* and *femininidade*, have traditionally been organised in Brazil" (Parker, 2003, p.310). These constructs influence everyday life, in which sexual activity or passivity is translated into power relations and domination between the masculine and feminine, between men and

women, thereby reinforcing normative patterns of masculinity and femininity. Female employment in Brazil has, therefore, long been considered subsidiary to that of men's, justified socially as a more passive addition to the family income, often by a woman taking on the unpaid work of a housewife to increase her husband's available time for paid labour (Saffioti, 1978; Baldwin and DeSouza, 2001; Codazzi et al., 2018). Fonseca also described the gendered limits of sexual morality that are placed on the working class of Brazil in which "girls should be virgins until their wedding days, married women should be chaste, (and) men should dedicate themselves to supporting their wives and children" (Fonseca, 2003, p.65).

One of the first studies to analyse the construction of masculinity in Latin America focused on Brazil and found that the primary tensions experienced by men against oppressive traditional forms of socialisation arose in their attempts to adapt to the social roles that did not match their abilities or desires (Nolasco, 1993). Their perceptions of masculinity were often grounded in vague understandings of tradition and authority (Medeiros, 2022; Nolasco, 1993). Nolasco criticised early feminism for associating patriarchy with men and representing men as fundamentally bad. Male identity in Brazil has often been seen as having a strong relationship with the capacity for violence and even its explicit use, assuming men's natural aggressive nature (Penglase, 2010; Gutmann, 2021). This reality is underpinned by cultural ideals of honour and how men use violence against women, and even femicide, to restore their reputation and maintain their status above their partner and other women in society (Vandello and Cohen, 2003). Infidelity has even been analysed as a form of compensatory masculinity among marginalised Brazilian men when socioeconomic opportunity is limited and they are unable to fulfil the masculine role of breadwinner (Medeiros, 2022).

Paternity in Brazil has been considered the most conflicted dimension of masculine identity and the most difficult to achieve in practice (Viveros Vigoya, 2003; Nolasco, 1993). Nolasco described fatherhood as a way men participate in society, fusing the processes of masculine identity construction with the authoritarian model (Nolasco, 1993). It "inaugurates a public display of the complete, virile, and responsible man"

(Viveros Vigoya, 2003, p.37). Fatherhood in Latin America often presents an imbalance between the model of the devoted father, described as ideal, and the gendered division of labour that alienates men from domestic chores and child rearing (Fuller, 1997). In Brazil, there is a widespread perception that children belong exclusively to their mothers and that adolescent fathers are regarded merely as sons and not as potential fathers (Viveros Vigoya, 2003). At a base understanding in Brazilian culture, a father has children, financially provides for his family, and protects them and the home (Gutmann, 2003). While Brazilian men show concern for caring for their children and take on activities relating to feeding, hygiene, and direct care, they often still refer to such tasks as female responsibilities and do not participate in household chores (Vieira et al., 2013). They view their responsibilities as being present and disciplining, guiding, and monitoring their children's behaviours, often going beyond the primary responsibility as provider.

Young men in Brazil are exposed to police and social violence from a young age and are seen as having been deprived of freedoms due to their involvement in drug trafficking, homicides, or sexual violence (Nascimento et al., 2018). Health professionals are also not well equipped to understand the gender nuances at play among young men who do utilise health services, particularly in relation to violence, STIs, or mental health. These experiences interact with traditional concepts of masculinity to affect not only how they utilise health services, but also their understanding of safe sexual practices, participation in violence, and beliefs about what it means to be a man. Social norms often upheld among young men include ideas that men need sex more than women, that having children is a way to leave one's mark in the world, and that being a 'real man' among peers and in the community comes from social recognition of virility (Baldwin and DeSouza, 2001; Nascimento et al., 2018). Contradictory expectations of sexual expression also encourage the maintenance of rigid norms of sexuality among young men while limiting their ability to understand safe sex practices or identify and seek out health services for STIs (Parker, 2009).

Despite a recognised need to address traditional conceptions of masculinity and femininity, Brazilian media tend to maintain stereotypes and encourage an inequitable understanding of gender relations (Goldenberg, 2010). Brazilian culture, media, and advertising place unfair stereotypes on women based on hegemonic definitions of beauty, which encourage women of all ages to hold the construct of perfect feminine bodies as central to their identities (Middleton et al, 2020; Adelman and Ruggi, 2008). The 'body' in Brazilian culture is viewed as capital and is highly valued among women and men alike, who go to great lengths to achieve a culturally idealised body, while also upholding this culture in their perceptions of others and what they deem attractive in the opposite sex (Goldenberg, 2010). These social pressures exist among youth peer groups for boys, encouraging them to achieve sexual initiation at younger and younger ages which often results in carelessness surrounding safe sex, STIs, and AIDS, as well as encouraging violent approaches (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997; Separavich and Canesqui, 2013). Societal norms discourage emotional expression and encourage bravado among men and can result in emotional absence in relationships and fatherhood as well as an obligation to resort to violence in even minor altercations (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). While organisational and educational work began in the early 2000s to restructure traditional social norms among men and boys, the recent political landscape has made it difficult for work to continue and some of the progress made has already been reversed. Despite this reality, a drive remains among institutions and organisational structures to continue such work and seek more effective approaches to do so.

3.2.3   The Favelas of Rio de Janeiro

As a major financial, governmental, and cultural hub, Rio de Janeiro hosts just 3.1% of Brazil's population, but has some of the highest indicators of urban and gendered violence in the country (Wright, 2021). Much of this violence is associated with the impoverished, marginalised communities, favelas, in which death rates from urban violence primarily affect young, mostly Black, males from poor backgrounds (Wilding, 2010; Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013). Within a country that

has been structurally influenced by its colonial history and system of slavery, Rio de Janeiro has a large racial and spatial divide between rich and poor, the latter of whom often live in favelas (Fernandes, 2014). The favelas of Rio, numbering over 1,000, are low-income communities with informal land rights that have minimal access to governmental services and vary in size, levels of poverty, and levels of violence (Taylor et al., 2016; Landesman, 2018). They have become associated with consistently high levels of violence due to drug trafficking, gang warfare, and police actions, impacting both the quality of life and mental health of their inhabitants, who already experience high levels of poverty (Cruz et al., 2021). The fear of violence, particularly the fear of being hit by stray bullets, affects the way residents conduct their daily lives and has been shown to reduce their cultural participation in public spaces and, as a result, the potential for culture and creativity to increase socioeconomic development and quality of life (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013; Iachan et al., 2022). This fear, in addition to childhood exposure to violence, is associated with family and IPV, contributing to the use of violence and creating trauma at the individual, family, and collective levels (Taylor, et al., 2016). Despite diversity in the social indicators, histories, and levels of violence and poverty of favelas, they are often viewed as homogenous settlements and a security threat to wider society (Wilding and Pearson, 2013; Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013; Fernandes, 2014).

Efforts by the Brazilian state to make Rio safer in preparation for the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic games led to the launch of the *Unidades da Polícia Pacificadora* (Pacification Police Units, UPP) in 2008 (Haynes, 2023). These pacification units were intended to 'civilise' favela inhabitants and provide them with a sense of belonging in 'real' society through 'soft' governance. This involved a strategy of saturating the favelas with military police, dispersing gangs and drug traffickers, and rebuilding trust and credibility in the relationships between the police and favela residents. The UPP intentionally involved White, female officers in their efforts, a strategy that has been recognised as reproducing racial and gender bias, codifying White and female as trustworthy and Black and male as dangerous (Haynes, 2023). Pacification was also labelled, by the government leaders of the

time, a 'war' and a 'reconquest' of areas occupied by the drug cartels. Violent presentations of masculinity remained overt in these forces, despite the attempt at police reform, and armed confrontations between the UPP, other police forces, and drug traffickers became commonplace and continue to occur in many unpacified favelas of Rio today (Salem and Larkins, 2021). The extent of the historical and current relationship between Rio's police forces and the favelas highlights the gratuitous and structural racialised violence that exists in Brazil despite historic denial of racism through claims of 'racial democracy' (Fernández and dos Santos Silva, 2023). Brazilians have been socialised to understand national identity in a homogenous, singular way that assumes harmonious coexistence between White, Black, and Indigenous peoples. However, this 'racial democracy' only serves to hamper recognition of racial hierarchies in society, based on proximity to Whiteness and distance from Blackness, and hide the reality of racism as violent and destructive (Mitchell, 2022). This was evident through police interventions in Rio's favelas that continued even during the Covid-19 pandemic (Fernández and dos Santos Silva, 2023).

Favelas have been shown to have an excess burden of poor health compared to other areas of the city, and a strong association has been found between concentrations of poverty within Rio and adverse health outcomes; resulting in life expectancy being almost twice as high in the wealthiest area of the city than in favelas (Szwarcwald et al., 2011; Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013). Additionally, only 2% of favela residents have completed higher education, compared to 25% of non-favela residents in Rio (Zaluar, 2021). Basic sanitation and regular access to water are issues for many areas and communities themselves must often develop and implement solutions without governmental assistance (Nunes, 2021). While this affects the willingness and ability of individuals to access SRH services, there is a broad geographic distribution of health facilities in Rio, though much reform is needed to better serve survivors of violence and adolescents who face psychosocial and educational barriers to access (Taquette et al., 2017). Female leaders within the favelas have recently been seen as replacing the role of government agencies, during the pandemic, to increase health standards within

their communities and mobilise health services to meet the needs of even their most vulnerable inhabitants (Nunes, 2021; McIlwaine et al., 2023).

The scarcity of state involvement and services increases the importance and role of the family, Churches, and NGOs of coexisting with the presence of the drug trade and being central organisers of favela life (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013). While the centrality of family to the lives of favela residents will be discussed in the next section, evangelical Churches and NGOs play an important role in supporting families to keep youth away from police and crime. They provide alternative routes for socialisation beyond gang involvement and "juxtapose positive actions to the harshness of the environment and compete for the attention and training of young people" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013, p. 63). Religiosity and faith are also important aspects of favela life, supporting personal efforts to sustain positive pathways of socialisation or to end involvement in gang activities. However, since 2000, gang members have begun to identify as Evangelicals, complicating the moral distinction between peaceful converts and violent gang members and allowing for legitimation of gang involvement through religious entanglement (Oosterbaan, 2021; Beraldo et al., 2022).

3.2.4 *Gender, Masculinity, and Young Men in Rio's Favelas*

In poor and socially excluded contexts, gangs have become attractive avenues through which young men can 'do' masculinity (Baird, 2012). If no moral rejection of the gangs is fostered through familial or positive mentor support, youth reproduce the prevailing presentations of masculinity to which they have been exposed. For the boys and young men of Rio's favelas, there is a persistence of gender tropes and images within the drug trade that frame the gang members and drug traffickers as owners of the favelas, often referred to simply as '*o Homen*' ('the Man') (Penglase, 2010). This creates a connection for them between the use of violence and masculine authority that is reinforced through a trade of protection for inhabitants in exchange for their complicity in the drug trade. The primary reasons why young men join favela gangs are for money, women, and respect, as well as for a sense of

belonging within a glorified subculture that rewards loyalty (Dowdney, 2003; Barker, 2005; Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013). To be a member of the gangs in Rio "is to be in many ways a standard-bearer of the most visible and fear-inspiring version of what it means to be a man" (Barker, 2005, p.71). Both men's use of violence against female partners and high rates of family abandonment have been associated with a lack of money and unemployment for men who "saw no other recognised social role than being providers" (Barker et al., 2011, p.172).

It is therefore not uncommon for boys and young men to become part of the gangs and drug trade in their communities to attain their understanding of masculine ideals and ensure their own security (Dowdney, 2003; Zaluar, 2021). Young boys and men are exposed to the presentation of masculinity by gang members, and this reinforces the relationship between exposure to violence and their use of it in personal interactions and within the household (Taylor et al., 2016). Strong masculine values have also resulted in the viewing of women as sex objects, encouragement for boys and men to not show emotion, and the attitude that the use of violence against women is acceptable in many situations (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997; Zaluar, 2021). These values persist in the favelas of Rio, embedded in the structure of daily life, and both male sexuality and violence are viewed as uncontrollable, making them acceptable or at least explainable (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). *Baile Funk*, funk dance parties, are fundamental to the culture and are popular among youth as the focal point of social and sexual life (Barker, 2005; Sneed, 2008). Dances can happen several times a month, depending on the favela, and range from calm and liberating to violent and full of anonymous or group sex, often lasting until the early morning (Barker, 2005; Moreira, 2017). Sexual encounters at these events tend to be opportunistic and spontaneous, creating a culture among young men of sexual conquest, expected infidelity, and unprotected sex (Barker, 2005). The events are often characterised as intensely violent and aggressively sexualised, although funk culture has been viewed as both empowering for women and a utopian impulse that is an escape for attendees from the marginalisation, scarcity, and vulnerability of poverty (Moreira, 2017; Sneed, 2008).

An ethnographic study conducted by the London School of Economics (LSE) and the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) from 2009-2011 found that almost 70% of 12- to 17-year-olds in Rio's favelas reported an absent father and almost 20% reported both parents absent (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013). This reality was recognised in Promundo's early research among low-income young males, resulting in their male street-based peer groups becoming substitute father figures (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). Within this 'substitute family', young men risk expulsion by transgressing masculine rules, underscoring "the importance of the male peer group in male socialisation and transmission of values about gender roles" (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997, p.183). These rules place pressure on individuals to achieve what are viewed in Rio as the requisites for becoming a man: becoming sexually active and financially providing for oneself and one's family. Additionally, "as part of the condition of being male in the favelas", young men face pressure "to use violence to defend themselves, their honour, and their families" (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997, p.189).

Despite being an unstable institution in their lives, family is central for favela residents in shaping their life trajectories (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013). A structured and supportive family is considered "essential for the Self and for a positive life, a determinant factor in both the trajectory of the Self that is being narrated and the relationship to the future that is being dreamt of and projected" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013, p.65). Stories of resilience and resistance to the adverse context of family instability are heard less often than stories of abandonment and early introduction into criminal pathways. For young men, fatherhood has been described as providing them a sense of connection and a purpose for living (Barker, 2005), echoing a desire to maintain the centrality of family amidst limited opportunity and adverse contexts. At the same time, being a father often means taking whatever kinds of work they can find, even those considered humiliating or low paying, to support their families. Women are presumed to assume primary responsibility for reproductive health, childbearing, and childcare, and most young men reported learning such patterns from their own

fathers who left these tasks to their mothers (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). Few young men demonstrated interest in changing this pattern and did not take on more responsibility in pregnancy and childcare, despite most recognising that they should.

The gendered discourse of gang members supports a notion of patriarchal familial structures that function under the authority of a powerful man (Penglase, 2010). Traffickers utilise this ideal in supporting their position of violent authority, demanding respect from favela residents, just as children and wives should respect the father, and providing protection in return, as the father does for his family. Despite the potential influence of this messaging on the way in which young men from favelas may be influenced to approach fatherhood, parents often live in fear that their sons will become involved in the gangs or that their daughters will become girlfriends of the drug traffickers (Barker et al., 2011). Fear of community violence has therefore been associated with violence against children in favelas, with boys as the most common victims because parents "believed they could control their sons and teach them to stay inside and 'out of trouble' so that they will not become involved in gangs" (Barker et al., 2011, p.172). The extent of such actions reflects a potential tension between accepting the authority of drug traffickers and seeking to redefine standards by which masculinity is determined and valued in their communities (Penglase, 2010).

3.2.5   Structural Violence and Rio's Favelas

As introduced in Chapter 2, structural violence refers to the systematic way in which social structures or institutions perpetuate violence and harm among marginalised communities through not providing for their basic needs (Farmer, 2004; Huguet and Szabó de Carvalho, 2008; Lee, 2016). With regard to the gang culture in marginalised communities of Brazil, it is often described as a "nondeclared civil war waged by the poor against the poor" (Bastos, 2012, p.1608). This form of violence is vast in scope, encompassing health, education, economic, gender, and racial disparities, and grows when unequal structures are created and perpetuated by continued unequal power differentials within these disparities (Lee, 2016). Within the favelas of Rio, structural

violence results in their spaces and inhabitants often being considered invisible to public authorities and service providers; forgotten in the provision of infrastructure, healthcare, and socioeconomic development efforts (Elias et al., 2020). Structural violence has also been recognised as a cause of violence against women and children and limits the opportunities for upward social mobility among survivors of GBV in the favelas (de Lavra Pinto, 2018; Vahedi et al., 2023). Favela populations face prejudice and discrimination daily from government officials and the outside population, often being associated with the criminality and drug trafficking that is pervasive in their communities even when most inhabitants are honest, hard-working individuals (Huguet and Szabó de Carvalho, 2008). Additionally, Rio's corrupt, underpaid, and poorly educated and trained police force often aggravate rather than curb the violence in favelas, being notorious for their brutality (Bastos, 2012; Haynes, 2023). It has been argued that the UPP has failed to meet its objectives since 2008 and has perpetuated the entrenched structural and racial violence directed at favelas and their inhabitants (Smutny, 2023).

Social fear in Rio has historically associated poverty with crime and as a result the youth from favelas have often been represented as, and presumed to be, violent criminals and mistrusted as such by outside populations (Fernandes, 2014; Misse, 2018). This ignores their internal diversity and has homogenised them as a segment of the population and labelled them a problem (Leite and Machado da Silva, 2013). The structural violence enacted on the favelas also produces a lack of alternatives for social integration into areas outside communities that, in combination with the invisibility of the favela populations and the social stigma attached to them, often push youth to join the drug factions and perpetuate the violence they encourage (Huguet and Szabó de Carvalho, 2008; Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013; Gonçalves and Malfitano, 2020). When their world is reduced to opportunities available inside the favela, young people are drawn in by the physical and economic power that drug traffickers flaunt through motorcycles, guns, girlfriends, and status within the gang, exerting control over the community (Fraser, 2011). The connection between urban violence and drug trafficking in Brazil has historically been pronounced (Bastos, 2012), and efforts to combat gangs and the violence they

perpetuate among youth in favelas must therefore address the structural drivers of the conditions of poverty, income inequality, and social exclusion in which violence can flourish (Fernandes, 2014).

Marginalisation and exclusion from society outside of the favela creates an environment in which residents describe the public context of the favela itself, and the lifeworld associated with the gang and criminal activities, as 'the world' (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013). They understand that their context is a determinant of socialisation. It is clear to them that involvement in drug trafficking offers work, money, prestige, and status, but also that people can resist the appeal of that life; "people 'make choices', people 'want', people 'allow or do not allow' the environment to take hold of their lives" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013, p.171). Self-determination and a sense of agency and belonging are central to their way of thinking and of making life trajectories. However, contextual determinants and a desire to escape poverty, find work, or hold prestige mediate the sense of agency to "perceive, appropriate, contest, or surrender to the 'appeal of the world'" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013, p.174). Agency in the favelas, therefore, is not defined by individuals alone and is a complex interplay between one's needs and motivations and the context in which one lives.

3.3   Instituto Promundo

A multitude of non-governmental, international, and local organisations work in the favelas of Rio to combat poverty, urban violence, and VAWG and support SRHR (Miyamoto and Buckman, 2022). These include individual-based, bottom-up models of social development that began in the early 1990s and derive "from the culture, identity, and wisdom of the communities they are part of and represent" to change the position and political importance of favelas and their residents (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013, p.211). Few organisations, however, have looked to address the issues through the lens of masculinity, gender roles and norms, and the role of boys and men in bringing about positive change (Taylor et al., 2016). From a research perspective, Promundo remains one of the only organisations to have

implemented interventions in the favelas of Rio with a primary focus on addressing harmful masculinities to address the persisting issues that continue to harm and negatively impact the lives of their inhabitants. While I have heard of local groups or organisations who have implemented similar projects to focus on these issues, no published evidence exists to date beyond the efforts of Promundo and its partners.

Instituto Promundo was established in 1997 based on formative research with young men in the favelas of Rio who questioned traditional perceptions of masculinity. This research determined three factors associated with young men's support for gender equality: being a part of male peer groups that supported more gender-equitable attitudes, having negative experiences resulting from traditional aspects of masculinity like paternal abandonment or witnessing violence from their father against their mother, and having a male or female role model who exhibited alternative gender roles (Barker, 2000). These findings allowed for early Promundo leadership to work with partners in developing a programmatic structure that could address a need to offer young men opportunities for mentorship with gender-equitable role models in their communities and intervene on an attitudinal and behavioural level to influence their perspectives on gender equality and encourage more equitable perspectives of masculinity (Ricardo et al., 2010). In 1999, Promundo created a peer group called *Jovem Pra Jovem* that allowed them the opportunity to put their foundational research into action and further develop a large-scale programmatic approach.

Based on the groundwork set by JPJ, Promundo implemented *Program H* in 2002 in partnership with three other NGOs: Comunicação em Sexualidade (ECOS), Instituto PAPAI ('Programa de Apoio ao Pai'), and Salud y Género. The programme was introduced in three favelas of Rio as a response to the growing consensus that men and boys are necessary partners in effectively reducing the health vulnerabilities of women and girls. *Program H* sought to apply a relational notion of gender in youth programming and has verified that such an approach can aid in developing gender-equitable attitudes (Ricardo et al., 2010). *Jovem Pra Jovem* and *Program H* have empirically shown positive influence on attitudes related to gender equality,

including greater sensitivity to issues such as violence against women (Barker et al., 2005). On the community level, *Program H* has been implemented in many Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Jamaica, Mexico, and Peru (Morrison et al., 2004). More than 30 countries worldwide have utilised *Program H* material and, while the model has been modified over the years to fit with cultural applications around the world, the original theory of change supporting its application has remained consistent (Kato-Wallace et al., 2019).

Since the introduction of *Program H* in Rio, Promundo has expanded its work globally through constituent and partner organisations with multiple programmatic designs that seek to redefine traditional gender norms. These programmes include direct work with fathers (*Program P*), families (Intergenerational Parenting Programs), young women (*Program M)*, adolescent boys and girls (*Very Young Adolescence 2.0*), young boys (*Boyhood 2.0*), young men (*Manhood 2.0*), and also include work to combat homophobia and promote diversity (*Program D*), assist in helping individuals heal from traumatic experiences of violence (*Living Peace*), and encourage men's involvement in women's economic empowerment (*Journeys of Transformation*). Over the past 20 years, the organisational structure of Promundo has grown to encompass separate institutions that make up a global consortium. Recently, Instituto Promundo Brazil became a separate organisation to continue work within country and all remaining operations have been rebranded globally under one organisation called Equimundo: Centre for Masculinities and Social Justice, with half of their staff based in Washington, D.C. and the remainder spread over locations around the world. For the purposes of this thesis, Promundo will refer to the institutional body that implemented JPJ*,* although current operations are conducted through Equimundo.

3.3.1   Jovem Pra Jovem

Considering that the concept of gender transformative interventions was first introduced in 2000, there was little foundational understanding of how programmes should be organised and implemented within a particular cultural context. This was

an opportunity for the early leadership of Promundo to determine their perceived best approach to implementing activities and leave flexibility in the programmatic structure that could allow for modifications and additions once activities began and any issues or necessary topics to discuss arose. Details presented here on the development, implementation, challenges, and results of *Jovem Pra Jovem* were compiled from my conversations with past participants and former leadership and facilitators, and a case study report published in 2002 (Barker et al.), prior to the programme's end.

The goals of the programme were to provide group and individual activities that would promote reflection among the young men to perceive the negative implications of traditional perspectives on masculinity, offer them mentorship opportunities and interactions with more gender-equitable men, and promote gender-equitable norms in their peer groups and communities. To achieve these goals, the programme established six objectives: recruitment, training, and supervision of the young men as peer promoters in their communities on GBV and SRH, to work with these individuals to develop educational materials for boys on these topics, to provide them skills and leadership training, to create case studies and programme reports that would inform other organisations on conducting similar work, to promote male involvement in SRH, violence prevention, and gender-equitable behaviours through the engagement of adult men, families and NGOs, and to develop and implement a condom social marketing campaign for young men, called *Hora H*.

15 young men were recruited to JPJ, identified through previous work that early leadership and facilitators had been involved with and through additional contacts that some of the boys reached out to involve. The participants were seen to already show an interest in questioning traditionally held perspectives on masculinity and the use of violence against women. The criteria for their involvement were that they remain enrolled in school, participate in 80% of meetings, and commit to live up to the norms of the group to take responsibility for sexual behaviour and for their children, to not use violence against others, and to not be involved with gang

activities. A monthly stipend, or *bolsa*, was provided to participants as additional income for their families and to create a work ethic in the activities in which they were involved. Additionally, the leadership and facilitators would develop strong relationships with the participants, becoming a part of their communities, families, and daily life. Among them all, a sense of brotherhood was formed.

A variety of activities were developed to help meet the programme objectives. In addition to encouraging understanding and dialogue among themselves in discussions about healthy sexual behaviours and respectful relationships, the use of violence, and fatherhood, through an activity known as the 'Talking Stick', the young men also worked on creating and testing educational materials for other young men that would become components of *Program H*. Early in their work with the young men, it was determined that some of them did not feel comfortable leading peer group discussions and the idea arose of creating a theatre production that they could perform in different communities. The play developed from texts that two of the young men had written about violence against women, one of which received an honourable mention at an essay contest on family violence at the University of São Paulo. This text was turned into a play that the men performed over two years in schools, communities, government organisations, and conferences and seminars around Rio. The play would receive positive reception from the audiences and encouraged discussions, allowing the young men to see continued impact from their work.

The *Hora H* condom social marketing campaign was an opportunity for the young men to be involved in all stages of a project that worked to advance sexual health in their communities. It incorporated several components of project development and implementation that provided them with a hands-on approach to positively influence the safe sex practices of other young men. They were all involved in defining their target audience, collectively determining what keeps certain young men from using contraceptives, learning about condoms, developing a brand that would appeal to youth, creating a logo, packaging, and instructions for use, and determining methods by which to promote and sell the product. Through their

direct involvement in all steps of the social marketing campaign, the men were able to develop a sense of ownership over the project and its associated accomplishments, rather than simply viewing it as a product of Promundo in which they played some role.

Beyond these primary group activities, the group was self-named, and each member was provided with a t-shirt that they designed themselves to identify them as programme participants in their communities, creating a pride associated with their involvement as community members began to recognise the positive work that they were doing through their play performances and condom campaign. Promundo also utilised them as representatives to welcome international visitors and organisational partners into their communities, as advisors to the development of an educational video to accompany *Program H,* and as interviewers or research assistants on Promundo research projects.

3.4   Promundo's Approach to Gender Transformative Work

To best understand the role of Promundo in early gender transformative programming, I consider the ideas behind its theory of change. These ideas include critical consciousness, gender consciousness, and three behavioural change theories: social norms theory, the theory of reasoned action, and the theory of gender and power. Promundo developed their own definition of a 'gender-equitable man', which will also be analysed to understand how their programmatic work fits within gender transformative evaluation evidence (*Chapter 2*).

Through his acclaimed work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire developed the idea of critical consciousness (*conscientização*) that "refers to learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970, p.35): the ability of an individual to reflect on the world and choose a course of future action informed and empowered by their critical reflection. When approaching educational programming with marginalised groups, Freire advocated liberating individuals from

systemic inequity through three core elements: critical reflection, critical motivation, and critical action (Diemer et al., 2016). Utilised globally in models of socially transformative interventions, policy, and urban educational practice, the principles of critical consciousness are intended to educate individuals to produce historical knowledge of themselves, and the groups they are a part of, and in turn work together towards liberation from oppressive ideals and institutions that have maintained their marginalisation (Montero, 2009). Critical consciousness has been shown to provide marginalised youth "with the awareness, motivation, and agency to identify, navigate, and challenge social and structural constraints" (Diemer et al., 2016, p.220). For this reason, gender transformative work with boys and young men has found utility in the principles of critical consciousness through encouraging recognition of the social and structural constraints that gender norms and roles place on them and developing their own gender consciousness (Barker et al., 2011).

The concept of gender consciousness originated from critical consciousness and allows for critical attitudes about gender norms to be fostered and encourage individuals to develop a belief in their personal ability to act in more gender-equitable ways and, in turn, influence institutional change in their environments through collective action (Barker et al., 2011). By framing an educational programme in gender consciousness, personal growth, political awareness, and activism are promoted through critical reflection on the cultural conditions and class structures that perpetuate gender inequality and can create conditions that are able to change gender roles and norms (Kato-Wallace et al., 2019). It is through critical consciousness, and its extension to gender consciousness, that gender transformative interventions have been developed to encourage participants to play an active role in not only changing their own attitudes and behaviours, but ideally also challenging, and influencing change in, structural gender norms among their own peer groups, communities, and wider societies.

3.4.1 Social Norms Theory

Social norms theory underpins several interventions that seek to address problematic attitudes and behaviours relating to bias, alcohol and drug abuse, sexual assault, and violence. It describes situations in which individuals will incorrectly view the attitudes and behaviours of others as different from their own, which leads to an overestimation of problem or risk behaviours and an underestimation of healthy or protective behaviours (Berkowitz, 2003). These misperceptions may then lead individuals to change their own behaviours to fit what they believe to be the norm (Prentice and Miller, 1993). Their impact is perpetuated by the high level of influence that peers' attitudes have on an individual's beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours, particularly for boys and young men (Fabiano et al., 2003). The theory highlights the gaps between prevailing harmful gender norms and positive gender-equitable norms to recognise and shift perspectives on gendered roles and norms through exposure to positive role models, the reinforcement of positive social norms, on personal and structural levels, and encourages community dialogue and peer leadership engagement (Stewart et al., 2021). Currently, evidence is scarce on the effectiveness of interventions on addressing injunctive norms, descriptive norms, or both when encouraging behavioural change, though empirical evidence has shown the interactive role of perceived norms of both types on personal behaviour. Most interventions to date, though, have tended to focus on descriptive norms to highlight the difference between perceived versus actual reported prevalence of behaviours (Dempsey et al., 2018).

In efforts to address masculinity and inequitable gender norms among men and boys, such a theoretical approach appears effective in educating individuals on realistic understandings of the ideals and perceptions held by peers and the community at large so as to address issues surrounding VAWG, gender equality, and the health and well-being of men (Berkowitz et al, 2022; Jewkes et al., 2015b). By using the principles of social norms theory, interventions can create positive change by challenging prevailing harmful norms and reinforcing positive behaviours within

peer groups and the broader community (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018). Regarding work within LMICs to create sustainable social norms change, Miller and Prentice identified three approaches that recurred in impactful interventions: social norms marketing, personalised normative feedback, and facilitator-led group discussions (2016). Social norms marketing campaigns work to spread accurate messages of what others in the peer group or community do and approve of, to correct individual misperceptions. Personalised normative feedback provides them with information on how they perform in relation to those around them regarding these norms. While more labour-intensive, facilitator-led group discussions allow space for participants to critically assess existing norms and practices, within their peer groups or wider community, to better understand the causes and consequences of their misperceptions to collectively renegotiate norms (Miller and Prentice, 2016).

Cislaghi and Heise have recognised that the expanded utilisation of social norms theory in health promotion efforts in LMICs can often be accompanied by a tendency for interventions to ignore other factors that influence people's behaviours beyond norms, ultimately positioning them for failure (2019b). They have therefore proposed a dynamic adaptation of Heise's earlier ecological framework for conceptualising GBV, which positions social norms amidst domains of influence including institutional, material, social, and individual factors, highlighting the importance of addressing and encouraging change both within and at the intersections of these domains (Cislaghi and Heise, 2019b). Despite discussion of how this approach can bring about attitudinal and behavioural change in individuals, I have not found evaluation evidence determining lasting, long-term changes being accomplished using social norms theory. Few studies have used the theory in non-university settings and a lack of clarity in how social norms are defined and measured across studies limits the ability to make cross-study comparisons, test the theory's assumptions, and evaluate it as a behaviour change strategy (Dempsey et al., 2018).

3.4.2 Theory of Reasoned Action and Theory of Planned Behaviour

The theory of reasoned action (TRA) and its extension, the theory of planned behaviour (TPB), operate within the realm of volitional behaviours that are voluntary and involve conscious decision (Hale et al., 2002). TRA concerns the individual motivating factors that determine the likelihood of specific behaviours and assumes an intention to engage to be the best predictor, as determined by the attitudes one holds toward, and the social normative perceptions of, a behaviour (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; Montaño and Kasprzyk, 2015). The extension of TPB incorporates a construct of perceived control over the performance of a behaviour, based upon beliefs formed about the external or internal factors that may facilitate or be barriers to performing it. It has been widely used in the prediction and explanation of health behaviours (Ajzen, 1991; LaCaille, 2020). The normative beliefs held by individuals, meaning the expected behaviours they perceive others of importance (peers, mentors, etc.) to have of them, is a determinant influencing individual behavioural intentions (Montaño and Kasprzyk, 2015), tying TRA/TPB closely to social norms theory in its application to gender transformative programming. The theories also indicate a relational approach to be taken by allowing for relevant behavioural outcomes, normative referents, or control beliefs to be discerned for a group or individual that will differ between populations and the behaviours themselves, incorporating the normative structures at play in given circumstances (Montaño and Kasprzyk, 2018).

TPB has been widely utilised in framing behavioural change interventions that work to combat normative beliefs on unhealthy sexual behaviours and violence against women (Eaton and Stephens, 2016; Hou et al., 2020; Steinmetz et al., 2016; Forsdike et al., 2018). Steinmetz et al.'s meta-analysis of the effectiveness of interventions using TPB found success in positively changing TPB variables in subjective norms and control beliefs, showing more success in public interventions and those that focus on groups rather than individuals (2016). While these interventions focused on a variety of behavioural domains, including physical activity, nutrition, and sexual behaviour, others have shown success in addressing violence perpetration (Hou et

al., 2020; Eaton and Stephens, 2016; Khaleghi et al., 2022). For example, Forsdike et al. found that men's perceptions of societal norms regarding men as violent had an influence on a perceived lack of agency to change their behaviours regarding IPV (2018). Critique of these theories has noted that TRA ignores the social nature of human action by assuming systematic, cognitive, asocial behavioural processes when several behaviours, particularly in relation to sexual conduct, must be viewed in relation to the connections between individuals, both within interpersonal and social relations as well as the social structures that govern social practice, creating a "dynamic interplay between practice, beliefs, and normative structures" (Kippax and Crawford, 1993, p. 264). It has also been suggested that TPB fails to incorporate emotional variables into its predictors of human behaviour, such as perceived threat or mood, which can limit its predictive ability with certain health behaviours, and that many behaviours are not rational, thus countering one's own cognition in engaging in a behaviour (LaCaille, 2020).

3.4.3   Theory of Gender and Power

The theory of gender and power was developed by Connell in 1987 and provided a social structural understanding of sexual inequality, gender, and power imbalances that characterised the gendered relationships between men and women. This theory primarily indicates that the power differentials between men and women are the foundation for men's use of violence against women and the exposure of women to risk based on men's behaviours as encouraged by norms and expectations of hegemonic masculinity. It is within this realm that the theory informs gender transformative interventions that focus on men and boys (Pulerwitz et al., 2014; Fleming et al., 2018).

The theory is founded on three major structures that overlap to explain the gender roles that men and women assume: the sexual division of labour, the sexual division of power, and the structure of cathexis, or the social norms and affective attachments in relationships based on conceptualisations of femininity and masculinity (Connell, 1987). The sexual division of labour ensures women's

economic dependence on men by placing them in unequal positions of labour and limits their economic potential (Conroy et al., 2020). The sexual division of power is upheld by control in relationships and the abuse of authority, which can lead to IPV and fear when negotiating relationships (Wingood and DiClemente, 2000). The structure of cathexis introduces the enforcement of gender roles and norms that dictate, and constrain, how men and women express themselves sexually and emotionally in relationships, therefore recognising the social structure of sexuality (Maharaj, 1995). These three structures are present at the societal and institutional level and root themselves to historical, socio-political, and social mechanisms that produce and maintain power segregation through gender-determined roles and gender-based inequities, and gender-based expectations of the roles men and women hold at various levels of society (Connell, 1987).

This theory was extended by Wingood and DiClemente (2002) to identify factors that increase women's risks for HIV, and empirical studies have used it successfully to explain sexual risk behaviours and associated health outcomes for women (Pulerwitz et al., 2002; Woolf and Maisto, 2008; Conroy et al., 2021; Rinehart et al., 2018). Additionally, the risk factors associated with cathexis include the realities of hegemonic masculinity that support male dominance and female subordination, resulting in IPV and the encouragement of men to have multiple sexual partners and feel a need to assert their status through sexual performance, placing women at risk for HIV and other STIs/STDs (Jewkes and Morrell, 2010; Underwood et al., 2023).

3.4.4   Gender-Equitable Attitudes and Behaviours

Promundo applied a social constructionist, interactive theory of gender socialisation in the development of their programmatic work and this translated into their determination of the attitudes and behaviours they sought to instil in the young men who participated in JPJ. They operationalised their approach by focusing on characteristics that they determined to be emblematic of 'gender-equitable' men. These characteristics included (Pulerwitz, et al., 2006):

- Respect for women, showing concerns about the feelings and opinions of their sexual partners, and seeking relationships based on equality and intimacy rather than sexual conquest.
- A belief that men and women have equal rights.
- Taking, or sharing with their partner, responsibility for reproductive health and disease prevention issues.
- Being, or intending to be, involved domestic partners and fathers, maintaining responsibility for at least some household chores and childcare.
- Opposing violence against women in their intimate relationships.
- Not being homophobic.

My belief is that these characteristics, while important, do not sufficiently represent what today should be understood as a man holding gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours. Further consideration must be given to a woman's right to abortion and sexual health services, a wider understanding of the equal roles that women should be allowed to hold in society, and behaviours within society and child rearing that maintain a continuation of gender-equitable attitudes outside of their own personal lives and into the wider community or next generation. From my literature review, I have found no surveys or evaluation tools that have included such characteristics in the determination of what constitutes a 'gender-equitable man'.

The founder and CEO of Promundo developed behavioural conceptualisations of 'gender-equitable men' that are still used by researchers today and remain one of the earliest classifications for monitoring men's behaviours and attitudes. The conceptualisation was based on qualitative research conducted in the favelas of Rio and classifies gender-equitable men as those demonstrating characteristics reminiscent of those previously discussed: not being violent towards a partner, respecting a women's sexual agency, being engaged fathers, and sharing in contraceptive and sexual health responsibility (Barker, 2000). The primary differences in this original conceptualisation are that it incorporated men taking financial responsibility for their children, showing concern in providing financially for them, and taking an active role in caring for their health (Barker, 2000). The

characteristic of not being homophobic was also not included in this conceptualisation.

This preliminary classification of the gender-equitable behaviours of men, when identifying one of the behaviours as an opposition to violence against women, also said that, "This may include young men who report having been violent toward a female partner in the past, but who currently believe that violence against women is not acceptable behaviour, and who do not condone this behaviour by other men" (Barker, 2000, p.267). As such, it is important to measure gender-equitability among men's current attitudes and behaviours while still offering consideration to their past violent actions. This allows for additional analysis of circumstances in the life history of an individual that may have influenced the development of their current attitudes and behaviours. Further operationalisation of desirable behaviours regarding the reduction of violence against women has also identified proactive anti-violence actions and reactive bystander behaviour (Casey et al., 2023). These include actions like the raising of community awareness or engagement of other men in violence prevention (Casey et al., 2019), as well as the recognition and interruption of situations where violence against women might, or does, occur (McMahon and Banyard, 2012).

When operationalising gender-equitable attitudes from the behavioural conceptualisations provided through Promundo's work, the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale provided an evaluation method, based on key domains within the construct of gender-equitability, to analyse an individual's attitudes. These domains included domestic work and caring for children, sexuality and sexual relationships, reproductive health and disease prevention, IPV, and homosexuality and close relationships with other men (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008). Within these domains, attitudinal statements were developed. An individual's agreement or disagreement with them would indicate their overall perspective on gender-equitability. While the GEM Scale provides a measurable, quantitative determination of gender-equitability in men and boys, additional determination of perceptions of power and progress in gender equality and support for policies to promote equality has also been found to

aid in best understanding attitudes, as was applied in the IMAGES survey conducted by Promundo and the International Centre for Research on Women between 2009 and 2012 (Levtov et al., 2014).

There also exists a suggested heterogeneity in the attitudes and behaviours men hold on gender equity. Behaviours may be consistent with gender equity, but men may "conceptualise these behaviours in 'traditional', patriarchal terms that reproduce rather than erode gender inequity" (Casey et al., 2023, p. 2). This provides a foundational approach to the determination of gender-equitability that allows for the recognition and combating of potentially negative perspectives on the respective roles of men and women in the household and wider society. As such, it further supports an ascertainment of the broader perspectives held by men regarding equal roles and responsibilities, to not only ensure gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours but to also combat the traditional and patriarchal ideals that impede efforts to achieve gender equality.

3.4.5   *Promundo's Role in Early Gender Transformative Programming*

The theory of change developed by Promundo "posits that young men learn through questioning and critical reflection about gender norms, power, and privilege; rehearsing equitable and non-violent attitudes and behaviours in a comfortable space" (Kato-Wallace et al., 2019, p.4). The intention was for these new attitudes and behaviours to be internalised by participants and to be applied to their own relationships and lives. Deriving from this theory of change, the model for JPJ and *Program H*'s youth-led group discussions intended for the participants to reflect on gender norms and power dynamics that influence violent or sexual behaviours, while also promoting gender-equitable attitudes, educating them on healthy sexual behaviours, increasing sexual communication, and encouraging positive bystander behaviours and intervention (Kato-Wallace et al., 2019).

Since their implementation of *Program H* in Rio, Promundo has developed and implemented gender transformative models around the world and among various

population groups. While the evaluation of the programme was incorporated in the reviews presented in Chapter 2, *Program H* was the first gender transformative intervention of its kind to have been implemented. The original design of *Program H* had been modified and reorganised to fit with different cultural contexts and participant target groups for intervention implementations, but the original programme consisted of four primary components which were developed through consultation with young men from low-income communities in Brazil and Mexico. These components included a field-tested curriculum, carried out in same-sex and/or mixed-sex group settings, with manuals and educational videos to promote attitudinal and behavioural change within young men; social marketing campaigns that promoted lifestyle, community-level changes on social norms related to what it means to be a man; an action research methodology to reduce barriers that young men face in the use of health services; and a culturally relevant, validated evaluation model - the GEM scale (Barker et al., 2005; Kato-Wallace et al., 2019).

While no impact evaluations had been conducted on JPJ, the evaluations of *Program H* in Rio have found a variety of promising results. In 2002, an evaluation considered 750 young men aged 15 to 24 from the favelas in Rio. Three fairly homogenous groups were evaluated after receiving varying levels of programmatic exposure (Barker et al., 2005). When compared to the control group, participants in two of the communities, who received exposure to one or both of *Program H*'s educational sessions and social marketing campaign, were less likely to support traditional gender norms than before the intervention (WHO, 2009). There were also positive changes in most of the GEM scale questions and particularly within the three questions that relate to violence against women (Barker et al., 2005). Additionally, qualitative components of the evaluation included interviews with female partners who "confirmed positive changes in how their male partners treated them" (Barker, 2006, p.7). While these results were promising and suggested the development of gender-equitable behaviours, no further evaluations were conducted with these men to determine longitudinal behavioural change or the maintenance of reported attitudinal changes.

3.5   Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter, in conjunction with the theories and concepts discussed in Chapter 2, provide an understanding of the cultural and programmatic contexts on which my research study and analysis was developed and implemented. The historical and current state of gender equality in Latin America and Brazil, in addition to an understanding of the favelas of Rio, present the cultural environment in which the men of this study had constructed their understandings of gender, masculinity, and their roles and responsibilities as men. These understandings were also influenced by the principles of Promundo and their *Jovem Pra Jovem* programme, allowing for evaluation of the effectiveness of their applied theory of change in working for gender transformation in the participants and their communities. The data on gender and masculinity in Brazil and the favelas of Rio will also be used for comparative analysis in determination of the many influences on the men's understandings of their gendered roles and responsibilities. Such information additionally aided in the development of my research methodology, which will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4   Research Methodology

"When we work with life and transformation, there is no end.
It's all a continuing process."

- *Ana, Former Staff Member*

4.1   Methodological Approach

Through this study, I sought to understand the manner in which the past participants of the *Jovem Pra Jovem* programme had constructed their understandings of masculinity, gender norms, relationships, fatherhood, violence, and sex. I also sought to analyse how they obtained their knowledge of these topics through their exposure to social institutions or structures, one of which was the intervention they had been exposed to during their youth. I took a social constructivist approach in developing my methodology to avoid applying preconceived ideas or hypotheses and allow my interactions with the men to guide my understanding and build knowledge from the information obtained in their interviews.

Social constructivism seeks to understand the world in which we live and work by developing subjective meanings of our experiences and seeking to understand the complexity of views rather than narrowing them down into distinct categories or ideas (Creswell, 2014). It places importance on interaction with others to clarify how social institutions and structures are constructed or perceived jointly by individuals so that a deeper, more critical understanding may be obtained. This social determination guides research practices beyond what is true or false and works to understand the social causes of belief formation, particularly in methodological approaches to research (Detel, 2001). Key elements of social constructivism include an assumption that humans rationalise experiences by creating models of the social world and how it functions, as well as placing emphasis on culture and context in understanding knowledge construction and what occurs within society (Amineh and Asl, 2015). This approach to research not only determines how a researcher can go

about learning from study subjects, but also allows them to take a passive-to-active role and gain understanding first through their social interactions, and then more independently apply this knowledge to determine hypotheses, facts, and expand upon the body of knowledge they are studying.

Social constructivism is often used to understand gender differences through social processes and the hierarchical power differences between men and women (Lorber, 2005). In applying a foundational theory of gender as a social structure, I approached my research with an understanding that the study participants had had their beliefs about masculinity and gender challenged at various points throughout their lives, beginning with their involvement in Promundo's programmatic activities. They had also had to face conflicting beliefs in their communities, families, and social groups as they navigated life events. Additionally, while I did not take an ethnographic approach to the development or implementation of my methodology, I drew upon the principles of feminist ethnography to guide my research process in combination with a transformative research approach to not only recognise but challenge the inequities within the potential power differentials expressed by the study participants.

Emerging from anthropological study, feminist ethnography is a qualitative research methodology that examines the dynamics of power in social interaction beginning from a gendered analysis and continues to apply it throughout a project, analyses, and choices about the production and circulation of a work (Davis and Craven, 2011). Davis and Craven (2016) propose an approach to this type of research through a commitment to pay attention to power differentials and marginality, draw inspiration from feminist scholarship, challenge marginalisation and injustice, and reflect upon power differentials throughout the research process. This also entails a focus on analysing and understanding gender within the context of lived experiences, as well as approaching research through an intersectional lens (Reinharz, 1992; Pillow and Mayo, 2012). Transformative research endeavours to support change at the individual or societal level by advocating and advancing human rights and social justice (Mertens, 2009; Mertens, 2017). It requires

engagement with members of marginalised communities and an approach that values the knowledge they provide while recognising and addressing power inequities inherent within their lived experiences as well as within the research process itself (Mertens, 2021). In seeking to apply a transformative lens to research implementation, it becomes important to examine and challenge assumptions individuals may hold onto while allowing insights to be gained regarding complex problems within society that hold opportunities for change (Trevors et al., 2014).

In maintaining an understanding of the principles inherent within these theoretical approaches to research, I developed my methodology with a focus on understanding the lived experiences of the study participants from a gendered perspective and encouraged critical reflection on inequitable structures or relationships of power in their communities through my line of questioning. I also sought to apply a feminist lens to my interview processes, interactions with the study participants, and data analysis that was conscious of power differentials within the research process, to gain insight from the knowledge and experiences of the study participants without any influence from my own personal biases or beliefs. I do not anticipate that profound change will result from my research, but my positionality and study design have been influenced by the intention and desire to elicit reflection, and potential change, within the perspectives and thinking of the study participants, and to further advance and encourage gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours.

Taking a social constructivist approach in congruence with feminist ethnographic and transformative approaches allowed me the opportunity to focus on the perceived attitudinal and behavioural changes among these marginalised men. It allowed me to push beyond a basic level of understanding and incorporate their lived experiences to attempt to further analyse the impact their attitudes and behaviours may have on the social institutions they are a part of today. The hypotheses and conclusions are therefore influenced strongly by the knowledge gained from my social interactions with these men and any impacts can be

understood to come from my active application of this knowledge to the existing body of knowledge on this topic.

4.2   My Positionality

My interest in this area of study derives from my experience abroad volunteering with Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity in Kolkata, India, working with women utilising microfinance services in rural Ghana, and aiding communities in need of infrastructure support in Mexico and Honduras. Additionally, my past work experience at the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and PATH have educated me on the global work being conducted in family planning, maternal health, and reproductive rights. As I immersed myself in the development field, I became aware of the unaddressed needs of women regarding their SRH, freedom from violence, and equal rights. As a White, middle-class male from the United States, I struggled to determine what role I might be best suited to play in this field. This shifted my focus to how best to work with men to create a favourable environment for women's reproductive health, sexual autonomy, and equal opportunity, while also ensuring a renewed sense of masculinity that empowers boys and men to become agents of change. My MSc education at UCL, in Global Health and Development, provided me with a clearer focus on how I might be able to do this, and I decided to pursue this area of study and PhD research project. I am passionate about this topic, not only to add to the existing body of research and knowledge, but also to expand beyond it and play a significant role in international development efforts that combat GBV and promote gender equality and women's SRH around the world.

Throughout the research process, and particularly during the time I spent in Rio, it was important for me to maintain an understanding of my identity and how my perception of myself might affect the research process and my scientific inquiry. It is best assumed that the reality of my race, sex, and nationality is evident to most individuals with whom I interact and was apparent to the study participants and those I came to interact with during the data collection process. Additionally, I am a bisexual man who has had previous relationships with women and is currently in a

long-term relationship with a man. While this component of my identity is less evident to others, and can be concealed to my liking, it influences the manner in which I view and understand concepts surrounding gendered roles and norms, gender equality, sex, LGBTQ rights and, ultimately, the views of others on these topics. I am privileged to be able to invest time and money into my personal educational advancement and have been able to travel and explore places, cultures, and peoples of the world without experiencing a marked level of poverty throughout my life. This reality can be seen to separate me from, and potentially create a barrier between me and, the people I interviewed and sought to better understand. A keen awareness of these realities was necessary in preparation for my research and the associated application of this positionality required significant reflection.

4.2.1   Research Application

I undertook actions and reflective practice to maintain professional research conduct and not allow my positionality to negatively affect research preparation, implementation, and data analysis. I worked to maintain an openness and adaptability throughout the entirety of the research process and utilised both the advice and knowledge of my PhD supervisors, who are experienced field researchers, and the available UCL courses on professional research conduct and implementing foreign field research. Additionally, I met weekly with a therapist throughout the entirety of my PhD experience, reflecting regularly upon my abilities to go about the doctoral process and my experiences and role as a researcher in a foreign country.

Prior to beginning my research project, I took two years of Brazilian Portuguese language courses so that I would be able to communicate with participants, even if only at a basic conversational level. When collecting data in Rio, I utilised local specialists, guides, and interpreters during my time spent with research participants to ensure my accurate comprehension of what they were communicating to me and to ensure that I best understood and respected cultural customs and language

nuances. I only spent time in the favelas of Rio when invited by residents and when accompanied by my interpreter and one or more study participants. Prior to visits, I ensured that I was fully informed and prepared to both remain safe and respect their willingness to introduce me to their fellow community members and share with me their customs and cultural practices.

Finally, throughout the research process, and particularly during my time spent in Rio, I maintained a research journal in which I reflected upon ideas around my positionality and personal experience in a foreign environment. The journal not only afforded me the opportunity to better understand my role as a researcher, but also served as an additional source of data for my research analysis regarding the experiences I had with my study subjects and when visiting their communities.

4.3   Study Design

My study was originally designed to draw upon social constructivism, feminist ethnography, transformative research, and gender as a social structure. It incorporated the following data collection methods: semi-structured one-on-one interviews, surveys, and reflective journaling. Due to limitations and complications throughout the research process, discussed later in this chapter, a photovoice method was attempted but not utilised for data collection, and interviews with additional desired research participants, primarily the wives or partners of past participants, could not be conducted.

4.3.1   Study Participants

As introduced in Chapter 1, I incorporate and discuss the thoughts and experiences of 14 individuals who were involved with the JPJ programme, worked for Promundo, or played a role in the lives of the programme participants. Most past participants of the intervention were identified and contacted through the previous Executive Director or past facilitators who were either connected with them over Facebook or had a current phone number through which to make contact. Initial contact was

made with most past participants in the Autumn of 2021 to gauge their interest and willingness to participate. While initial interest was shown, the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic continued to delay the start of research activity and their participation in the study was yet to be confirmed. Once it was determined that I would be able to travel to Brazil in May of 2022 to begin data collection, contact was again made with the past participants and initial interviews were scheduled. When study activity began, all communications and scheduling with study participants, including previous Promundo facilitators and staff members, were conducted through WhatsApp messaging. Only one past participant was contacted in person because he had no cell phone or access to a messaging platform. Contact with this individual was made through another past participant and one of the facilitators who both helped to organise the interview. Two co-workers of a past participant were identified and sought out with the intent to survey men who were in regular contact with the individual to understand whether their ideals on gender equitability might differ. Overall, I was able to obtain data from 47% (7) of the original participants. Although it would have been ideal to obtain data from a larger number of past participants, various limitations and complications impeded such a possibility, along with difficulties in involving partners of past participants.

To protect anonymity, pseudonyms have been used for all individuals and the two favelas involved. Seven participants were men who were members of the programme cohort and had been from one of the two favelas. Marcelo, Eduardo, Francisco, Gabriel, and Carlos were from Colina and Felipe and Rodrigo were from Jaraguá. They ranged in age from 36 to 40 and all but Eduardo still lived in the favela in which they were born. Marcelo, Eduardo, Gabriel, and Rodrigo were married, Carlos was engaged to his long-term girlfriend, Felipe had been in a new relationship for six months and Francisco was single. All of them had children with their current or former partner and each had some form of employment. Marcelo was a head chef at a restaurant, Eduardo a furniture store manager, Felipe a Samba musician, Rodrigo a residential building doorman, Gabriel and Carlos drove motorcycle taxis, and Francisco worked in a women's clothing factory as one of few men among 98 women. Marcelo's wife Maria, aged 32, was also interviewed and did not currently

work outside the home, taking primary responsibility for the household and raising their children. Colina was located far from the city centre of Rio, and Marcelo was the only one who worked a far distance from the favela, commuting more than an hour by bus to downtown Rio. Jaraguá was located just north of the centre of Rio, allowing more opportunity for Rodrigo and Felipe to find employment outside of their community.

The study included four other men who played a significant part in the development and implementation of the programme. James was the Founder and CEO of Promundo. His PhD research, *Peace Boys in a War Zone: Identity and Coping among Adolescent Men in a Favela in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil,* was the foundational research for developing the programme and Promundo's early work. James was currently the President and CEO of Equimundo: Centre for Masculinities and Social Justice. Paulo was the Executive Director of Promundo at the time of the implementation of JPJ and continued in that role until 2008, several years after the programme's end. He was currently a researcher and Professor at Instituto Fernandes Figueira (IFF)/Fundação Oswaldo Cruz (Fiocruz) in Rio. Bruno was a psychologist who played an integral role in the early development of the programme and was a facilitator in the programme's activities. Although he did not live in the Jaraguá favela during the time of the programme, he had lived there previously and had a strong connection with the community, providing a reference for the study participants there. He was currently a teacher in homes for children with special needs. The fourth individual was Raimundo, who was brought onto the team as a facilitator in the Colina community. Having lived there his whole life, Raimundo was and remains a reference for the study participants there. He currently worked as a photographer and had had diverse work experience with youth in favelas.

Two additional individuals were included in the study because of their previous knowledge of Promundo and its work. Lucas was a former staff member who worked in programme monitoring and evaluation. While he did not work on the evaluation of JPJ, Lucas conducted the qualitative and quantitative evaluation of *Program H* and provided insight into Promundo's approach to determining impact,

particularly through the utilisation of the Gem Scale. The second individual was Ana, who worked directly on the implementation of Promundo's *Youth for Gender Equality* programme in 2005. Her current post-doctoral work was analysing the long-term effectiveness of the *Youth for Gender Equality* programme on the lives of its participants.

Table 3. Study Participants

Pseudonym	Role	Age	Favela	Livelihood	Partnership Status	Children
Carlos	Former Participant	38	Colina	Motorcycle Taxi	Engaged	1 Girl
Eduardo	Former Participant	40	Colina	Store Manager	Married	2 Girls, 1 Boy
Felipe	Former Participant	36	Jaraguá	Samba Musician	Dating	1 Girl, 2 Boys
Francisco	Former Participant	38	Colina	Factory Worker	Single	2 Girls
Gabriel	Former Participant	40	Colina	Motorcycle Taxi	Married	3 Boys
Marcelo	Former Participant	40	Colina	Restaurant Head Chef	Married	2 Girls, 2 Boys
Maria	Marcelo's Partner	32	Colina	Worked in the Home	Married	2 Girls, 2 Boys
Rodrigo	Former Participant	40	Jaraguá	Doorman	Married	1 Boy, + Niece

Pseudonym	Former Role	Location	Livelihood
Ana	Promundo Staff	Rio de Janeiro	Post-Doctoral Researcher, Consultant
Bruno	Jaraguá Facilitator, *Jovem Pra Jovem*	Jaraguá	Psychologist, Teacher, Community Organiser
James	Founder and CEO, Promundo	Washington, D.C	President and CEO, Equimundo
Lucas	Promundo Staff	Rio de Janeiro	Programme Evaluator
Paulo	Executive Director, Promundo	Rio de Janeiro	Researcher and Lecturer, IFF/Fiocruz
Raimundo	Colina Facilitator, *Jovem Pra Jovem*	Colina	Photographer, Community Organiser

4.3.2   Interpreters and Translation Tools

Interviews with all but two participants were conducted in Brazilian Portuguese. I took language courses for the two years leading up to the start of research activities, but still considered it vital to utilise the services of interpreters while conducting interviews as I remained intermediate in my comprehension and speaking abilities and would not be able to understand nuances in slang or complex terminology or phrasing that I would come across. I contracted the services of three interpreters over the research process. The primary male interpreter was present for all but one interview, in which a male replacement interpreter was provided by the contracting service. A female interpreter was present for my interview with the female participant and had grown up in a favela of Rio, though a different one from the participants. The primary male interpreter also owned a tour company in Rio and had a university degree in Brazilian History. He therefore provided significant historic and current contextual knowledge which helped me to better understand life within the favelas and aided in his interactions with the study participants. The male replacement interpreter lived within a pacified favela of Rio and was also a tour guide for visitors to his favela, which similarly aided his interactions with the study participant for whom he was the interpreter. All three interpreters signed confidentiality agreements prior to their involvement in study activities. In addition to contracted translation services, DeepL online translator was utilised as a translation tool in complex messaging with the study participants and voice messages were translated by my primary interpreter.

4.3.3   Semi-structured Interviews

The primary method of data collection was semi-structured, one-on-one interviews. Questions for these interviews focused on the lived experiences of each past participant in relation to the social structure of gender, in Brazil and their communities, and within their expected societal and cultural norms. The interviews were designed to understand the male participants and their attitudes and behaviours regarding masculinity, sex, relationships, and violence. A feminist lens

was applied to the questions through attention to marginality and power differentials, considering gender, race, class, and any additional areas of difference evident from each participant.

The interview guide developed for the past participants of the intervention *(see Appendix 1)* was divided into six sections: Background Information and Family Structure, Division of Responsibilities in the Household and Child Rearing, Gender-Equitable Attitudes and Behaviours, Promundo Experience and Interpersonal Relationships, Sex (safety, contraceptive discussions, abortions, size of family, happiness), and Violence (interpersonal, gang-related, domestic, violence against women). The interview guide developed for the partners of the past participants of the intervention *(see Appendix 2)* was divided into six similar sections: Background Information and Family Structure, Division of Responsibilities in the Household and Child Rearing, Gender-Equitable Attitudes and Behaviours of Self and Community, Gender-Equitable Attitudes and Behaviours of Partner, Sex (safety, contraceptive discussions, abortions, size of family, happiness), and Violence (of Partner: interpersonal, gang-related, domestic, violence against women). While each section of the interview guides contained a handful of questions to guide the interview process, I allowed the flow of the discussion to be guided by interviewee responses and explored other topics that arose as unique or of particular interest for each interviewee. These additional topics included religion, relationships with parents and siblings, health system availability and utilisation, and career and home life aspirations, among others that will be addressed in later chapters.

The interview guides for the semi-structured interviews were piloted with the interpreters, colleagues, and friends to better understand cultural nuances and structure the questions. As I progressed through the interviews, I was able to incorporate additional topics that arose and became pertinent. These topics were also revisited with the participants who were interviewed earlier in the process. I conducted one interview each with Maria, Felipe, Gabriel, Rodrigo, and Carlos, two interviews each with Eduardo, Marcelo, and Francisco, and additional conversations via WhatsApp and during tours of their communities with all individuals but Maria

and Carlos. Each interview lasted from between 90 and 150 minutes. I ultimately sought to develop a life history narrative through the interviews to understand components of the participants' pasts, their upbringings, and relevant societal structures that played a role in the development of their thoughts, actions, and relationship with masculinity and gender roles and norms.

Interviews with current and past Promundo staff, facilitators, and leadership were more akin to casual conversations that were driven by my desire to better understand the role they played in the intervention and the lives of the past participants. Personalised questions for each individual were primarily aligned to the roles they played in Promundo operations, their perceptions of Promundo as an organisation, their perceptions of the JPJ programme, their past and current role in the lives of the past participants, and their thoughts on topics that arose during my interviews with the past participants. I conducted one interview each with the two former staff members of Promundo, two interviews each with the facilitators, as well as additional conversations during tours of their communities and via WhatsApp, and one interview each with the former executive director and the founder and current CEO, in addition to multiple other conversations throughout the PhD process. These interviews provided me with a more complete image of Promundo and an additional layer of analysis to study the overall implementation and effectiveness of the intervention. Interviews with the facilitators and past leadership also offered me a deeper glimpse into the lives and character of the past participants that proved valuable to the research process.

The location of each interview varied depending upon each participant's desired level of confidentiality, home or work location, and ease of accessibility. All interviews conducted with participants from the Colina community were within their own homes or at a local bakery with outdoor seating that had minimal foot traffic where others might be within listening distance of the interview process. Interviews conducted with participants from the Jaraguá community were also either within their own homes or at a coffee shop in Rio's city centre where a table could be secured outside of earshot of others. One interview with a participant who

had moved away from the Colina community was at a coffee shop in the shopping centre in which he worked and, again, was done at a table outside of earshot. In all circumstances, I ensured confidentiality throughout the research process and that the study participants were comfortable with the level of privacy throughout the conversation. No family members were present or within earshot of an interview and only one interview was briefly interrupted when one of the former facilitators happened to pass by the local bakery, said a quick hello, and then left. Finally, all interviews with past staff members of Promundo were conducted within their own homes, via secure video conferencing, or within a private meeting space where no other individuals were present.

4.3.4   Survey

A survey component was also incorporated into the research with all past participants of the intervention. The survey was conducted prior to the men's semi-structured interview and was developed from the method of evaluation utilised by Promundo in evaluation of their programmatic efforts with boys and men: the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale. To compile the survey, I decided to incorporate all components of the GEM Scale, in addition to questions I developed primarily for the project, to understand how the study participants compared to Promundo's operationalisation of how they characterised a 'gender-equitable man' as well as my own understanding of additional important characteristics *(Chapter 3).* The GEM scale was developed by Instituto Promundo, the Population Council and PATH specifically to evaluate *Program H* and provides a conceptual framework to measure attitudes toward gender norms among young men (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008). Research has been able to show that changes within GEM scale indicators yield positive changes in SRH (Pulerwitz et al., 2010). The original use of the GEM Scale for *Program H* utilised 24 statements that fit into two categories: 'Inequitable' Gender Norms and 'Equitable' Gender Norms. A respondent can respond to each statement with 'Agree', 'Partially Agree', or 'Do Not Agree' and is scored either 1, 2 or 3 based upon their response. At the end, the scores are combined with a higher score indicating higher gender equitability. An additional 10 statements were

dropped from the original GEM scale but are still provided in online tools should they be relevant in other contexts.

My survey (*see Appendix 3)* incorporated, along with all original Gem Scale components, three of the items that were dropped from the first survey and four of my own. These additional components shed further light on the men's attitudes and behaviours today and incorporated more ideas related to violence and fatherhood. The highest possible score on my GEM Scale survey was 87 and additional 'yes' or 'no' questions provided comparable data regarding prior use of violence. Although the GEM Scale was not implemented in Promundo's evaluation methods until after JPJ had ended, therefore only being piloted among the past participants involved in this study during their time with Promundo, the survey responses proved useful to support interview data and help understand the participant's overall thoughts and behaviours today in relation to topics of masculinity, sex, gender, violence, and relationships.

4.3.5   Reflective Journaling

For four of the study participants, I asked them to, over the course of a week or two, maintain a short reflective journal. Diary studies, as such approaches are often called, use a participant-observation method of data collection to gain insight into people's daily life experiences by which the observers of the phenomena are members of the group of interest (Hyers et al., 2006). This method of data collection allows participants time and space to reflect on points of inquiry, rather than the immediate question-and-answer format of interviews or focus groups. Ultimately, this makes room for participants to provide more nuanced understandings of everyday subjectivities, emotions, and events (Morrison, 2012). Although not private, reflective journals often take a more structured format to the traditional diary narrative method through responses to structured, closed-ended topics of inquiry and reflection that are rarely focused on topics of the writer's choosing. In contrast, they include predetermined categories of events, attitudes, behaviours, or thoughts that are of the researchers' choosing (Hyers et al., 2006).

In the context of this study, the reflective journal contained five prompts in which I asked them to reflect on components of their lives in relation to societal gendered expectations (*see Appendix 4*). These components included their household role, intimate relationships, personal relationships, role as a parent and attitudes toward violence and sex. I encouraged the participants to expand on these prompts, to elicit deeper reflection as they felt most comfortable, and allowed them to express their ideas in the manner they felt best doing so (Filep et al., 2018). This method added an additional layer to the data collected in participant interviews and provided a more detailed narrative of their understandings of masculinity, violence, and gender roles and norms. In the end, two study participants took part in the reflective journaling component of the research and their perspectives written on these topics were incorporated into the results presented in Chapters 5 through 8.

4.3.6   Favela Visits

I had originally not intended to travel to or spend time in the favelas of Rio due to safety concerns. However, as I developed relationships with the study participants during the research process, I was invited on one occasion to visit the Jaraguá community and on four occasions to visit the Colina community. During these favela visits, I spent several hours in the company of study participants being shown areas of the communities that are significant to community life, education, health services, their personal lives, and indications of both the hardship and joys of their lifestyle. I was introduced to acquaintances, community leaders, family members, and friends and used these opportunities to develop a deeper understanding of the study participants and who they were as individuals and members of their community. The visits also provided me the chance to take a minimal ethnographic approach to my data collection by experiencing the culture and environment in which the participants were raised and, all but one, remained living. For all my visits, I was also in the company of one of the two previous facilitators who worked with the past participants and who had both remained living within their respective communities. These facilitators were able to provide valuable information about the

historical context of the communities and how life was for the men during the time of the intervention's implementation. Throughout my time visiting each community, I was assured continuously of my safety despite the prevalence of heavy weaponry, consistent concern for police intervention, and my recognised presence as an outsider. The study participants all made me feel welcome within their communities and the experiences provided additional data that helped to inform my research and data analysis processes.

4.4   Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were addressed and prepared for long in advance of my travels to Rio and many plans were made to respond to potential disruptions to the research process. The nature of the study required that questions be asked of the participants regarding their sexual behaviour, use of violence or violence against them, potential abuse committed or committed against them, and potential information regarding their mental or physical health. These questions could have caused discomfort and potentially led them to not share information for fear that it would be discovered by others or that they might face repercussions. From the beginning of interaction with the study participants, I communicated clearly that such sensitive topics would be discussed should they choose to participate, that these topics would be addressed in a safe environment free from any judgement, and that they would not be pressured to share any information that they felt uncomfortable providing. The presence of a local interpreter in each interview provided additional support in addressing topics that might be culturally sensitive. Considering that the past participants had been involved in similar research efforts throughout their adolescence and teenage years, they already understood what questions might be asked and that the purpose of collecting the data was to advance gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours within their communities. The presence of a female interpreter in the interview with a past participant's wife was also intended to help create a comfortable and safe environment for her to share information on sensitive topics.

In connection with the sensitivity of the questions, it was important that confidentiality and anonymity were upheld in all instances and that the data collected would not be able to be traced back to any individual. As a result, efforts were made to maintain the confidentiality of study participants throughout their participation in research activities. All interpreters were asked to sign confidentiality agreements prior to their participation and none of them retain access to any data collected. Mutually agreed upon interview locations allowed for the participants to maintain their desired level of anonymity. As the researcher, I ensured that each study participant was allowed to determine the level of confidentiality they desired when it came to sharing family details or specific personal information.

From the outset, I communicated clearly that all data would be pseudonymised and stored securely for the sole use of myself as the researcher. No pictures, family details, employer names, or home locations would be incorporated in research findings that could allow for personal identification and such details were removed from securely stored transcripts or study data. It was also agreed from the outset that any past leadership of Promundo who helped in the research process or in contacting potential study participants would not have access to any of the data collected which could be traced back to an individual.

By the time that data collection began, the Covid-19 pandemic had reached a point at which travel and meeting with others in person had become possible. However, I remained sensitive to the continuing threat that it posed to public health. I offered each study participant the option to conduct our interviews in any manner that they felt most comfortable with. The participants chose to conduct their interviews in an outdoor café, indoor café, or in their own homes or office space. I offered to wear face protection when conducting all interviews, although no study participant asked for me to do so. I was fully vaccinated and regularly took Covid-19 tests to ensure I would remain a minimal threat in the potential spread of the virus when meeting with study participants. Only one potential participant chose to not meet with me for an interview as she had just had a child and did not want to face potential exposure to the virus.

4.5   Data Management and Analysis

Due to the sensitive nature of topics discussed in most of my interviews, it was important to manage all collected data in a secure manner. All interviews were recorded, with the consent of participants, transcribed by the primary interpreter, and stored securely on a password-protected hard drive under culturally appropriate pseudonyms. Any field notes, notes taken during the interview process, and reflective journals were also transcribed and stored on a password-protected hard drive with any identifying details removed. Study logs containing participant names and contact details, as well as signed informed consent forms and message strings, were stored electronically in encrypted databases that are solely accessible by myself for further research purposes.

Data were anonymised prior to being stored securely (family member names removed, employer information removed, home location removed) and all pictures were stored with pseudonymised indications of the study participant who provided them. Hard copies of surveys, field notes, consent forms, and additional data sources were destroyed after transcription, anonymisation/pseudonymisation, and secure storage. Data will only be shared with authenticated researchers for research purposes in accordance with data protection legislation.

The analysis was conducted based upon the principles of thematic network analysis. NVivo qualitative data analysis software was used to organise, consolidate, and break down interview transcripts and written materials into codes for deeper analysis. The results of each study participant's GEM scale survey were compiled into an Excel spreadsheet, and broken down by individual answers to each question, to allow for comparison of responses among the participants and for quick reference when comparing to the qualitative data. Responses were therefore isolated from what was reported in the interviews or reflective journals to allow for individual analysis and comparison between what an individual might report on paper prior to an in-depth conversation and how they might categorise their actions differently or would like themselves to be perceived in survey form compared to

within a conversation. While the format of the modified GEM Scale survey allows for a simple numerical determination of an individual's gender-equitability, single responses were also considered in the analysis. Based upon the principles of social constructivism, I allowed for the data and information gained through my interactions with the study participants to dictate the direction by which thematic network was developed and analysis could be drawn. The conclusions developed from my research were based upon the insight drawn from the data itself, supported by applicable theories that aided in the analysis process.

4.5.1   Thematic Network Analysis

Thematic analysis is an approach to identifying themes within data at various levels and thematic networks facilitate the structuring and presentation of these themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Themes represent a patterned response within qualitative data that encompass both space and prevalence across a dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is not bound to any theory or phenomenon and involves the coding of issues of potential interest and patterns of meaning into similar conceptual categories. From these categories, it becomes possible to recognise consistent patterns and relationships between the themes to develop theoretical explanations for what is discovered within the data (Figgou and Pavlopoulos, 2015). As outlined by Braun and Clarke, the phases of thematic analysis include familiarising oneself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing a report (2006).

Thematic networks come into play when deriving interpretation from the determined themes. They provide a visual representation of the relationships between themes from a dataset, organising them initially as basic themes, encompassed within organising themes, and then ultimately into a broad, global theme that encompasses the principal metaphors or broad claim evident from the data (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Though it is argued that thematic analysis is a poorly demarcated or branded analysis approach (Roulston, 2001), it is widely used and has the potential to produce insightful analysis when approaching qualitative research

and data analysis, incorporating direct actions provided through a thematic network approach. While other methods of evaluation exist to assist in qualitative data analysis, this approach provided me a strong foundation from which to draw understanding from my dataset and establish knowledge grounded in the experiences, thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours of the study subjects and what they shared with me in the research process. The network also allowed me to draw connections among my themes that provided for deeper analysis and determined common theoretical perspectives by which to analyse the connections made.

4.5.2   Coding and Theme Determination

33 codes were developed in the analysis process and covered gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours, perspectives on programmatic effectiveness and deficiencies from former leadership, facilitators, and staff of Promundo, perceptions of the institution itself regarding impact and resultant feelings after the programme ended, and cyclical feedback from former leadership and facilitators on research findings. When analysing the perspectives of former participants of the programme on topics related to gender equitability, my approach was to use my understanding of gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours to group individual statements made by the study participants into codes that encompassed the topics that are entailed in such definitions. I also coded the same statements into one of four categories: *positive gender-equitable attitudes, negative gender-equitable attitudes, positive gender-equitable behaviours,* or *negative gender-equitable behaviours*. The determination of whether an attitude or behaviour should be considered positive or negative was made by considering whether it could have, or had had, a negative or positive impact on the health, well-being, personal autonomy, happiness, or quality of life of a current or former partner, children, individuals they interacted with, or members of their wider community or society.

From the 33 codes, base themes were determined that encompassed the influences, experiences, attitudes, and behaviours of the past participants on relationships, SRH, gender equality, fatherhood, roles and responsibilities in the

household, violence, and involvement in gang activities. The organising themes in which these base themes were connected, and analysed in relation to, were social structures of masculine identity and gendered roles and norms, programmatic influence, a lack of programme continuity and role model exposure, and the use of personal agency. These organising themes connect to a global theme of 'compromise', recognising the compromises made by Promundo in implementing and ending the JPJ programme and the compromises made by the men in enacting their agency and developing their understandings of masculinity and their gendered roles and responsibilities. A diagram of my thematic networks can be found at the end of the thesis *(Appendix 5)*.

4.5.3   *Application of Theoretical Foundations in Data Analysis*

In conducting analysis of the themes that emerged from the data, theoretical perspectives included gender as a social structure, theories of gender transformation, social structures and human agency, and theories of violence, exposure and perpetration, and the intergenerational transfer of violence. These theories individually provided frameworks by which data could be understood and implications drawn to best determine societal or life history influences and programmatic impacts. Gender structure theory was operationalised through identifying gendered cultural and material processes on the individual, interactional, and macro levels of the participants' lives, communities, and wider society that influenced the construction of their understandings of gender, masculinity, and their roles and responsibilities in their relationships, households, and communities. An understanding of the ongoing structure and agency debate was utilised to identify the social structures that the participants faced, and recognised, in their communities, understand participant reported behaviours as potential utilisation of agency, or a lack thereof, and determine the programme's ability to develop such agency to encourage further change in the social structures of their communities. The foundational theories utilised by Promundo in developing their theory of change for JPJ and *Program H* (*Chapter 3*) provided frameworks through which participant reported behaviours, or disconnects between knowledge, attitudes, and

behaviours, could be analysed in relation to programmatic exposure or external influences of structural norms or peer groups, family members, and fellow community members. They also were critiqued in their use as gender transformative theories of change with limitations recognised in the potential impact that they had in encouraging longitudinal behavioural change in the study participants or structural-level change beyond the individual. Finally, theories of violence, exposure and perpetration, and the intergenerational transfer of violence allowed for reported instances of violence perpetration, and perspectives on the use of violence, to be understood in relation to programmatic influence and exposure to violence in the household and wider community.

4.6   Limitations and Complications in Data Collection

A variety of complications over the preparation for and implementation of the study resulted in limitations to the data collection process and the amount and type of data collected. The primary complication that was faced both in preparation for and in the implementation of the research process was the Covid-19 pandemic. My initial plan was to travel to Rio to conduct the data collection for my research in September of 2020. However, once the pandemic hit earlier that year, it became apparent that travel would have to be delayed. As a result, the initiation of data collection was delayed by almost two years. While this provided time for me to complete my PhD upgrade and expand my research methodology, it created significant frustration and personal distress while awaiting the opportunity to move forward with my PhD activities. Although the pandemic did not have any direct impact on the quality of data collected or the overall success of the research process, it did result in the inability to interview one of the wives of a past participant as she had recently had a child and did not want to face any risk during the continued presence of Covid-19 at the time of data collection.

Additional complications arose concerning my ability to initiate and maintain contact with potential study participants. As previously mentioned, the primary methods of contact with participants were through Facebook Messenger and/or

WhatsApp messaging. A small number of past participants did not have a presence on Facebook and neither past Promundo leadership nor other study participants had their contact information. Additionally, while I was able to obtain the contact information of many past participants and initiate contact with them, several either did not respond or were not interested or willing to participate in the study. In designing the study, it was my original desire to also interview the current partners or wives of the past participants. However, due to the contact resources at my disposal, I was reliant on the past participants themselves to provide me with the contact information for their partners. Of the seven past participants I interviewed, one did not have a current partner or wife, one connected me with his wife for an interview, two expressed willingness to provide contact information for their wives but did not respond to later requests for the information, one expressed willingness but the connection was unable to be made as his wife had recently had a child and had Covid-19 concerns, and two expressed scheduling concerns as the reason why contact could not be made.

It also became apparent during several of my interviews that the time commitment of many past participants to the study was going to be limited. For some, it was difficult to organise a good time for the interview itself. Therefore, it was a struggle to find participants who would be interested in taking part in the reflective journaling research activity due to the additional time commitment it would entail. As a result, only two past participants participated in the activity and their responses to the prompts simply reinforced what was said in their interviews but did provide quotes that were used in the following data chapters. I had also intended to conduct a Photovoice research activity, but was unable to recruit participants as planned and instead was shown relevant photos by some participants - of their families, homes, or times with Promundo - during their interviews. While busy lifestyles and time constraints were often given as the reason why others did not want to participate in these additional activities, it became apparent that there was an apprehension among study participants about revisiting their experiences with Promundo and participating in research that was perceived as associated with the organisation. Chapter 5 will discuss these circumstances

which were an opportunity to better understand the feelings of abandonment and loss that many participants felt at the programme's end.

As noted previously, only 15 individuals had participated in the original intervention that was the focus of my study. Of these original 15, one had passed away and I was able to obtain the contact information of all but two. However, of the 12 contacted, only seven agreed to participate. As a result, to allow for deeper analysis of my data through the interviews with past participants, I expanded the sample to include past staff members of Promundo and conducted multiple interviews with previous facilitators and leadership, who had played a large role in the programme as well as in the lives of the past participants during their involvement in the intervention.

4.7   Thesis Data Presentation and Analysis Structure

The data are presented over four chapters and encompass salient themes that arose in research activities and pertain to the impacts of *Jovem Pra Jovem* and Promundo on the attitudes, reported behaviours, and lives of the participants. Chapter 5 presents the programmatic intentions of JPJ and participant experience, including reported feelings of pride, gratitude, abandonment, and loss that arose during the interview process. Chapter 6 develops an understanding of the way in which the programme participants had constructed their understandings of gender and masculine identity. Chapter 7 discusses theoretical implications of the individual-based approach to change that was taken by Promundo and how the evidence adds to the structure and agency debate from a gender transformative perspective. Finally, Chapter 8 turns to further theoretical implications of the evidence for the process of gender transformation itself. Case studies of study participants are presented throughout to support research findings and present a deeper understanding of who these men had become since their involvement in the programme. The data and analysis build through the chapters and I discuss the implications for the questions guiding the thesis in Chapter 9, along with recommendations for further research and gender transformative intervention development and implementation.

Chapter 5   Programmatic Intentions and Participant Experience

"I felt abandoned. I appeared on a billboard for the condom campaign even.
Everybody thought I got money for it, but I got nothing.
When the Project left, I felt abandoned."

- *Francisco, 38, Colina*

5.1   Introduction

This chapter presents data discussing the programmatic intentions of *Jovem Pra Jovem* from the perspective of former Promundo leadership and facilitators and the incorporation of institutional reports and documentation. It also presents the participant experience of the programme as understood through my interview process. The intention is to provide contextual support for the data analysis presented in later chapters and 'set the stage' to develop an understanding of the programme's influence on the individual and potential impacts on gender transformation. It provides foundational support for my research intent to question the longitudinal implications of the intervention and understand how it may have played a role in constructing the participants' conceptualisations of gender and masculinity, influence the development of participant agency, and impact long-term gender transformation. Finally, it recognises feelings of pride, gratitude, loss, and abandonment that all occurred from participant exposure to the programme and the programme's end which will be incorporated and analysed further throughout the remaining data chapters.

5.2   Programmatic Intentions

The intention behind the JPJ programme was to engage a group of young men as peer promoters in their communities to promote SRH and GBV prevention (*Chapter 3*). This entailed the recruitment, training, and supervision of young men in Colina and Jaraguá and work with them to achieve the objectives. As the programme progressed, the activities with the young men developed of their own accord based

upon what were perceived as necessary conversations to have, such as the use of violence against a partner and teenage fatherhood, and activities to implement, such as skills and leadership training and the 'Talking Stick' to promote dialogue and understanding among the group.

James and Bruno both told me that the development of the activities was originally planned to allow for changes and additions based on participant input and needs. In their case study report from 2002, Promundo hoped "to train the next generation of leaders" in their field (Barker et al., 2002, p.21). They also indicated a focus on sustainability through income generation to continue the project, while "promoting progressively increasing levels of participation and leadership by the young men themselves" (Barker et al., 2002, p.21). This incorporated the idea of some of the men becoming future facilitators in the programme and leading expansion to other cities in Brazil. That this had not happened became apparent in early interviews, to a degree that insufficient communication and reported feelings of abandonment and loss merited deeper consideration.

5.2.1   *Funding Restrictions and Capacity*

Gender transformative programming is typically conducted through charitable organisations that rely heavily on funding bodies to conduct their work (Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020). Programmatic work in Global Health and Development is often restricted by the capacity of organisations, the financial and human capital available to them, and the priorities and monitoring and evaluation requirements of their funding bodies (AbouAssi, 2013; Ranucci and Lee, 2019; Mcloughlin, 2011). These restrictions can limit the ability of programmes to engender sustainability, often placing time constraints on programme deliverables and only providing funds for approved activities, making continued funding contingent on meeting the expected deliverables (Ranucci and Lee, 2019). Typically, once programme activities have reached their projected end, institutional leadership must cease them or seek additional funding sources to maintain interventions (AbouAssi, 2013). Implementing organisations are also often limited by their capacity in staffing,

expertise, and influence within a cultural context (AbouAssi et al., 2016). These limitations may affect their ability to expand their services when recognised needs arise that they are unable to meet, and to expand programmatic efforts into other contexts in which they may have no connections to community leaders or stakeholders (AbouAssi et al., 2016).

At the time of implementation of the programme, Promundo had received grants to implement an educational programme in Jaraguá and Colina from the MacArthur Foundation, SSL International, PATH, the Moriah Fund, and the Summit Foundation. While they also had partnerships with ECOS, Instituto PAPAI, IPPF and Salud y Género to aid in the development of what James called the "starter kit" of JPJ, the programme itself was led and implemented by James, Paulo, Bruno, and Raimundo, particularly regarding direct interaction with, and mentorship of, the participants. The programme was built from inputs by all parties involved, based on their perceived best effective learning and education methods, in an unstructured way that allowed activities to be developed and modified as the programme progressed. This included a lack of definitive role descriptions among the leadership and facilitators, which gave them flexibility in determining how they would become involved in the lives of the participants.

While this flexibility made it possible for them to become influential role models for the young men, all programmatic activities, including the *Hora H* campaign, theatre productions, and community resource centres, were funded by the external organisations for a limited period. Once it was recognised that the continuation of such activities would require full-time, community-based fundraising efforts, the leadership of Promundo chose to prioritise the institutional development that they desired to see, primarily the international expansion of their gender transformative programmatic model. When funding for JPJ activities ran out after about two years, newly developed programmes took priority, with new cohorts of participants and institutional growth that required the hiring of personnel who could meet the needs of the changing organisation.

5.2.2 Messages Relayed to Participants

Due to the approach taken by Promundo in implementing JPJ activities, the leadership and facilitators intended for the programme to continue indefinitely. When funding constraints resulted in its end, there had been no advance discussions among leadership and facilitators as to how the programme should end and what would happen to the participants once activities ceased. I was told by James and Bruno that little attention was placed on how they would transition out of the programmatic structure and into work that could still incorporate the men and allow for their continued exposure to the guidance and support they had received so far (*Chapter 8*). From what I could learn through my conversations with both the participants and the former leadership and facilitators, the men were not notified when, or in what manner, the programme would end. Most of them assumed that the work would continue and that they would eventually take on facilitator roles in the continuation of activities with new participants in their own communities or elsewhere in Rio and Brazil. Bruno told me that, in looking back, he regretted not having such conversations with James or Paulo about what should happen with the men after they ran out of funds and the programme's presence in their communities ceased.

In facing the realities of a rapidly growing international organisation, James and Paulo were also looking forward to what lay ahead: programme implementation in other countries, evaluation studies of *Program H*, international conferences, and meetings with partners around the world. When the programme ended, it appeared to have become an afterthought to maintain contact with the young men. The participants' belief that they should have been incorporated as facilitators, in combination with a lack of communication from the leadership and facilitators about how Promundo's future programmatic process would work, resulted in a continued attachment to the work that had been accomplished so far and an understanding that their involvement would potentially continue indefinitely. For the participants, the leadership and facilitators remained, for a time, role models whom they could feel secure in presuming would remain close to their lives. The

situation was difficult for all parties involved once too little communication came too late about how their relationships would change after the programme.

5.3   Participant Experience

The following sections discuss the attachment that the men developed to Promundo and provide insight into their experiences of JPJ during their time in the programme and when it came to an end. These insights are drawn from my conversations with them and present two distinct themes regarding their perceptions of Promundo and the programme itself. One theme encompassed the pride they felt today in the work that they had produced and conducted during their involvement in the programme, and gratitude for the experiences they gained and the support and guidance they had received from the programmatic leadership and facilitators. The second theme covered the confusion felt by some when the programme came to an end, and feelings of abandonment and loss that were experienced when they no longer had a connection with the Promundo institution. While the majority shared a common understanding about why the programme had to end, there were shared feelings of abandonment in both communities and unique individual experiences of how this impacted their experience with Promundo.

5.3.1   Attachment to the Programmatic Work

Many of the men appeared to be attached to the work they accomplished with Promundo. Given the nature of the programme, each of them was an active participant in the development of the educational manuals, theatre programmes, campaigns, and programme activities, which not only influenced their own attitudes and behaviours, but would go on to become the foundational materials for *Program H* and its iterations around the world. The men decided together to name themselves *Jovem Pra Jovem,* taking as much personal ownership of the programme as the organisational leadership and facilitators. The pride that will be discussed in the next section is evidence of the attachment that they developed in their youth to both the work that they produced and the leadership and facilitators of Promundo.

Not only did the leadership and facilitators provide a reference for the men, but they all became ingrained in each other's lives. The men viewed James, Paulo, Bruno, and Raimundo as role models, guides, and friends. For some who had non-existent, distant, or abusive fathers, they also became father figures and could be classified as attachment figures for their young adulthood. Marcelo said that they became references for him who would guide him in his life decisions. He described how "the meetings weren't just to shape our opinion; it was also a family bond. So, the boys were like brothers, and the guidance of our leaders was like the voices of our parents. And maybe that's what is missing today. I can speak for myself, from experience, I was raised without a father. The first sexual relationship, the first job, the first child, any kind of emotion that a boy goes through from youth to adulthood, I had to discover by sharing it with my mother. And when I was welcomed by the Promundo guys, it transformed my life. We lived surrounded by a lot of bad things and that opportunity was a chance to open our minds, because at that time you already had a society that said: 'gays suck, women can't lead, you're going to do it that way'. So to be a part of a group of men who will teach you all this." He also said that the Promundo facilitators and leadership became father figures which he had been missing throughout his childhood. "Bruno, Raimundo, Paulo… they exercised over us a type of leadership that I believe not only myself, but all of us, were lacking. Our mentors did a good job because they made us, they taught a lot, and their teaching is something that I will carry with me for the rest of my life. I always praise their work. I always talk to Paulo about the effect of his work on my life. Bruno, I have contact with him until today, he is always involved with social work in Jaraguá. They are such good people."

Among themselves, the men also became, as they would describe it, "brothers". The camaraderie was founded substantially on the amount of time they spent together every week and the continuous exposure that they had, through these meetings, to the leadership and facilitators. The structure of the programme included the *bolsa* that they were given monthly as many of them would not have been able to participate without financial support. While helping to provide a small income for

their families, the stipend also enhanced the attachment that the men felt to the programme as it created a work ethic and responsibility for what they were doing and was a way of treating them as professionals.

All the men recognised a lack of opportunity in their own lives during their teenage years, which also emphasised their attachment to the programme and the work that they were asked to do. They felt a purpose in what they were accomplishing and learning every week. As Marcelo described it, "They managed to introduce us to a context of closeness that we didn't have elsewhere. Some activities required looking into each other's eyes, required a hug, a handshake, putting yourself in the other's shoes. That type of dynamic brought me something that I didn't have in my life. They made us see sexuality and masculinity as something normal and non-destructive. I remember the bonds of friendship. We (the participants) still keep in touch. It's a bond that stayed with me all my life. It never was lost."

5.3.2   Pride and Gratitude

Francisco credited surviving past the age of 18 to the support and guidance he received from Raimundo, expressing gratitude that the Promundo leadership had seen potential in him and the other men and invested in them. Felipe also described how "*Jovem Pra Jovem* for me was a very big school where I learned to interpret who I was. The support there was a follow-up to what Bruno provided me. *Jovem Pra Jovem* was a complete family where we had love, care, and affection from these men." This sense of gratitude was evident in my conversations with all the men, each not only expressing appreciation for the leadership and facilitators for having a positive impact on their lives, but also a sense of pride in the involvement they had in influencing and developing the programmatic components that would go on to be the foundational structure of future Promundo programmes around the world.

Their pride was evident in the way that they described what was produced from their involvement. In discussing the manuals that would become foundational materials for *Program H,* Eduardo said, "I think there are five manuals. I think they

were, let's say, made in one year. But they were very cool, man. It was nice to see that, to see everything. And when I left Promundo and saw things happening, I was very aware that we participated in the creation of those manuals." He would later say that, not only did the programme have a significant impact on the direction his life would take, but he recognised the impact he made in the future of Promundo and its global work. Felipe also discussed their work: "I remember through Promundo we had done many presentations. We created a theatre play about the use of contraception and talked about domestic violence against women. We did those presentations in many places, and I also remember that we created the condom campaign *Hora H*." Carlos, while more soft-spoken and reserved in his responses, also recollected the active role they all played in picking the names for their campaign projects, visiting Brasilia to represent their programme, and being representatives to others in their communities. Despite the time that had passed since their involvement, all the men clearly remembered the work they had accomplished with Promundo. Even when some found it difficult to recall their work history or details of their past relationships, something about the programme stuck with them.

Gabriel went into detail explaining the theatre production that the group had created and performed in communities around Rio. "In the play we developed, Francisco played the homosexual, and I played the daughter. I had longer hair, I was wearing earrings and lipstick, others too. We were all men, and in the play, there was a mother, father, and children. All the members of the Project acted in the play. There was the gay character who was a gossip. I played the girl. I had a friend who was the boy. Another friend from Jaraguá was the mother. Man, what a good project." Rodrigo was able to describe the development of the programme, placing emphasis on the barriers that it broke through between the two communities. "By the time when the Project was created, the idea was to happen only in our neighbourhood inside Jaraguá. It was only with the youngsters there, but Bruno knew Raimundo and decided to connect with other communities in Colina. Two times a week, us boys from Jaraguá would go to the other community. This was a big deal, both communities were rivals (gang faction rivals). But even with that rivalry,

we were able to join and be together in the safest way possible. So that's what we did, we broke a sequence of paradigms, of violence. For the youngsters from our community to go to another community was pretty cool. It was very different and the confidence between us grew. I'm very proud of this today. I have so much pleasure to have had this in my life."

When Rodrigo and I first met, he showed me images of the logo they had created for the *Hora H* campaign. "The Idea was to create a condom that was accessible to the youngsters so they could have an interest in wearing them. Because at that time, the STD cases were rising fast, and a lot of people were getting infected. The public health system was giving out condoms, but the population didn't have an interest. So we pushed and gave them access to it through our campaign." He proudly said, "I was one of the founders of the condom project." Rodrigo recognised not only what was created through their efforts, but also the community impact they made. Eduardo also spoke of the *Hora H* condom campaign, recognising how the programme was integral in creating, advertising, and distributing the condoms. "We commercialized it and made it. I even participated in the recording of the music. It was really cool. Inside Promundo we managed to do all this, man. I don't remember what the partner organization was, but it was very elaborate, so much so that it started here in Rio and went to Brasilia. It was pretty cool, here in Rio was the beginning. We were able to do a series of tasks, we were able to work with everything. We were able to work with several organizations, and both community and international leaders." He was expressive and showed excitement when describing the work that the group had accomplished. His involvement with Promundo expanded beyond the JPJ programme as he became an employee within the institution. "Six months later the opportunity to work came up and they called me. Marcelo at the time was like an instructor, really. I was one of the oldest. So we exercised this leadership role within the project."

Promundo had a "profound" impact on Rodrigo's life. Bruno, James, and Paulo were a reference for him and his involvement in the programme gave him confidence growing up. He developed a lot of pride in the work that their group accomplished

and held onto it into adulthood, applying the lessons he learned to many aspects of his life. He said, "I take everything I learned there to my life today, so much so that today, I have a family life structured on the Project. Not very well structured, you see, but as much as the question of having a relationship, talking to your wife, knowing the other side, and raising children without violence. So the Project back then was the basis for my future." Rodrigo also said that he held onto many positive memories that he had of his time in the programme. For the Jaraguá men, "the experiences stay in our memories, and we keep them as positive things that happened. And when we need them, we can go back to those memories." He saw a uniqueness to the programme that was able to maintain a special place in his development as a human being.

On the topic of effects on their wider communities and society, Marcelo expressed pride in the written work he produced which became the script for their theatre production. "At the time, I studied at night, and we performed at functions, including presenting lectures on sexuality at schools. We had a story that was written by me. The group was invited to participate in a story competition. And I wrote a text that was awarded an honourable mention at the University of São Paulo. I won an honourable mention with this text. And this text became the play that we did with the group. A story in which a violent man attacked his wife and in the future was part of a group of men who, instead of judging him, placed him in society with a new way of thinking. In this play, the boys played the role of the woman and the girl who was the couple's daughter. And wherever we performed, we were applauded. We talked about sexuality, condom use, and we presented this play against domestic violence. People thought, 'Wow, who are these guys? What do they think they are doing?' That euphoria gave way to a kind of awareness of, 'Wow, they are capable of showing an important image and the content is relatable. We were talking about domestic violence, so if you put it in your head to think today about what this was. Talking about the large amount of violence that happens against Brazilian woman. There being no values, no guidance." The theatre production became integral to Promundo's community-wide efforts to encourage change in traditionally held gender roles and norms, an important recognised need

to support the changes they were influencing in the attitudes and behaviours of the participants.

When asked how the community viewed the JPJ boys at the time of their work, Rodrigo said he felt proud to be a part of something people in the community looked positively upon. He said, "People were thinking differently about us (than others) when we were meeting to go to Colina. People were looking and saying, 'Hey those are the boys from the Project. Hey look, they are leaving to go do the Project. Hey, they are doing good courses.' People thought different about us. Some came to us asking, 'Can I be part of this? Can I have my son in the Project?' They saw us in a different way." Similarly, in recognition of how impactful the work they did in their communities was, Marcelo compared the atmosphere to today. He lamented that "Nothing has changed in the communities. You see violence today being trivialized. Domestic violence happens to a woman and is even understood within her circle of female friends. They will say she deserved it. It is trivialized! And when we talked about it through Promundo, the way we presented it, it had an impact on people. I had an aunt who went to one of our presentations. She was delighted and said, 'I always thought your work was different, you can approach different themes.'" While this statement supported the need for continued work in his community, it emphasised the pride he had in recognising how positive the work they had done was.

When we began discussing how the programme ended, Eduardo said, "You just need to be prepared for everything that is going to happen. That's what I got from Promundo; it was an opportunity to me. They gave me a chance. I had three promotions within Promundo. I started as an administrative assistant. These are opportunities you need to embrace. I always talk to my team now, and say that if you're in a continuous cycle, you need to overcome that and go on. Staying there in the comfort zone of Promundo, when I was in my comfort zone, you think you're protected in that. But you always have to overcome the barriers." These barriers for Eduardo, as well as the other men, included the end of the programme and, as a

result, the end of their time with Promundo; a fact that not all of them were able to understand or accept like Eduardo.

5.3.3   Confusion and Feelings of Abandonment and Loss

Feelings of abandonment or loss arose during my conversations with Felipe, Francisco, Gabriel, and Rodrigo. Felipe also expressed confusion as to why the programme had to end. As the youngest member of the group of boys, he had developed a strong connection to Bruno and attributed his career in music to the support and encouragement provided by Promundo. He was caught off guard when everything ended. When I asked him why he thought the programme did not continue, he said, "I still don't know what happened. I believe Promundo ran out of money to maintain it, or they had already got what they wanted. They absorbed as many of our ideas as possible, made a theatre play, developed a condom, and launched it in Brasília with a concert." While initially saying he believed that they ran out of funding, Felipe was quick to also assume that Promundo had, in essence, 'taken' from them what was needed to continue their work, before leaving them behind. He believed that the Programme should have continued its work with them "because we were one of the creators of the idea. Promundo could have given us contract work, given us a guarantee, a certainty." Not only did he believe things should have continued, but he also felt that the work they had accomplished had less of an effect on them because of the way things ended. "After the programme ended, we made some presentations, we went to the launching of the condom, and then everyone disappeared. Because in our minds Promundo used us and then kicked us in the butt, so it had no effect." While Felipe did still say that he had learned and grown a lot because of his time with Promundo, this message presented conflicting feelings about any successes that the programme had. It seems to say that because Promundo left he felt like any progress was easily undone over time without continued exposure to programmatic ideals or guidance.

Having maintained no continued contact with any of the past leadership, Felipe expressed a desire to rekindle the connection. "I would like them to support my

career. I believe they could still help me. They know where to get resources, knowledge, or even how to sponsor my work." While this message was specific to his career goals and prospects, it connects to how Felipe had felt support from the Promundo leadership and facilitators throughout his childhood and teenage years, to pursue his passion as a musician, and was still seeking that support today, long after their presence in his life had ended. Felipe initially thought that I was a representative of Promundo and could not understand why the institution had not previously checked up on him or tried to see where he was in life. "I just thought that Promundo took many years to be able to come now and see how we are. Where was Promundo all these years, when I needed it, when I went to the wrong life? Where is the support, the life guarantee? But it passed. I hope I can have more access to them now." This desire to reconnect was shared by others. The Colina men had been able to maintain contact with Raimundo, but Rodrigo and Felipe had no one. There continued to be a recognition from the men of the positive influence that the leadership and facilitators had on their lives, despite any feelings of abandonment or loss.

Francisco had expressed to Raimundo a desire to never meet with anyone from, or discuss his time with, Promundo. Despite ultimately agreeing to meet with me to discuss his experience, and connecting well with me throughout our time together, he did not shy away from telling me, almost right away, "I felt abandoned. I appeared on a billboard for the condom campaign even. Everybody thought I got money for it, but I got nothing. When the Project left, I felt abandoned." Later in our conversation, he said, "Man, I'll tell you about Promundo: the only ones that didn't abandon me were Raimundo and Bruno. Everyone else abandoned us. We felt abandoned." And again, as our conversation was nearing the end and I asked what should have been done differently, Francisco reiterated, "In reality, the Project abandoned us. I gave up a lot. We stayed inside the community, I talked to the 'Chefia' (gang boss) to be able to allow the others (from Jaraguá) to enter, and to be able to release the use of our photos and posters inside the community. We went to other (gang) leaders, we had a lot of trouble. The *Hora H* still exists, right? Those of us who live here, who put our faces on the campaigns, we made it happen. I just

don't want the same thing to happen again." Francisco presented an overwhelming desire to express his feelings of abandonment to me. He seemed torn by these feelings because of the lessons he had learned and gratitude he felt to Raimundo and Bruno. From my perception, our conversation seemed to allow for reflection about his experience with Promundo that he had not previously done, opening these conflicted feelings to recognise a desire he had to reconnect with the others and perhaps move past what had occurred at the programme's end, no matter how negative it had felt.

Francisco recounted an experience of going to the Promundo offices with Gabriel which, at the time, also deepened the wounds he had felt once the programme ended and Promundo "abandoned" them: "When I went to the Promundo offices, I was treated badly. We got there, and they wouldn't even let me in. Everyone had changed. They asked what I wanted. There was another Paulo there (new Executive Director). This was well after the end of the Programme. They mistreated me and didn't respect our history." Gabriel added that they were treated as a potential threat by the new staff, as two men from the favelas coming to steal from their offices. This situation intensified their feelings of abandonment and confusion, providing further evidence, in their view, that they had been used for their ideas and then forgotten and left behind; as if all connections had been severed without their knowledge.

When Gabriel spoke of this experience, he said "I went there because I needed a document proving that I had been a part of the project. I arrived, introduced myself and said that I needed the document. They treated me badly and with a lot of indifference. I told him 'Man, if you come to my house, you will be well received.' For the importance that we had inside the project, I was expecting a red carpet." Gabriel seemed to have accepted at that time that any feelings of abandonment were justified and that Promundo really had simply forgotten about him and left him behind. This was further solidified when all contact with Paulo, James and Bruno was lost. "When the Project left, man, it was tense. I didn't have contact with anyone any more, only Raimundo." And while Raimundo remained a presence in his

community life, the connection to the work accomplished through JPJ weakened over time. In the way that Gabriel spoke of this experience, though, he emphasised the importance that he had felt individually for being a part of Promundo's work. By "expecting a red carpet", he presented an idea mentioned by the other men: that they played an integral role in the development of Promundo's foundational work. A role that he had hoped would have been worthy of recognition.

When discussing how he had thought his role with Promundo should have continued, Gabriel said, "I had a perspective of the project that it would not end. I thought it would perpetuate itself with those who were in the Project... What it should have been was, we as the original youth should have learned in the Project, and then become facilitators for the Project." Not only did this not happen, but no guidance was provided on what they could do next. "In this project we didn't just participate, it helped us to take a different direction in life. But I thought that the Project shouldn't just make us better, but also should give us orientation and options to choose A, B, C, or D. When the project ended, we lost ground, we were left with no guidance like, 'What do you want to do when the Project is over, what do you want to be?'" Gabriel's discussion of the abandonment felt by the men translated to a belief that "the project also abandoned the community." He recognised the benefits that their work had had in encouraging discussions within Colina about violence, sexual health, and healthy masculinities. Through their theatre shows, condom campaign, and associated distributed materials, Gabriel understood a positive impact being made among the members of his community. Not only did he believe that Promundo "left" the men of the programme, he also believed the community was left behind when more positive work could have been conducted, with him and the other men taking the lead.

Rodrigo also expressed the idea of having been abandoned, which shed light on conflicting feelings towards the Promundo leadership and facilitators as well as the institution itself. He understood the programme ended due to a lack of resources but said, "In the beginning they stayed in touch, bringing us together. But then, rather quickly, they moved away, left us. So we had to survive with our own legs."

He viewed their role as helping to make Promundo bigger than it was and thought the programme "could have had more value. But it's over now." He had to make his own path and "fend for" himself, while at the same time feeling "abandoned and taken advantage of." He told me that he did not think anything done today could make up for Promundo leaving them behind. While he expressed a willingness, based on his positive experiences, to be empathetic towards the Promundo institution or the past leadership or facilitators regarding how the programme was ended, the "wounds" remained. "My impression today is that we can't talk without hearing what the other side has to say. But everyone followed their own path, with their own legs. They are still doing their work, we had little stability because we were young at the time and had no professions. So we had to go on by ourselves, walk with our own legs." Rodrigo had earlier expressed pride in the work that they had accomplished, and gratitude for its leadership and staff, but said he felt "ungrateful" when describing how the programme ended and what they were left with. "I think it comes from everyone's heart." He believed that "They could have kept close and followed-up with us. Like once a week, call us together. But that didn't happen."

Marcelo and Eduardo did not mention feelings of abandonment, but when Eduardo described his experience with the programme ending, he did say that "The bad thing for us was that it had to end very fast. There were so many experiences that we had inside the project. Not only as young men. There were moments that we started to work with men of a younger age too, but then it just ended." He felt a loss when he tried to move forward and into different areas of work, even if it included his time working for Promundo as an administrative assistant. "I had to make this transition from working on the project to working for Promundo. So, I had no connection (with the other guys) anymore. And it turned out that I didn't have that much connection there (with JPJ) any more either, no matter how much I wanted to, I had to do my duties."

5.3.4   Divergent Favela Experiences

Throughout the research process, I noticed a difference between the perceptions of Promundo and experiences of the programme's end among the men from Jaraguá and the men from Colina. At the time of the programme, Bruno moved temporarily from his home in Jaraguá to be closer to his family in Colina. As a result, the direct connection that the Jaraguá men had was reduced and they had no facilitator living in their community when the programme ended. For the men in Colina, Raimundo remained a presence in their lives, attempting to maintain contact with them when he saw them around the community. Being from Jaraguá, Rodrigo and Felipe felt a deeper disconnection from the programme at its end, left with no Promundo leadership or facilitator to easily maintain contact with. Rodrigo was able to provide insight into the perspectives of other men from Jaraguá who did not agree to meet with me, which presented an opportunity to look further at the divide between the experiences of those from the separate communities.

I had reached out to four additional men from Jaraguá for whom I was able to obtain contact information, asking them for interviews. One did not respond despite repeated attempts, one initially mentioned being too busy when I first arrived in Rio and then ultimately said he did not care to discuss his time with Promundo, even though he said it was very important to his life, and two simply said they did not wish to speak about their experiences. In my interview with Rodrigo, I mentioned that I received these responses from some of the Jaraguá men. He said, "We from Jaraguá, we felt upset because in our minds, they came, got our knowledge and our ideas, then left. I'm not saying that this happened, but that's how we felt. After some time of thinking, we realized that this was not what had happened, that the funding was the problem. They did all they could, and well, of course one day we had to grow and go on our own way. That's why the others probably don't want to talk about it." He went on to say that the "wounds" of this end to the programme "make the feelings stronger about it all" for him and the others.

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When I asked why he thought those from Jaraguá were more inclined to feel abandoned by Promundo, he said, "I think it's because we were so close to those from Colina. With everything that happened in the programme, we were connected to them. It is something that should have gone differently." Without Bruno living in their community, and no organised meetings of the men from the two communities, the Jaraguá men were left with each other and a shared feeling of being forgotten. At the end of the programme, "Promundo said they had no more resources and wanted to see what they could do. And after a year they just left us aside." There was a recognisable pain still within Rodrigo when he mentioned this being "left aside", and for him, "It was a question of the contact that I no longer had. After a year, they didn't speak to me anymore. The one who still spoke to me sometimes was Bruno. But from the Promundo institution itself, we felt very abandoned. It is complicated to talk about now, so far in the future." For Rodrigo, like Felipe, there was still some confusion as to why Promundo stopped communication with them and no longer tried to keep in contact, and he told me that these feelings were shared by, and still sometimes talked about among, the other men from Jaraguá with whom he was still in contact.

For the men from Colina, while Francisco and Gabriel felt strong feelings of abandonment by the Promundo institution, it was easier for them to be willing to reflect on and share with me their experiences with JPJ. From my perspective, a reason for this was the fact that Raimundo had remained living in their community and was able to continue to be a potential reference and source of advice and support in their lives should they seek it out. There remained an end to the programmatic structure they had known for much of their early adulthood, and to their connection with Promundo itself, which accounted for their feelings of abandonment and loss, but Raimundo's presence seemed to offer an easier transition out of the programme than that experienced by the men from Jaraguá.

5.4   Conceptualisation of Abandonment

In functioning within the realm of behavioural change theories, gender
transformative programming requires a deeper involvement in the lives of
participants beyond the provision of aid, goods, or services (Appiah, 2023; Ryan,
2009). The educational component encompasses personal and sensitive topics that
ask for openness and vulnerability in participants that in turn aid in the effectiveness
of changing attitudes and behaviours (Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020). Programmes
often work with younger people who potentially have difficult backgrounds with
distant or abusive parents, lack of opportunity, or an upbringing in impoverished,
neglected, or dangerous communities (Levy et al., 2020). The connection that is
made between a programme and its participants, and when and in what ways the
programmatic work is to end, should be considered when analysing the work that
these programmes conduct. In considering the potential for facilitators of a
programme to become significant attachment figures or role models for study
participants, when programmatic exposure ends, the resulting loss can be viewed in
connection with feelings of abandonment. In analysing the feelings of gratitude,
pride, loss, and abandonment that arose in my conversations with the men, I
maintained an awareness of the implications their feelings could, and potentially
did, have on their response to the programme and the knowledge that was gained.

An important conceptualisation must therefore be considered regarding the men's
use of the term 'abandonment'. Abandonment of families by fathers is a commonly
understood reality within Brazilian culture which is exacerbated by the higher levels
of poverty in favelas (Dessen and Torres, 2019). It is also a common feeling, and
accepted reality, of favela inhabitants that the state often neglects their
communities and that governmental programmes do little good and are quickly
abandoned by the next administration before completion (Freeman, 2014). Drug
traffickers and gang leaders often fill the void of state abandonment for favela
inhabitants, serving to reinforce a belief that the state cannot be trusted to provide
for their needs and that any governmental efforts to do so will only result in further
abandonment, perpetuating poverty and exclusion from the rest of society (Lacerda,

2015). While I am unable to confirm the individual conceptualisation of 'abandonment' for each of the men, an understanding of Brazilian culture provides foundational support for a potential claim that the men understood this term, in part, with relation to governmental abandonment of impoverished communities and paternal abandonment of a family.

Neither the leadership and facilitators, nor the institution of Promundo, had intended to abandon the men and there was no malicious intent behind their actions at the end of the programme (*Chapter 8*). While the men had all seemed to, over time, develop an understanding of the way in which the programme ended, outside of an intention by Promundo to 'abandon' them, the effects of a perceived abandonment had occurred and will be analysed further in Chapter 8.

Chapter 6   Construction of Gendered Roles and Responsibilities

"The man, as much as he has the function of being that part of the financial, of providing everything. The emotional part also needs to be contributed to strengthen the relationship."

- *Eduardo, 40, Colina*

"It just happens. It is not justified, but it is what we see. Today, men are violent, fighting for nothing, killing for nothing. Will football end, will the fan fights end, will organised crime and factions end? Violence, we don't know when it will end."

- *Felipe, 36, Jaraguá*

6.1   Introduction

This chapter presents data encompassing the perspectives, attitudes, and behaviours of the *Jovem Pra Jovem* participants regarding relationships, sex, cheating, fatherhood, household involvement, and violence. Data are also presented on their fathers and role models and their exposure to violence. The intention is to understand the ways in which they had constructed their understandings of gender, masculinity, and their personal gendered roles and responsibilities. Analysis of the data is framed within gender structure theory, social norms theory, the theory of gender and power, and the theory of planned behaviour. It also applies the concepts of gender socialisation, 'doing' gender, identity theory, the structural nature of violence, and the intergenerational transfer of violence within the context of the literature on Latin America, Brazil, and the favelas of Rio *(Chapter 3).* The data are also used in Chapters 7 and 8 to frame analysis of how the research adds to the structure and agency debate and a theoretical understanding of longitudinal gender transformation.

This chapter begins the empirical contribution to knowledge about how these men constructed their conceptualisations of gender and masculinity within their contextual environments. It seeks to determine the level of influence that the programme had in contributing to these conceptualisations in addition to the role

that their communities, peers, and social structures of gender played, as inquired through the primary and first secondary research questions. Two case studies of programme participants 'set the stage' for the data. Felipe's case presents his perspectives on sex, cheating, and the treatment of women that illustrate the influence of his peer group and exposure to JPJ. Gabriel's case describes the influence of the programme on his life aspirations and role as a father, despite feelings of being abandoned by Promundo.

6.2   Case Study: Felipe

The first time I met Felipe was not for our scheduled interview. After organising a date and time for the interview, he invited me to one of his Samba shows at a local restaurant which was happening the day before we were to meet. I jumped at the chance to have an introduction to him and see him in his natural element. Felipe was a successful Samba musician and performed five days a week at clubs, restaurants, and other venues either as a solo artist or with one his two bands. Despite my limited experience attending live Samba shows in the centre of Rio de Janeiro, I was impressed by Felipe's talent and command of the room. He was comfortable performing and thrived on the crowd singing and dancing along to his music. After he performed, we had the chance to speak before he had to make his rounds to everyone in the audience. While brief, this initial interaction gave me the opportunity to see what a social and confident person Felipe was; a strong personality I would learn was fostered during his experiences with Promundo.

Being a Samba musician in Rio comes with a certain attitude, much of which I learned from my time spent with Felipe, but also through my conversations with my interpreter and his knowledge of the Rio nightlife scene. A sense of perceived celebrity was apparent when he showed up to our interview in a silver studded t-shirt, puffy black overcoat, and dark sunglasses which he wore inside for the duration of our conversation. He asked for a picture of the two of us which he could post to his social media, as if he was being interviewed about his artform for publicity purposes. It took some effort to break through this veneer to ensure that

he knew my research was confidential and particularly focussed on his experience with JPJ and current attitudes and behaviours surrounding gender equality. Despite the veneer, Felipe opened up easily during our conversation and was unafraid to answer any questions that I posed.

From the age of 14, after his mother passed away and his father "moved on", Felipe knew that he wanted to be a musician; no other job, just a musician. This passion was fostered during his time in Promundo; he spoke of his time with JPJ as encouragement to be an artist and he said that he learned how to be a citizen, a human being. Felipe was a religious individual and had been since he was a child. When I asked him whether his religion had influenced his views on gender-equitability, sex, and violence, he told me, "My religion is a religion of respect, it does have an influence. It has a doctrine of loving one's neighbour, of being a just person. If I do something wrong my Orixá (deity) won't like it." While his religious beliefs did seem to have an impact on the way he lived his life, I developed a sense that there had been decisions he made in which he was able to find justification for doing things that his religion would view as wrong.

In his responses to the survey, Felipe achieved the highest possible score. Every response was in line with a gender-equitable man and he reported no violence against a past partner, current partner, child, police, or other man. There seemed to be a disconnect between the way in which Felipe wanted to be viewed, in simple survey responses, to the reality of himself that was presented throughout our interview. One example was that, on the survey, he said that he disagreed with the statement that "Men need other women in addition to their wife." However, during the interview process, he stated on multiple occasions that he had cheated in all past marriages and relationships, and that he was currently cheating on his partner.

> *Felipe:* "I have other women; she just can't know."
>
> *David:* "How many other women?"
>
> *Felipe:* "Only four women, now for about two months. They like Black men."

This current relationship he had only been in for six months, and while he described it as "I'm biting the edges (just enjoying it)", he still recognised what he was doing as

cheating and as something she would not like. At the same time, when asked how he understood the roles of a man and woman within a relationship, he described an expectation that the woman should not cheat and that her role in a relationship should not be viewed equally with that of the man.

> *Felipe:* "In a relationship, a woman is more of a housewife. She ends up accumulating different functions (though) and I believe that should be the case. The man is the hunter, you know, he is the warrior of the house, the head of the family. (A) man always has to look for the game, he has to be different in a relationship."
>
> *David:* "And the role of the woman?"
>
> *Felipe:* "It's practically the same, but you have to take care of the house. Just can't jump the fence (cheat)."

This was another disconnect from his survey responses in which he said that he disagreed with the statement that "A woman's role is to take care of the home and children". However, he did still believe that in all aspects of society women should have free will and be treated equally, describing them as "warriors" today in fighting for their place and role in society.

In response to a query about his views on violence against women, Felipe said, "It is something I reject. I don't like it. Imagine a man like me going to punch a woman in the face. A woman doesn't have the same strength as me. A woman is for giving affection. For kissing." While this idea showed Felipe's understanding to not use violence against women, he also presented an alternative understanding of his attitudes as to why. By focussing on a woman's weakness compared to himself, and that a woman is for "giving affection" and "kissing", he manifested a negative attitude towards women as being for sexual purposes and, perhaps, not for being completely respected in their own right. A lot of information about Felipe's attitudes and behaviours was perceived by the way he discussed particular subjects, rather than simply in what he said. At various points, either during breaks in the interview or afterward, my interpreter was able to clarify the way Felipe discussed women and sex, in a manner that could be understood as more misogynistic and disrespectful within Brazilian culture. He spoke about sex as a teenager would, in an immature

way, and was proud of having sex with a lot of women. This included speaking rather disrespectfully of women and he was very casual in the way he spoke about cheating on his current girlfriend.

"Being in a band, you know how it is." In such a statement, he was almost justifying his actions and views on women, sex, and relationships by attributing it all to the culture and expectations of being a musician, of being in a band. His consistent cheating habits fit into this persona and the attitude also crossed over into my discussions with him about sex and contraceptives.

> *David:* "Do you talk with your partner about using contraceptives?"
>
> *Felipe:* "I do. I don't want more children."
>
> *David:* "Have you ever talked to her about having children?"
>
> *Felipe:* "I have already told her that I don't want any more children. My children and hers will form a single family."

I found it interesting during this part of the conversation that Felipe mentioned not having an open discussion with his partner about contraception and having children. For him, it was less important what her thoughts and desires were than that he no longer wanted to have more children.

From the time that I spent with Felipe, I personally could recognise a struggle to hold on to, and exemplify, the messages learned through Promundo, on how to be a gender-equitable man, while also fitting into the expectations of a Samba musician and the hyper-sexual culture with which it could be associated. He was an open book in our conversation, though, never shying away from expressing his opinions, even if they contained contradictions of which he appeared unaware.

6.3   Case Study: Gabriel

Prior to my interview with Gabriel, I was worried that he, like other former JPJ participants, might not follow through on his agreement to meet with me. I had been messaging with him for over two weeks and whenever I suggested a time to meet up, he would not respond for a day or two until I tried reaching out again. It

therefore came as a surprise that on the day I had travelled to meet with Francisco, and our interview was coming to an end, Gabriel showed up at the outdoor bakery in Colina, prepared to give his interview. His perceived disinterest in meeting me, both in our earlier messaging and upon our first meeting, made me presume that he was not going to be open to saying much during our conversation. However, his initial soft-spoken and reserved nature quickly faded and he ended up speaking openly about both his life and his experiences with Promundo. In addition to this openness, there was a visible excitement and pride in the way he spoke about his children; a passion that was less evident when discussing other aspects of his life.

As will be described, Gabriel had an easy, relaxed relationship with his parents and his father simply did "just what was necessary" as a parent. There was a lack of guidance in the home, allowing him to grow up, as Raimundo and Paulo described, rather rebellious against authority figures. He was a difficult young adult and regularly caused the most trouble among the group of JPJ boys. He was actually the reason that Raimundo was fired temporarily as a facilitator. I would later learn that, due to his difficult nature, Raimundo once got so mad at him that he threw a chair in their meeting room in front of the other programme participants. This outburst, described to me by both Raimundo and James, was seen as an unfortunate reality of the human aspects of this type of work: individuals are not perfect, and even the facilitators and leadership of Promundo would develop frustrations and reveal their own flaws despite their intended roles. Gabriel did admit that, despite his regular push-back and stubbornness with the facilitators and leadership during JPJ meetings, his time with Promundo "was my transformation. It changed my perspective on life. It moved me away from bad things and gave me the opportunity to do something different. To do something for someone. Be a reference for someone." He told me that he knew his life would have "gone in a different direction" had he not had the experiences offered him through the programme. In particular, he recognised that he would have likely joined the local gang in Colina had he not first been given the opportunity to join JPJ, and would not have learned to prioritise his children and family, unlike his own father.

This realisation of wanting to 'do something for someone' and 'be a reference for someone' not only translated into the active role he took as a father and the affection he regularly showed to his boys. Gabriel's experience with Promundo encouraged him to continue with, and graduate from, high school. It allowed him to determine the direction he wanted to go in life. Having married at 17, two years before he joined JPJ, he said that his wife did not support his goals in life and did not want him to study. She had wanted him to rather focus his attention on her. They divorced "because I wanted bigger things in terms of study, profession, quality of life. I wanted to be someone, have something, leave a legacy for my children. And she delayed me in doing and executing things. She never helped me with anything and when I broke up with her my life took a turn. I didn't need to explain anything to anyone." Gabriel would meet his second wife soon after his divorce, had a third son with her, and they dated happily for five years before temporarily separating so that he could leave the favela in search of better job opportunities, a move that she was not prepared to make. While this time also meant distance from his sons, he would return to visit them during his two years away and help with supporting them.

At 40 years old, unlike most of the men I interviewed, Gabriel had had the opportunity to experience life both inside and outside of Colina, having found himself currently back with a continued desire to leave again. While he had wanted to go to college after graduating from high school, and felt encouraged to do so by the leadership and facilitators of Promundo, when the programme ended and communication was lost with all of them but Raimundo, he felt that he no longer had an orientation of the direction he originally hoped his life would have taken. He still maintained a desire to do influential work and had taken on multiple jobs in the municipality on various social projects over the years. And yet, after two years living outside the favela, a lack of income and ideal job prospects led him to move back home. Upon returning, he began dating his old girlfriend again and married one year later. She did not currently work, making "the home and our son her main responsibility. I work and she studies at college." While Gabriel told me that he had "an amazing life that could not be better" and enjoyed being able to be present for his eldest two sons, he would reiterate, "I don't want to live here anymore. I've lived

elsewhere and I really want to leave." Being away from Colina allowed him to experience life outside of a favela and he recognised the higher quality of life that it could provide for him and his family. "If I can leave, I will."

Gabriel attributed much of his knowledge of how to be a good father and of his desired direction in life to Promundo, even if his perspective had shifted away from pursuing college when the programme ended. In referencing this shift, he spoke of the shared feeling among the men that the institution had abandoned them, and once the support and guidance provided by Promundo was gone, he could not determine a way in which to achieve his educational goals and therefore turned his attention to simply finding a job that could support his children and current household. While I sensed a defeatist attitude regarding how things had turned out with his education and attempt to leave Colina, it was through discussion on his role as a father that a sense of accomplishment came through. He felt he had really been able to be the father for his children that his own was not for him; that he had learned to be from Bruno, James, Paulo, and Raimundo. When I asked him how he would describe his life and relationship with his wife and kids, he said, "It could (always) be better, but it's good. We have respect, affection, and love. We have shared desires, goals, and achievements. I am very happy."

6.4   Results

The following sections present data from my conversations with the men that represent a range of influences on their understandings of gender, masculinity, and their gendered roles and responsibilities. I begin with relationships and sex, move on to their perspectives on fatherhood, and then consider their exposure to, and perpetration of, violence.

6.4.1   Communication in Relationships

Of the seven men interviewed, four were married, one was about to get married to his girlfriend of several years, one was in a new relationship, and one was currently

single. All of them understood the importance of communication in a relationship, but it was apparent that some did not use it effectively when discussing child rearing or contraception. However, Marcelo, Rodrigo, and Eduardo provided personal reflections on communication within their relationships that showed a level of respect for their partners and provided deeper reflection beyond a basic understanding that communication is simply important.

Marcelo reflected on communication when asked whether his partner and he often agreed when it came to complex discussions, such as on abortion, transgender individuals, or women's rights. He said, "No. Maybe that's why we are married. She doesn't share the same ideas. We even have very different thoughts, at different extremes, but we take it well. Maybe that's why we get along so well. Monotony would be a marriage where I agree with everything she says, and she agrees with everything I say." When faced with disagreements in which they had opposing views, Marcelo and his wife worked to communicate openly and respect each other's opinions without it developing into a fight. He said that this maintained a closeness and mutual understanding between them that strengthened their relationship and provided a good example for their children.

Eduardo said that, in his first marriage "I had previous experiences that didn't do me so well and today I can manage my experience with my wife and talk to her about everything. People are even amazed and say, 'Why don't you fight?' It is obvious that we fight. But it's not a physical fight, it's not absurd, it's things that suddenly happen. I might not agree; Oh, I can argue. And she in the same way. But it's not a physical fight, it's not an argument, it's a conciliation which is a normal thing which happens. We won't agree with everything that the other person likes. We don't always agree, but we manage." His wife "had been divorced for two years. I had been previously married for ten years. So everything that we didn't like in the past marriages, we started to talk about and said, 'we don't want that in our marriage. If we keep going in a similar way, it will be bad, it won't work'. So we needed to do different this time." This early conversation began a shared process of maintaining a level of communication in their marriage which had led them to "always talk about

what is good for me, her, and the children." He told me that they regularly set aside time to discuss how they could better provide for each other's well-being and the well-being and happiness of their children.

Eduardo also told me that he and his wife learned from, and had a lot of respect for, each other. Family was what he lived for and had become his highest priority in life. He saw the importance of maintaining a strong relationship with his wife beyond providing for his family's financial well-being. He said that "the man, as much as he has the function of being that part of the financial, of providing everything. The emotional part also needs to be contributed to strengthen the relationship." When I asked if his wife planned to go back to work after raising their new baby, he said, "No, but I have a plan to make her able to work in the way she likes. She likes working with children's clothes, young people's clothes. I want to open a shop for her." Eduardo also noted that it was not often the norm within his community for men to emotionally invest in relationships; that most couples did not openly talk through their issues or disagreements.

Rodrigo's relationship was also based on open communication. He described himself and his wife as being "big friends", saying that there was never a need for fights or violence because they had dialogue and he preferred to solve any problems through conversation: "We can talk, so there is no need for that." He told me how he applied a lot of what he learned from his time with Promundo to his family and relationship. He learned to have a "well-structured and well supported family, to be very talkative in relationships, to think about the other side, and to never resort to violence." He also mentioned how they often discussed what was best for their family. "We thought about having a girl (a second child), but stopped halfway because of the following: in Brazil's current economy, if meat is so expensive, having a child is even bigger. So we decided to stop, especially because we have a little girl who stays at our home, my wife's niece." Due to the lack of safety within the favelas, Rodrigo and his wife also often discussed the possibility of leaving to find a new home elsewhere. They worried about raising their son and niece among all the gang activity and potential police incursions, but were restricted by his wife's

grandmother who they also cared for and who wanted to stay in the community. Marcelo and his wife also had different viewpoints on this topic. She spent most of her time inside the home and said that she was comfortable staying in the community, but Marcelo did not think that she fully recognised the potential dangers of continuing to raise the children in a favela. He continually tried to convince her of the need to leave but was not in a financial position to do so.

The other men understood the importance of communication in relationships, but did not reflect in our conversations on applying techniques to achieve it within their current or past partnerships. I tried to determine how they approached different topics with their partners, such as the use of contraceptives and decisions on whether to have children. Carlos found it difficult to have such conversations with his current partner. Regarding their use of contraceptives, he told me that they did not discuss it and that he left the decision up to her and simply went along with her choice, an approach also taken by Felipe, Francisco, and Gabriel. There was also a lack of communication about whether Carlos and his wife should have children. He said that he was open to having such dialogue but, "I believe that we never had this conversation because we fought a lot. It was not a viable thing at the time." He had known his current partner for around 20 years, but they had broken up several times. While they were currently in a better place regarding some areas of communication, these early fights, on "silly things, sometimes jealousy", impeded open communication.

Minimal communication regarding the decision to have children was common among the other men. Gabriel told me that he and his wife had had conversations about children, but when the time came, they ultimately had not planned for the pregnancies when they occurred and had to adapt quickly to the situation. Marcelo, Eduardo, and Francisco all said that they had not had previous discussions with their partners about when they would have children or how many they intended to have. Francisco was also only 17 when he married his first, and only, wife, and said that they were both very immature.

>   *David:* "Did you and your partner use contraceptives at the time?"

Francisco: "I thought so. I didn't want a child. I know it's expensive. But she wanted to have a child to please me."

David: "Did you talk about it?"

Francisco: "Yes, but she mad lied to me saying that she was taking the pill when she wasn't."

David: "Were you angry about that?"

Francisco: "At first I was. I knew it was going to weigh on my life. I was only 17 years old."

6.4.2 Sex and Cheating

All but one of the men were currently married or in relationships and most of them currently had only one sexual partner. Francisco said that he was casually sleeping around, and Felipe reported secretly having sex with three other women in addition to his girlfriend. All men mentioned being comfortable and happy with the current state of their sex lives with their partners. Gabriel said that he had been happy enough to never have the desire to cheat and, despite Felipe secretly cheating, he also mentioned being content with the sex life he had with his primary partner. While Marcelo did cheat once halfway through his marriage, it was not as a result of unhappiness with their sex life, and he told me that their sex life continued to get better and that they were able to speak openly about it.

Eduardo said that, not only had he grown to understand the importance of communication in relationships overall, but he also recognised the benefit to his sex life with his partner. Having had a few sexual partners in his teenage years, he learned that his shyness around the topic did not result in a fulfilling sex life and often led to misunderstandings about what would make them both happier. Currently, he and his wife talked regularly about their sex life and would even joke about how soon after her having their new baby they could get back to it: "Why wait? But I joke, I told her we will wait as long as she needs to recover." He had decided to have a vasectomy and described completing the process as a relief to no longer have to worry about having more children: "I can breathe now."

As the one individual not in a relationship at the time, Francisco told me that there was no way to count how many sexual partners he had had. "I am doing a lot. But always with protection." He told me that it was "more than 50. At the time of the outdoor (*Baile Funks*) I am there at the entrance to the favela, I am famous. [Raimundo] told me to always use condoms." Francisco said that he enjoyed his sex life and no longer felt the need to get married again or be in a relationship. He seemed to enjoy the popularity he had among the women in their community and, because of what he learned from the Promundo leadership and JPJ programme, always went about it with respect and good communication.

> *David:* "Do you always get consent before sexual intercourse?"
>
> *Francisco:* "Yes, I'm not a pervert! Rape is death here."

I was told before my interview with Rodrigo that he was a virgin during the time of his involvement with the programme and that he was sometimes playfully made fun of by the other boys because of it. He was always more aggressive when they played soccer together and boys would joke that he needed to have sex to let go of some of that energy. However, Rodrigo told me that he had lost his virginity when he was 16 and had various sexual partners for the two years after. He ultimately decided not to have sex with his current wife until they were married ten years prior to our meeting, a decision made by her that he wanted to commit to out of respect. "I respected her because she is a family girl. She decided it but I also wanted to. To show her family respect." This respect and decision to wait was also supported by his turn to religion later at the age of 25, a shift that was influenced by his wife's religious views at the time. For the 15 years since, he had remained a part of the church and, while he did not believe it had influenced his views on contraceptives or sex in a manner that could be considered contrary to lessons learned through Promundo, he believed that the church should do more in his community to support positive perceptions of healthy sexual relationships and the importance of contraception.

A variety of statements about sex in the survey also shed light on the men's perceptions. None of them agreed with the statements '*It is the man who decides what type of sex to have*', '*Men need more sex than women do*', '*It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant*', or '*I would be outraged if my wife asked me to use a condom*'. They all agreed with the statements '*In my opinion, a woman can suggest using condoms just like a man can*', '*A man should know what his partner likes during sex*', and '*A man and women should decide together what type of contraceptive to use*'. Two statements showed some differences: for the statement '*You don't talk about sex, you just "do" it*', Marcelo said that he partly agreed, while the others said they did not agree; and for the statement '*Men are always ready to have sex*', Gabriel and Carlos said they agreed, Marcelo said he partly agreed, and the others said they did not agree.

In turning to the topic of sex in their communities, Marcelo did tell me that "Since 2018, this subject has been very restricted because our government considers itself very conservative. And when a guy says he is conservative, in line with 'good customs' and 'preserves the family', this guy has some hidden desire there. He has some kind of prejudice, trauma that can't get out. But this government throws all this in the face of society, where people who think about abortion, feminism, machismo... we are forced to be oppressed. Why say, 'Oh, you are not conservative, you support this blunder'?" Eduardo and Rodrigo both also expressed the idea that because of such conservative understandings about sex in their society, people needed to educate themselves because the government would not. Rodrigo said, "I think people need to take care of themselves more and more because every day there is a new STD happening. They are not being properly educated, and people need to protect. People have to take care of themselves more and more."

To further understand the behaviours of the men within their relationships, I felt it important to ask whether they had ever cheated on a current or past partner. Of the seven, five had cheated on a previous or current partner. Rodrigo and Gabriel said that they had never done so. Rodrigo said, "I always respected." The idea of respect

did come up a lot in my conversations and Gabriel even told me that this respect kept him sufficiently comfortable in his sex life, in both marriages, to never cheat.

Felipe's first long-term relationship was ended by his girlfriend because she could not trust him to not cheat on her, even though he had not told her whether he had cheated or not. When asked if he ever cheated in a relationship, his response was:

> *Felipe:* "If I say I don't cheat, it's a lie."
>
> *David:* "In all your marriages or relationships?"
>
> *Felipe:* "In all."

Felipe continued to regularly cheat on his current partner without her knowledge, but as mentioned in his case study, told me that he believed a woman's expected role within a relationship included not "jumping the fence" (cheating). A similar response to Felipe's was given by Francisco when we were discussing his past and current relationships.

> *David:* "Have you ever cheated on a partner?"
>
> *Francisco:* "Who never cheated?"
>
> *David:* "Did you cheat on your partner a lot when you were together?"
>
> *Francisco:* "More when I was angry. But I wouldn't go here (in Colina). I would go to a whorehouse, to respect (her)."

An instance of serious violence against his partner happened during a fight that had resulted from his cheating on her. While I will discuss this situation later in his case study, the responses from both Felipe and Francisco suggested a shared understanding of themselves as individuals who cheat while in relationships and an understanding of cheating as simply something men do.

This perspective was not shared by other men who had recounted instances of cheating. Carlos justified his cheating with the feelings he had for his partners. When asked if he had ever cheated, he told me, "Not this one, but the others I did. The others I didn't feel (have strong feelings for). The mother of my daughter, she never had any feelings from me or me from her." The 'feelings' Carlos mentioned are feelings of love that he saw as important to develop a strong relationship in which he would not cheat. As such, however, this idea suggested an understanding he had

of cheating as being acceptable if particular feelings of love or commitment were not present within the relationship.

For both Eduardo and Marcelo, their instances of cheating occurred at times when their primary relationships were not in a good place or about to end. Eduardo told me that he only cheated in his first marriage, "and that was one of the reasons why I ended it. Not that it was the main reason, it was already worn out. Six months before it ended, I met a girl and that was just the beginning of the end." Marcelo similarly described cheating as a response to the struggles he was having in his current marriage. Ten years ago, and also ten years after getting married to his wife, he got involved with another woman which led to a six-month separation from his wife. "I got involved with a woman while married and it didn't work out, thank God."

In the survey that the men filled out prior to their interviews, there was one statement to which all responded that they did not agree: *A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.* While Eduardo and Marcelo presented an understanding that their instances of cheating were wrong in accordance with their stance on this statement, despite the circumstances surrounding their decision to cheat, Carlos still sought justification for deviating from his stance, and Felipe and Francisco presented a complete contradiction between their stance and their behaviours.

6.4.3   Father Figures and Role Models

An experience common among the men was that of distant, abusive, or absent fathers during their childhood and teenage years. For some, this resulted in either having no father figures in their lives growing up or in seeking them out in other individuals. Additionally, as presented in Chapter 5, the former leadership and facilitators of Promundo became father figures or, in a broader sense, became role models for all the participants; responsible, caring men who they could seek guidance from and desired to mirror in their own actions and various household,

relationship, paternal, and societal roles. Of all the men, Carlos was the only one who had nothing negative to say about his father: there had been no instances of violence, no mention of drug or alcohol use, his parents were still happily married, and Carlos spoke of how his parents had both desired for him to get a good education and not get involved with gang activity. There was an indication, however, that his father had not been and continued to not be a big part of his life. His mother was always the one responsible for caring for, punishing, or providing emotional support to him while his father simply fulfilled the expected role of financially providing for the household and little else.

When Marcelo's father died when he was 14 years old, he took on responsibility for helping his mother in raising his younger siblings and managing the household. "With the death of my father the leader of the family had to be me. And for a long time, I exercised this function. I brought most of the food we had at home with the money I got from Promundo. I was a questioner and maybe that's why I didn't go further with some things (like writing). I was very hesitant. In many situations, I don't go headfirst. I looked right and left before entering." While recognising the support his mother provided, Marcelo felt he had lacked a father figure he could look up to. He had mainly learned from his own father what not to do in life. He described how his father would regularly spend all the money he made on alcohol and card games, then attack his mother when she confronted him about needing the money; "It was one of the few things I remember about him." Marcelo had no positive reference for fatherhood during his early years. His father "was a very violent drunk person. I don't know what he thought but I promised myself that I would be a totally different father to my children. At the age of 14, I started to observe other people and think how I didn't want to be like them. I put all of that into practice. Maybe the worst moment in my childhood was when it was Father's Day. When the kids at school had their fathers there and mine wasn't. Even before he had died."

Eduardo similarly had to take on the role of 'man of the house' from a young age after his parents divorced and his father no longer remained a part of his or his

siblings' lives. Prior to this, his father had already been absent from the household, was often violent against his mother, and did not take on an active role as a parent beyond taking him to the occasional football game and picking him up from school on rare occasions. "The best memory I have with my father was I remember him picking me up from school. I don't think there were more than ten times that he did that. With my daughters, I take them, I tidy up, bathe them, and do everything. So I managed to do things different from him. I picked up things that didn't happen to me so that I could do it for them." Despite such circumstances in his childhood, Eduardo said, "I think it all contributed a lot for me to be the way I am today." He was also the only one of his siblings who worked to maintain some relationship with his father as an adult. "One of the things we had together, which we still have a connection with, is football. Whenever we can, we go to the stadium, and we talk. So we still have that small connection. Today he does understand what he did. He tells me, 'Man, I could have been a better father. I was a bad father.' And I say, 'Let's stop thinking about these issues, we need to think ahead. Today I have children, your grandchildren. What you did not do for me, try to do for them." To an extent, the maturity and growth he had developed from taking on the role of man of the house at a young age, allowed Eduardo to become a positive influence for his father later in life. "He saw everything that I was able to make. He felt the necessity that he could have been better, could possibly still be part of it."

Felipe had lost his mother at the age of 14 and his father had simply "moved on" and "followed his own life". Being the youngest member of the original JPJ group of boys, Felipe was only 13 years old when he joined and was brought into the programme by Bruno, who had already been working with him since he was 11 along with a small group of boys in Jaraguá, where they would have regular conversations on sexuality and masculinity. The guidance and care he received from Bruno and other Promundo leadership was one of the components that Felipe remembers as impacting his development most from his involvement in the programme; they became role models he could attempt to emulate. In describing his father while he was growing up, Felipe said that his parents would often fight when his dad came home high on cocaine. This led to witnessing a lot of physical

violence between his parents when drugs were involved, but otherwise there was "harmony" between his parents and he believed that overall they were happy. When I asked if his father ever used violence against him, he said it was only a "normal" amount, "sometimes to correct". At the same time, Felipe, like Carlos, did not say any of this as a negative representation of his father. He said that he had a good relationship with him and that he currently was a "best friend" whom he saw often. While this was accompanied by a recognised distance from him in his childhood and his actions of 'following his own life' after his mother had died, Felipe did not view this as a negative aspect of his upbringing and was able to almost understand and accept the disconnected approach his father had taken as a parent.

Even though Rodrigo had maintained contact with his biological father since birth, their relationship was minimal and distant. His father had always "wanted his own life" and never desired to make family a priority. He had died three years before, having never even met Rodrigo's son, his only grandson. Rodrigo's stepfather was therefore his biggest reference growing up and, in his opinion, was a positive influence on the way in which he raised his own son. Despite being a model for his future role as a father, his stepfather was sometimes physically violent with his mother, leading him as a young teenager to not only be exposed to violence but to also attempt to intervene on several occasions. Rodrigo also attributed his turn to religion at 25 to "the problems I had that I couldn't solve by myself. Primarily inside the home growing up". While his stepfather was a reference for him in his youth, Rodrigo still felt he lacked a father figure in the home growing up and struggled to get the life guidance he needed from his mother. Once the connection to Promundo was also lost in his early 20s, the church provided a continued source of the guidance and support he felt he needed in his adulthood.

Gabriel was born into a stable household in which he had a "relaxed, easy relationship" with both of his parents. While his father was not violent towards him or his mother, he only really did the bare minimum in his role as a parent and caregiver. According to Gabriel, his father was simply not around much, did not show him affection, and did "just what was necessary. He was not very present, but

he went to school when there was a party, and he took me to soccer." The two of them only had the chance to get closer in the year leading up to his death four years prior to our meeting, but his experience with his father in his childhood made him want to be a present father to his own children, showing affection to, and remaining regularly connected to, his three sons. As a result, he recognised that he was a "very different father than my friends", having worked hard to stay involved in their daily lives and saw them every day, even the two eldest who lived with his ex-wife. Under quite different circumstances, Francisco happened to be the only one interviewed who had lost both of his parents at a young age. He lost his mother when he was only eight months old and his father when he was twelve, both to heart problems. The time that he was raised by his father was not a particularly happy time; his father was "ignorant and rigid", beat him often with a belt, and fought a lot with his stepmother. After losing his father, Francisco was raised by his godmother and godfather, struggling often to stay out of trouble. He dropped out of school after the 7th grade and started to work in a variety of odd jobs to make enough money to support himself.

6.4.4   Role as Fathers

As a highlighted component of Promundo's work with the men during their youth, their role as fathers was discussed at length during our conversations. When I asked them how they saw their role as a father, Gabriel and Marcelo both wanted to be for their children what their own fathers were not for them. After initially saying that his role as a father was "normal", Gabriel expanded by saying, "I am the opposite of my father. I am present, and they are even embarrassed when I get close because I hug and kiss them. The eldest even has a beard already and acts like a father too! And I say, 'respect me, boy, I am your father!' His friends find this relationship strange. I see that the fathers of his friends are not like me. I am more involved." This recognition of being not only different from his father in his approach to fatherhood, but also different from others with whom he interacted, was a sentiment expressed by Marcelo too: "I told myself that I would be for them the father that I didn't have. I am the guy who sits with them, watches movies together,

plays video games together, flies kites together. I try to make them see me not only as a father but also as a friend. And this for the girls too: with total support for the girls, friendship. I am a guy who goes to the women's clothing shop and buys a bra for my daughter. 'Dad, is it okay?' I say, 'Leave it alone, man.' And the women look at me like this [strange]." He told me that he also saw this role as being a guide for his children, to ensure that they get an education and reach adulthood before becoming parents.

Felipe took a different approach to raising his children, of whom he had three: two boys, aged 15 and 13, and a 7-year-old girl. They all came from his second marriage, and all currently lived with their mother. He described his relationship with his children as "one of the best possible. They are my most precious asset in life. My relationship with them is the best possible. Infinite love of a father for his children. It's natural for me, seeing my continuation there, seeing that I did it." Beyond this, I did get the sense that he was happy to not have sole responsibility for them.

> *Felipe:* "I see it as a difficult task. Educating a human being until he understands himself by people. Giving affection, education, love, comfort."
>
> *David:* "And how do you see that you do this for your children?"
>
> *Felipe:* "I talk to them and their mother. Before talking to them, I talk to their mother so I can see what's going on and I ask how the school is going, and depending on what it is they get scolded."

He enjoyed his current lifestyle and, while he cared a lot for his children, he currently saw them mainly on the weekends and seemed to prefer and choose the level of involvement he had with them rather than having to deal with the day-to-day nuances of sharing custody.

Carlos took yet another approach to his role as a father. When asked how he viewed his role, he responded by saying it was "Boring. I am a demanding father who tries to correct and show the right thing. I make it very clear to her that she has to be able to manage on her own." Expanding on this, he provided an example of his approach: "There was a situation when I was at my mother's and asked her (daughter) to fetch water for me. She had something wrong with her hand, it was all

curled up, and my sister said, 'poor thing, go help her". And I said, 'let her do it on her own.' I had everything handed to me and I got used to it. I only went to work after she was born. I made deliveries and worked as a bricklayer. But before I became a father, I didn't have the maturity and if I didn't want to work, I lacked a job." He wanted his daughter to learn independence and responsibility early on, in essence so that she became more mature than he was in his early adulthood. This was reflected in his desire for her to receive a university education.

> *Carlos:* "She doesn't talk about it. It's a struggle to get her to study."
>
> *David:* "Do you want her to go all the way through to university?"
>
> *Carlos:* "That's the intention. To make her have what we never had."

Eduardo expressed a similar desire because he did not finish his university education. "I stopped, but in fact I dropped out of college. Today I honestly have no plans to return. My perspective and thinking changed. I had to prioritise my children. It's a personal thought about everything I've learned from the Programme, about always giving them the best." He always stressed to his children to finish their education so that they could find a job that felt safe and comfortable; "To find a job that you can stay in and have a good life." A desire for their children to receive an education and, in turn, a better life was shared by all the men, and I recognised a sense of pride from Marcelo, Francisco, and Eduardo when discussing how their eldest children completed their university educations.

Joining JPJ at the age of 17, Francisco's first and only marriage coincided with the time that he was involved with Promundo. He married his girlfriend that same year and even got her involved with some of Promundo's community-based activities. When describing his marriage, Francisco said that "it wasn't long-lasting. It was too early, and we were very young. I met my first child in the belly." His girlfriend was pregnant by another man when the two of them started dating. While many people in the community looked down on the fact that he still chose to move in with her and get married, Francisco took on the child as his own, and considered her to be as much his own as his biological daughter from the same marriage. His two daughters were now 19 and 20 years old, the eldest of whom had a 4-month-old son, making

Francisco the only grandfather among the men I interviewed. He was able to remain a part of their lives after his separation from his wife, having remained cordial with her after their divorce. Nowadays, though, he told me "I am dedicating myself to being a super father. I had separated and my ex-wife spoke badly of me. After my wife passed away my daughters came closer to me, but I have always been contributing. It's so little, 30% of the salary (alimony), anyone who doesn't pay is a coward." His ex-wife passed away from Covid-19 in 2021 and since that time his relationship with his daughters had grown. He was currently more active as a father and able to be present as a grandfather. While his daughters lived far outside of Rio, he managed to travel to visit them every two weeks.

Rodrigo had worked in various jobs to support both himself and his family. During his high school years, he worked at a storage company in the daytime and studied at night, attempting to make his education a priority. Once he became a father, however, he needed to focus on providing financially for his family so that his son could have a good life, and this involved giving up on his educational goals. While he still looked back and wished he had found a way to balance work and education to pursue a college degree, he was content with how his life had turned out and enjoyed being able to make his family his top priority. In addition to his son, Rodrigo and his wife also cared for and supported his niece. "She lives with us because her mom already has a son to care for and so we help raise her. Taking care of the studies, whenever she has difficulties with her studies we help. Because her mom works by night, and she can't handle a home and a child. So we help her to buy things and take care of her schooling. And the reference for a father that she has is me." He and his wife had discussed having more children, but the economy continued to make it impractical, especially before they had a chance to move out of Jaraguá. Viewing fatherhood as a big responsibility, Rodrigo tried "to teach them that they need to do what is right. When we follow the right path, things go in a positive way. But if we follow the wrong path, it doesn't work. They do have examples inside the community, people who could be even bigger, but no, those people also do wrong things. The biggest Idea that I can give them is: 'Study. Be a better person. So that you can be bigger than me and your mom.'"

6.4.5   Community Awareness

When asked whether they often worried for the safety of their children in the favelas, most men expressed high levels of concern. Carlos said that he was "always" worried for his daughter's safety: "The people who live in favelas know that here, at any time, it can get bad." Felipe expressed his concern by saying "the community is like a powder keg." And Gabriel said that particularly "When there is a police incursion in the community, then I get worried because there are stray bullets and shootings." As a result of this worry, Marcelo and Rodrigo wanted to leave the favelas and raise their children elsewhere. Unfortunately, Marcelo was financially unable to do so, and Rodrigo currently was unable to "because we live with my wife's grandmother. So to get out of there we have to take her too. She is a bit old, and she can't live alone. So for us today we will only leave if she wants to." Eduardo was able to move out of the favelas and did so to raise his children in a safer environment. "The community (Colina) is not the same, there is no way to raise children there. I spoke with people who live there. I said, 'Hey, you have children to raise. This is not a good place to raise them.'"

In awareness of the current level of safety in their community, Maria told me that Marcelo, "always told me not to look for a permanent job because of that. Because we don't know when we will have a (police) operation and when we won't have one." This mentality was also supported in Marcelo's thoughts on the power that gangs held over his community: "How can you tell a kid that lives in a community today that the bad guy is the thug that helps him, whether it's with gas, basic food baskets, money for medicine, how? How can you say that the law enforcement agent, who is right, is the one that comes in wearing a blue uniform with a gun to kill the kids that are in there and kill civilians that have nothing to do with this shit? How?" He went on, "The community is small. We know each other and we have this freedom to do things. But at the same time, my son is friends with a lot of kids whose parents are criminals." He found it hard at times to convince his son of the negative aspects of gang involvement: "It's difficult because I guide him at home, he can't do this, he can't do that. He asks me for a sum of money, and I don't have it.

And then he sees how easy it is for others to do something that's difficult for him to do. Life is easier for the faction leader." When asked if he feared his son might get involved with the gang, he said he was "scared to death, because drug traffic creates invisible tentacles."

6.4.6   Exposure to Violence

In addition to the gang-related violence they were exposed to often within the favelas *(Chapter 3)*, all of them but Gabriel had been exposed to violence within the household during their childhoods. Carlos did not experience violence from his father against him or his mother, but said he was often beaten by his mother as corrective punishment. Francisco did not know his mother and was only raised by his father until his death when he was 12 years old. His father regularly beat him and his stepmother, creating an association with violence as part of his early understood role of a "man of the house". Marcelo had described his father as a "very violent drunk person" who would often attack his mother when drunk. Considering that his father died when he was 14, some of his only memories of him were associated with his use of violence. In addition to this, Marcelo mentioned that he would often experience violence from other kids in the community. "In childhood, I was beaten a lot. I used to get made fun of by everyone and the older ones would beat me." As the only individual interviewed to admit to being 'bullied' in such a way during his childhood, Marcelo's early experiences led him to associate much of life within a favela as a "difficult life" surrounded by violence.

Having lived in Jaraguá his whole life, Felipe said he was exposed to violence almost every day of his childhood. As mentioned in his case study, his father was only violent against him at times "to correct", but he still witnessed his father beat his mother regularly, when on drugs, as well as the other way around, despite saying that he believed they were happy. Either between his parents or out on the streets, Felipe said he was often frustrated to see regular instances of violence, expressing how much he observed of his surroundings and remembered of his experiences as a child. In a way, these experiences normalised violence for him. He would get into

fights regularly as a child, which he said was normal within the favelas. In his adulthood, Felipe had been married to three women since he was 21, all of whom had been violent towards him. His first wife, whom he was married to for two years, he described as "hot-minded, jealous and possessive". She often chose to resolve issues with violence and once even tried to cut off his penis. His second wife of nine years did not accept the fact that he chose to be a musician and would sometimes hit him and break his instruments. And his third, like his first, often got violent when drunk and regularly "talked shit" about him to others. After 12 years together, he had recently broken up with his third wife and had been with his current girlfriend for about six months. In talking about his past relationships, though, Felipe never mentioned any ill feelings toward his partners. He saw himself as a "peaceful man" and chose to end his marriages rather than resort to anger or violence.

As the other study participant from Jaraguá, Rodrigo also commented on the regular violence he was exposed to as a child, but mentioned that he believed the violence within his community had become worse over the years. He had only determined in his 20s that he wanted to move away from Jaraguá due to the increased violence he was noting. Within the household, he mentioned that he only experienced violence from his stepfather on rare occasions — "he was more on dialogue with me" — but he also witnessed his stepfather using violence against his mother "in some moments". When such situations arose, Rodrigo said that his "reaction was to separate them", placing pressure on him to look out for his mother during his teenage years. Eduardo did a similar thing in his late childhood before his parents divorced. He said that they would fight almost every weekend, with physical violence always involved, and he eventually started intervening to try and get them to stop. There was a final instance, when he was only 12, when he had to come back five times during the same argument to get them to stop fighting: "This one last fight of theirs, I came and said, 'No more. You can't fight. I take the role now. I'm in control." Soon after this occurrence, his parents divorced, and that was when he had to become "the man of the house".

6.4.7   Violence Against a Partner

None of the men believed that violence against a partner was ever justified. Even for those who had admitted to using some form of violence against a former partner, their attitudes regarding such actions, and what they had learned from such circumstances, had remained in line with what could be defined as gender-equitable perspectives. Marcelo told me that he would never use violence against a partner: "Dude, there are times when I feel like it, she is the type of woman who manages to annoy me at the same time as giving me pleasure. There are times when I just have to leave, when she irritates me. But violence is never the answer." Even his wife told me that he did not like any form of violence and had never come close to using violence against her.

Gabriel had a slightly different response that left the door open for understanding circumstances in which someone might use verbal violence: "I never hurt. I think it depends on the nature of the issue, and the type of violence. If it's verbal, I won't say it's justified, but for what reason? Sometimes the person is bothering you, you say shit to them and the person leaves. Now aggression is complicated, and I don't agree (with it). A man gets home, and the food isn't ready, so he fucks the woman and assaults the woman; that I don't agree. Aggression for violence is wrong. It's cowardice." While this does present an important indication of how verbal violence may be viewed differently from physical forms of violence in a relationship, Gabriel still mentioned that it was not justifiable, and the other men all presented positions in opposition to verbal or psychological forms of violence.

Francisco indicated a hatred for domestic violence, saying that he intervened whenever he saw it happen in public. As will be discussed in his case study, this inclination to intervene came from his personal reflection on having used violence against his wife. In similar responses, Felipe and Rodrigo both told me that they rejected the idea of violence against women. It did not make any sense to them and was never justified. In their own ways, they both also expressed that there was no need for violence in a relationship because couples should always use dialogue and

open communication to resolve disputes: "because we have dialogue, we can talk." Eduardo recognised that an inability to communicate within relationships should not lead to aggression, but rather could indicate a need to reconsider the relationship and whether it needed to end if communication could not be fostered.

From a behavioural perspective, while some of the men had been previously inclined to not use any form of violence against a partner, due to exposure to their father's violence against their mother or to lessons that they learned through JPJ, Francisco and Gabriel both admitted to instances of violence against a partner. A limitation of this type of research is that I was reliant on the men to be honest in disclosing whether they had used violence. When Marcelo, Carlos, Eduardo, Felipe, and Rodrigo told me that they had never used violence against a past or current partner, I was only able to corroborate that Marcelo had not done so in his current relationship, with his wife assuring me that he had never physically hurt her and had said that it was "against his nature" to ever do so.

Gabriel told me that there was only one time in which he used violence against a partner and that it was in his first marriage. "I saw her attacking my son. So I went to talk to her and she came at me and I pushed her and she came with a knife. I immobilized her, I gave her a blow and she fainted. I train, I do Muay Thai, so I have to limit my strength. It was the only situation, self-defence." In a much different circumstance, Francisco had also used violence "a few times" against his wife, during the early times of his involvement with the programme, one instance of which had resulted in her hospitalisation with a broken arm. While he attributed these actions to being young and immature, he said that "humans are flawed but I didn't want to make (these types of) mistakes anymore."

6.4.8   *Violence Against Other Men*

The men perceived the use of violence against other men differently from the use of violence against their partners. While Marcelo, Carlos, and Francisco believed that no form of violence was ever justified, and Carlos said he had never used violence

against other men, the others had either a different understanding of the propensity to violence or found it to be justified, but only in some circumstances. Gabriel did not provide any circumstances in which he believed violence against other men to be justified, but agreed that it was wrong and struggled to state that it was never justified. "If you go beyond this line here, you know, there's a respect. If you go beyond that respect, it gets complicated. It can go to the last limit, but if you continue beyond there, it's complicated." As an individual who had used violence in the past, at some community parties when provoked by others, Gabriel understood that violence should never be justified, but there was a propensity to violent response that he felt could come out should respect be ignored.

Eduardo described the desire to use violence as a type of natural response that individuals needed to learn to control: "Violence does not justify anything, be it physical violence, verbal violence. It's certain that there will be a day, that will be that black day. That day when we will think that physical violence will solve it. But it doesn't solve it. Today, especially, people say that I'm a little crazy (to not resort to violence). I start listening to those frequencies so I can calm down. But (violence) does not contribute, it does not solve, it makes the whole situation even worse." When discussing how he would respond to his daughter experiencing violence from a partner, he said, "Man, I could lose my reason. There is no reason (for violence). It's not like I'm never going to do it. It's like I said, there are good days and bad days. But the bad days I don't want to be lived. It stays there in the little box of surprises that we pick up and keep at our side."

There had been two instances in which Eduardo had used violence against another man. As previously mentioned, his parents used to fight a lot when he was young, often violently. One day, when he was a teenager, it became too much for him and he intervened, hitting his father to get them to stop. From that point, after his parents separated, Eduardo took over as the man of the house, taking on a lot of responsibility at a young age. The other instance occurred when he was working in security and tried to stop two men from fighting. One of them attacked him for intervening and he had to "put the guy to sleep".

While believing that no form of violence was ever justified, Marcelo had used violence against other men several times. He continued to regret one instance.

> *Marcelo:* "I was violent once with my father-in-law in my first marriage and I regretted it a lot. I got very angry, an anger that I couldn't control. And what caused me to regret was the belief that I had - I never believed that a bad attitude that one could commit was something connected with the Devil. After it happened, in a few days I calmed down and my father-in-law came to talk to me and said that that was an attitude committed by the Devil. But the wrath was mine."
>
> *David:* "Did that happen a lot?"
>
> *Marcelo:* "No, it was just one time. After that, I found out that his daughter, who was pregnant, burst into deep tears. I still remember the date because it was a desperate cry."
>
> *David:* "Can you tell me what caused this situation?
>
> *Marcelo:* "He had a religious line of thought where he demanded a lot of holiness (from me) to be married to his daughter. I had to participate in religion, I had to leave some friendships, I had to change the way I dressed, including my language, my way of speaking, to speak! And in a conversation, I felt offended by that and ended up losing my mind. Instead of solving it by getting up and leaving, I was 19 years old, I attacked him with all my rage and strength, for me it was very bad."

The other two situations were described by Marcelo's wife Maria: "Once we were in the shop buying clothes for our daughter. I don't remember if the guy offended me or him. But they got into a fight. Then the second was last year, a guy at the bus station hit my niece. Then I went there to talk to him, he cursed at me, and then Marcelo came and punched him." Having grown up with a violent father who beat his mother, and even beat him once, Marcelo's reserved nature kept him from wanting to resort to any form of violence. However, when provoked, it seemed like this demeanour could be broken in defence of himself and his family.

In contrast to the others, Felipe and Rodrigo both said that violence against other men could be justified. Felipe was inclined to not resort to violence, influenced by the doctrine of his religion to "love your neighbour", but he still believed that violence against men could be justified, "Depending on the situation. Men disagree and this leads to fights and violence." He did understand that such disagreements could be viewed as trivial, but also viewed violence between men as inevitable when there were disagreements. "It just happens. It is not justified, but it is what we see. Today, men are violent, fighting for nothing, killing for nothing." When I asked him how he thought violence in Rio could end, his response was, "Only with the man himself becoming aware." But he seemed at a loss as to how this could really happen: "Will football end, will the fan fights end, will organised crime and factions end? Violence, we don't know when it will end." Rodrigo gave specific situations in which he believed that violence against another man was justified: "In cases of violence, theft, or when the person comes to attack you. To defend myself." This belief was not accompanied by any caveat that the violence remained unjustified even though acted upon, indicating a potential acceptance of such violence not only as part of societal norms but also as a necessary response to such violence from another person.

6.4.9   Violence Against Children

When asked whether they had used violence against any of their children, the men's responses focused on the use of actions to 'correct' bad behaviour, what commonly could be categorised as corporal punishment (WHO, 2020).

> *David:* "Have you ever used violence against one of your children?"
>
> *Eduardo:* "My eldest daughter. When she was a child, there were three times that I hit her. But then I came to the rescue (of myself) and said, 'man, this won't solve anything!' It's easier for me to talk, so much so that my (ex-)wife was the one who beat her the most. When we separated, the first thing my daughter did was to say, 'Dad, I want to live with you!' Then two years later she started living with me until today."
>
> *David:* "What sort of violence did you use in those situations?"

Eduardo: "Slapping."

Eduardo recognised this behaviour as wrong and not helpful in trying to raise his daughter properly and he had not used any further violence against his daughter since, or against either child from his current marriage. He spoke about working with his current wife to not use corrective violence against their daughter either. Carlos spoke of using corrective violence at times and, unlike Eduardo, had not viewed it as negative. He told me that he sometimes hit his daughter "to correct" and that this behaviour was similar to how his mother raised him: "For me, my mother rarely hit me, but sometimes she did." When asked whether he used violence against his current partner's daughter, he told me no, that he only gave his opinion and left the corrective decisions up to her.

Like Eduardo, Marcelo had used violence once against his son and told me that he greatly regretted doing so. Again, it was an instance of corrective behaviour after his youngest son got himself into a dangerous situation. He told me that he had "already beaten him with a guava stick on his legs, like older people used to beat children with. What happened was that on that day, last year, he disappeared and the phone that I gave him was disconnected, out of the coverage area. You can't see it from here, but there's a hill back here, he was up there. And he was nine years old. We looked for him everywhere. Then he came back with a shirt full of ticks and razor grass cuts. And I asked him, 'where were you, boy?' And he said, 'I was in the slum with my friends.' The mothers of his friends were also desperate. That day I lost my mind. I grounded him for a month, I emptied the tyre of his bike so he wouldn't use it anymore and I took some video game controls so he wouldn't play anymore. I took his mobile phone, I took everything - social networks, video games, bicycles - and I beat his legs. There is a biblical passage that I put into practice then that says, 'heal the child's folly with the rod of discipline'."

While Marcelo admitted this was the only situation in which he had used such violent corrective punishment on one of his children, he told me that his wife often did hit when correcting bad behaviour in the children. She herself told me that this primarily took the form of slaps. Comparatively, Rodrigo, Francisco, Felipe and

Gabriel all told me that they had never used violence against any of their children and often gave the role of punishing them to their mothers. However, I noticed throughout my conversations that this became a rather confusing topic to discuss. Some of the men, like Marcelo, Eduardo, and Carlos, categorised their "corrective" actions as a form of violence. However, for Gabriel and Felipe, although they told me they never used violence against their children, they said that they had used light slaps or firm holds "to correct".

6.5   Analysis and Discussion

This chapter is primarily concerned with how and why these men had constructed their understandings of gender, masculinity, and their understood gendered roles and responsibilities. The results indicate the influence that the *Jovem Pra Jovem* programme had in interacting with and complicating their understandings of their individual gendered roles and expectations. They all maintained an overall understanding of, and agreement with, maintaining equitable relationships; there was a recognisable impact on their awareness of structural social issues in their communities and their individual roles as men in relationships and society; and they all understood the importance of communication in relationships and of showing respect for their partners. However, there were still circumstances in which they had not applied such understandings to their actions or had adhered to traditional perspectives on sex, cheating in relationships, and gender stereotypes. These situations suggest the influence of peer interactions and societal norms on how they constructed their understandings of gender and their role as men in their communities. This influence was in tension with what they had learned from Promundo and complicated the processes of their construction of gender and masculinity. Through interactional and macro components of gender as a social structure, the individual development achieved through previous exposure to the programme was altered.

Marcelo, Eduardo, and Rodrigo showed awareness of, and comparison with, the gendered norms prevalent in their community regarding relationships. They all

mentioned a recognition of it not being the norm for couples to speak openly about relationship issues or disagreements, but wanted to communicate properly and hold gender-equitable views within their relationships which were outside the social norms in their peer groups or wider community. This also shows a recognition of the social structures at play when it comes to the way that men are understood to act in their relationships and an ability to apply the principles that they learned during their time with Promundo to their lives, despite recognition of not fitting with the norm. Carlos, Felipe, Francisco, and Gabriel presented an understanding of how important communication was within a relationship, but there was a disconnect between this knowledge and their application of it in their own relationships. They did not discuss contraceptive use with their partners, despite the programme being well versed in open conversation about contraceptive use and all of them disagreeing with the survey statement that '*It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant'*. While this may suggest a level of respect in allowing their partners the freedom to make decisions, it also suggests an avoidance of potentially uncomfortable topics of conversation in their communities in which sexuality remains a taboo subject (Parker, 2009). Carlos also said that he did not have conversations with his partner about if and when they should have children, despite having been together on and off for 20 years. Marcelo, Eduardo, and Francisco had not discussed it either, suggesting that, even though they were educated during their time with JPJ that these types of conversations were very important to have in their relationships, they failed to apply that knowledge. The norms of masculinity in their communities had not changed since their exposure to the programme (Zaluar, 2021), and it seemed that macro level, cultural expectations maintained a hold on their actions, making it either uncomfortable or awkward to have conversations when the situation arose in their relationships.

In Chapter 3, social norms in Rio's favelas were discussed in which being a 'real man' comes from social recognition of virility and sexual conquest (Nascimento, 2018). These norms that the men were exposed to in their daily life appeared to create barriers in their behavioural intent that allowed for the perpetuation of ideals and actions that were in opposition to the knowledge they received in their youth from

Promundo. For example, when Felipe was discussing cheating and sex, the influence of the masculine norms in the Samba community became evident, showing how structural norms impacted his ability to represent the gender-equitable ideas he learned in the programme. My interpreter noted how he often spoke in a way that could be labelled misogynistic and disrespectful of women in Brazilian culture, and talked about sex and sexual conquest like a teenage boy might. Francisco also seemed to adhere to the idea of sexual virility in how he spoke about his "popularity" among women in the community at the *Baile Funks*. They both expressed attitudes and behaviours of it being in men's nature to cheat in relationships, with Felipe also presenting a double standard by saying that it was not okay for a woman to cheat, but that he had cheated in all his relationships and continued to do so without his partner's knowledge. While Francisco said that he always approached his sexual situations with respect and the use of contraceptives, potentially balancing out his normative beliefs with respect for women, Felipe rather expressed recognition of the importance of respecting women through noting their fragility and how they are for "kissing" and "giving affection" to, an idea not in line with Promundo's teachings.

Evidence suggests that the men placed importance on social recognition of their presented roles and responsibilities as men in their communities. Chapter 3 discussed how young men in the favelas of Rio find 'substitute families' in their male peer groups when their fathers or both parents are absent, and that these peers play an important role in male socialisation and the transmission of values about male gendered roles (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). The men all expressed a familial connection with the leadership, facilitators, and other participants during their involvement, but had also lost their connection with that group once the programme ended. Therefore, current socialisation was recognisable within their professions and how they might be associated with peer groups that adhere to varying levels of masculine social norms. Marcelo and Eduardo held jobs that included regular interaction with women as colleagues and Rodrigo's job as a doorman involved little interaction with any colleagues, just residents of the building. However, for Felipe as part of the Samba scene and Gabriel and Carlos who

worked as motorcycle taxis, their professions were primarily male dominated and were often associated with views of women as weaker or, in Felipe's case, as sexual conquests. Additionally, Felipe appeared to conflict his desire to be an active, caring father with the social life that came with being a Samba musician. While Francisco worked primarily with women in the clothing factory, he also had strong connections with the gang in his community, which will be discussed in Chapter 7, maintaining a peer group including gang members who likely upheld traditional ideals of masculinity (*Chapter 3*). Felipe and Francisco both appeared to place value on the way in which their sexual conquest and virility was valued by those with whom they interact and, through what will be discussed in Chapter 7 on the equal treatment of women and how women are viewed in the community and wider society, Felipe, Carlos, and Gabriel were the three individuals who held more traditional ideas about a woman's role in society and adhered to ideas that perpetuated gender inequality.

Chapter 2 discussed how the plurality of masculinities allows for this societal and peer influence over the behaviours of men and that the outward presentation of one's personality and identity are influenced by what perceived normative roles they assume those around them will accept and validate (Gutmann, 2019; Carter, 2014). Theories of gender socialisation, 'doing' gender, and identity theory also support the social recognition these men sought and indicate that individuals can hold separate identities as an individual self, as a role in society, and as part of a group, all of which can be different and can conflict with one another. (Denmark, 2004; Bern, 1981; West and Zimmerman, 1987). This theoretical understanding supports a sense of unity that the men may have desired with those around them, mutually reinforcing behaviours in their social lives that did not mirror their stated attitudes or perspectives to equitable relationships or active parenting.

The results suggest a positive interplay between the influence of Promundo and that of gendered social structures in constructing the men's understandings of their roles as fathers. In Latin America, it is not uncommon for men to show concern for their children's well-being, even if this is primarily shown through providing financially

and showing responsibility by being present and disciplining, guiding, and monitoring their children's behaviours (*Chapter 3*). Promundo's use of social norms theory had encouraged the men to perceive how their actions might differ from those of others in their communities and not allow potentially negative norms, or their negative experiences with their own fathers, to influence their behaviours (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018). In conversation, they all showed an understanding of the significance of their active role, which Eduardo, Marcelo, Francisco, and Gabriel had believed to be a shift from the typical norms of their communities. Gabriel expressed recognition that he was more involved and affectionate with his children than other men in his community and Marcelo recognised that even women perceived his actions as strange and outside of the societal norm. Francisco had decided to go against cultural expectations at a young age by agreeing to raise a child who was not his. This had occurred during his time in the programme, and he said that it was through encouragement from Promundo leadership that he was able to view it as okay to go against the social norms of that time to act in support of the child's well-being.

There were, however, superficial responses in which the men had intended to show concern or involvement as fathers beyond what they believed were the normative behaviours in their communities. They all indicated a desire for their children to receive an education and "to have what we never had". Felipe, Gabriel, and Carlos expected their ex-wives to take on the primary care of their children, but still felt actively engaged through regular visits, disciplining, and desiring what was best for their children's futures. Through their awareness and discussion of issues in their community regarding safety and gang activity, the men thought beyond their personal engagement with masculine norms to see the negative impacts that traditional ways of thinking may have on the well-being of their children and fellow community members. However, a concern for safety has been shown to be a common feeling among parents in the favelas and wanting what was best for their children and for them to gain an education are ideas not outside of the norm for parents attempting to divert them away from involvement in the gangs (Barker, 2005). Given this, Promundo did not appear to have had a significant influence on

the men's perceived roles as fathers that was not already present in the social structures of their communities. The expectations placed on them by societal norms, accompanied by their experiences with their own fathers, helped to support the desired outcomes that Promundo had envisioned, but they seemed to believe that they were taking on a fatherhood role that was beyond the norm when in fact ascribing to the existing social structures of their communities.

The perceived paternal roles of these men as being a shift from the cultural norms of their communities can be understood contextually. Chapter 3 presented data in which almost 70% of 12- to 17-year-olds in Rio's favelas reported having an absent father and Chapter 5 discussed how fatherhood abandonment is a commonly understood reality within Brazilian culture (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013; Dessen and Torres, 2019). These men, therefore, may have recognised their actions as a break from the norms of their community simply because they did not choose to abandon their children or be absent, as many of their own fathers had been in their own youth. This perspective would allow for the superficial responses mentioned above, and adherence to existing social structures of a father's expected role in their communities, to still be perceived as shifts from cultural norms in their own minds. Social recognition again reinforced these perceptions when they said that they showed greater affection for their children than their peers, but had little else to compare with when they currently lacked positive father figures or role models from whom to seek guidance in the continued raising of their children. This again highlights an interactional influence on their gendered roles as fathers and a belief that they were acting outside of the norms of their communities while still fitting within social expectations.

Evidence also indicated that the structural nature of gender in their communities did not allow the men the resources to make changes in their understandings of what it meant to be a 'present' and 'active' father when their life circumstances changed after exposure to the programme, such as in circumstances of divorce. Felipe described having "infinite love" for his children and their relationship as "one of the best possible". However, his approach to fatherhood primarily involved receiving

updates from their mother on what was going on with them, scolding them if necessary, and seeing them on the weekends when he was not playing a Samba show. The distance he maintained between his children and his own life seemed to show an adherence to his own understanding of what it meant to be a 'good father' and his behaviour in carrying out the role. There was also a conflict between the way that Gabriel spoke of his role as a father and decisions he had made throughout his life. He said that he wanted to be for his children what his own father was not for him: present, affectionate, and more involved. While his behaviours at the time of our meeting involved taking on such a role for his sons, despite two of them living with his ex-wife, he had also mentioned having left Colina for two years in search of better work opportunities and a life away from the favela. In doing so, he was placing an expectation on his ex-wife and ex-girlfriend to take on the primary role of caring for his children. By showing a willingness to leave his children behind, Gabriel reflected his own father's actions to potentially maintain distance from his role as a father, despite also recognising and placing importance on the need to be active and present for them as his father was not for him. The nature of the gender structure in their communities can therefore be seen as having limited the resources at their disposal to be the present fathers they had desired to be.

The findings on violence suggest a similar influence of both the gendered social structures in their communities and the JPJ programme in constructing the men's understandings of their use of violence. The intentions of the programme incorporated the development of healthy perspectives on views of masculinity that aimed to prevent their use of violence against women and other men (*Chapter 5*). The theatre production that they collectively developed and performed addressed the negative implications of violence in the household and in wider society. The men had spent a significant amount of time contemplating the use of violence in the development of more gender-equitable behavioural patterns. Their occasional use of violence suggests an inability for the principles learned from Promundo to have prevented all inclinations toward the assumed norms of men in their communities, indicating the influence of both material and cultural processes in their interactions with others and from macro level societal expectations. However, the reflections by

some men on instances of past use represent situations in which they had begun to shift their perspectives, but were still in the process, to apply what they had learned in the development of better behaviours.

Considering that they had all maintained knowledge of, and developed attitudes regarding, violence never being justified against a partner, their children, or other men, Eduardo, Marcelo, and Francisco had expressed remorse for their instances of use against others. Eduardo and Marcelo spoke of having previously used corrective punishment against their children, had recognised such actions were wrong, and had not used violence against any of their children since those occurrences. Francisco had also expressed regret for his use of violence against a partner, admitting that he was young, immature, and "didn't want to make (these types of) mistakes anymore." And Marcelo had deep remorse for the violence committed against his father-in-law, recognising it as an anger he could not control and that he regretted long after the occurrence. Once an act of violence was committed in these situations, they recognised a lack of justification for it and their perpetration. This allowed for direct reflection on, and regret for, their use of violence, leading them to alter their behaviours to avoid resorting to violence again in similar situations.

The structural nature of violence was analysed in Chapter 2 to develop an understanding of how masculine ideals perpetuate its use by men and how exposure to violence within the household and community influences the perpetration of violence later in life (Kimber et al., 2018; Sieger et al., 2004; Scheper-Hughes, 2010). Chapter 3 discussed Brazilian culture, particularly in the favelas of Rio, and how men's use of violence is both reinforced and expected due to the prevailing masculine norms perpetuated through gang culture (Penglase, 2010; Taylor et al., 2016; Gutmann, 2021). In analysis of the men's perspectives on the use of violence, the theory of planned behaviour indicates that certain ideas they had about the use of violence against other men were influenced by normative attitudes that maintained their adherence to social structures of gender and violence that they had been exposed to throughout their lives, particularly when faced with situations of provocation or anger (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; LaCaille, 2020). While

it was evident that inclinations towards violence existed within these men, all but Rodrigo showed understanding of the negative implications. Gabriel and Eduardo both expressed beliefs that violence against others was not justified and Eduardo also viewed it as a natural response that individuals need to learn to control, as if to recognise the normative, structural nature of violence that must be addressed within oneself. Marcelo showed similar recognition regarding his instance of violence against his father-in-law, calling it "something connected with the Devil" and yet recognising that "the wrath was mine".

The men all reflected Promundo principles in their attitude that violence against women was never justified, with all having expressed disagreement with GBV or IPV in their own relationships and in wider society. Their claimed aversion to any form of IPV represents both a break in an intergenerational transfer of such violence and the potential for ideals learned in the programme to have influenced their views. However, mitigating factors could have played a role in supporting these attitudes considering their exposure to IPV as a child, the recognition of the negative impacts on their mothers, and the emotional support received from their mothers, all of which could have potential influence on the attitudes they developed during adolescence regarding the legitimacy of IPV (Delsol and Margolin, 2004; Gorman-Smith et al., 2004; Roberts et al., 2010). Despite this, the normative nature and existence of violence in favela life and within their households growing up was evident throughout our conversations.

Some of them had been exposed to violence by their mothers and from their mothers directed towards their fathers, allowing for not only the normalisation of violence between partners, but reinforcing the use of violence as normative by women and not just men. Considering that their wives did not participate in the programme activities, there was potential for them to also support the normative structure of violence. This can particularly be recognised in Felipe's experiences of violence directed against him by all three of his wives, Gabriel having to respond with violence to stop his ex-wife from beating his son, and Francisco's serious act of violence against his wife which, as will be discussed in his case study, appeared to

have begun after he had cheated; he was "assaulted" by her and "fought back". The theory of gender and power posits that the use of violence by men against women is founded on the power differentials between the sexes, upheld consistently through the principles of hegemonic masculinity (Pulerwitz et al., 2014; Fleming et al., 2018). While none of the men appeared to have utilised physical violence to maintain unequal power differentials in their relationships, Francisco and Gabriel had used violence against their partners in response to provocation and were the ones in both situations to use their strength to inflict more damage on their partners than would have occurred the other way around. Such actions unintentionally maintained a power differential in which they had, in essence, 'proven' the dominant capability they had over their wives. Conversely, when faced with various instances of violence directed at him by all his past wives, Felipe showed commitment to avoid a similar response and chose to the end the relationships instead.

There was, however, a lack of recognition that corrective punishment, involving the use of light slaps or firm holds, could be perceived as a negative use of violence. Men's exposure to violence in their households may have influenced their perspectives and behaviours regarding these two forms of violence through either the intergenerational transfer of norms or the break in a cycle of perpetuation (Eriksson and Mazerolle, 2015). Social norms theory supports a conception that through having been exposed to their fathers' use of violence, they could have developed a misperception of the assumed violent nature of men, and their interactions with peers growing up may have perpetuated such concepts by feeding into misperceptions in their attitudes or use of violence (Berkowitz, 2003; Fabiano et al., 2003). Inclination towards physical punishment against their children reflects punishment they faced in their childhoods and could be perceived as normative within their communities, particularly in recognition that the topic of corporal punishment was not discussed in Promundo's approach.

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 suggested a connection between the experience of corporal punishment in childhood and perpetration of it against one's

own children (Widom and Wilson, 2015). Carlos had perpetuated such an intergenerational transfer, and Marcello, Rodrigo, Francisco, Felipe, and Gabriel all indicated evidence of a normalised acceptance of such a structure in their own households, taken on primarily by the children's mothers. However, Eduardo and Marcelo both recognised their own failings in the use of violence against their children and discontinued any future perpetration. Eduardo also had conversations with his wife to stop her use of it, so as to raise their children in a way that may influence their future behaviours to not use such corrective punishment on their own children. Francisco, Felipe, and Rodrigo also spoke about having personally experienced violence from their fathers and, as a result, reported having never used violence against their children, ideally creating possible encouragement for them to take on similar behaviours in their future roles as parents, although Felipe said he sometimes had used light slaps or firm holds as corrective punishment. Conversely, Carlos' experience of corrective punishment from his mother had influenced a continued cycle through his use of it on his daughter and acceptance of his fiancé's use on her own daughter, viewing neither circumstance negatively thereby implementing no agency to stop the cycle of corporal punishment.

Although the instances of reported violence against children described by Eduardo and Marcelo were immediately regretted and not committed again, there remained a limited understanding of corporal punishment among the other men and allowances were made for its continued use by their wives. The use of corporal punishment by parents in favelas, to "control" their boys and keep them inside and away from trouble and gang involvement (Barker et al., 2011), indicates a social, cultural acceptance that limits understanding of its severity. There was a clear misunderstanding of the sorts of behaviours that they may or may not have considered to be 'violence' when it came to the punishment of children. These behaviours therefore became allowable through the existence of knowledge which they had to have obtained from cultural norms and expected actions rather than from Promundo leadership or facilitators. Without guidance on whether they were right or wrong, these behaviours were seen as acceptable and there was a lack of recognition of the continuation of intergenerational violence against children.

6.6   Conclusions

Considering the programmatic intentions of *Jovem Pra Jovem* (*Chapter 5*), the men maintained an understanding of, and agreement with, maintaining respectful and equitable relationships. They understood the value of communication with their partners and most evinced attentive approaches to it and to sex in their relationships. Through their programmatic involvement, they were provided with new knowledge that shaped their perspectives on communication in relationships, sex, and gender-equitability, and encouraged them to apply it in their adult lives. Overall, they described gender-equitable perspectives on the roles of men and women in relationships, which some even recognised to not be the norm in their communities. However, through the lens of gender as a social structure (Risman, 2018), it is apparent that there remained structural masculine and gender-inequitable norms in their peer groups and communities that maintained an influence over their normative beliefs and possible gender-equitable actions and behaviours, potentially negatively impacting their wives or sexual partners. Cultural and material processes on the interactional and macro levels had limited the ability for individual changes in the men's understandings of gender, and their perceived roles and expectations, to have remained completely in line with ideals taught to them through the programme.

The analysis and discussion also indicated multiple influences on the attitudes and reported behaviours of the men regarding their roles as fathers. The programme encouraged active parenting and prioritisation of their children and families. While some behaviours did differ from the societal norms of their communities, there were inconsistencies in the men's perceived active roles as fathers. Some of them had reverted to perceptions of the role of a father based on societal influence or reflected behaviours as fathers that they had experienced in their own upbringing. Some had difficulty navigating circumstances in life, such as determining their roles as fathers after separation or divorce or seeking to move elsewhere away from their children. Such deficiencies in programmatic impact show the influence of interactional and macro gendered social structures in their communities that limited

the men's ability to bring about positive changes and influenced their ascription to normative behaviours, placing higher responsibility for childcare onto their partners. It was also recognised that many positive behaviours exhibited by the men fit both with the teachings of Promundo and the societal expectations of men as fathers, potentially indicating that these gendered social structures had an overall greater impact on their constructed understandings than did the programme.

There was, however, a recognisable positive influence that the programme had on the way the men constructed their understandings of violence and its use against women and other men. They all seemed to present gender-equitable ideals that differed from the societal norms surrounding traditional perspectives of masculinity and men's use of violence prevalent within the favelas of Rio and Brazilian culture. Additionally, they all expressed disagreement with GBV and had understandings of violence against other men as unjustified. While situations were noted in which violence had been perpetrated, they had reflected on them and altered their behavioural responses to reflect agreement with the gender-equitable behaviours taught by Promundo. However, a primary intention of gender transformative interventions is to prevent a participant's future use of any form of violence. As such, the JPJ intervention can be understood to have failed to stop the occurrence of the reported instances of violence presented in this chapter. These situations show the influence of gendered social structures in their communities and wider society and have been analysed through the lens of gender structure theory and material and cultural processes on the interactional and macro levels of influence. Any acts of violence that they had committed perpetuated the assumed gender roles of male aggression and could negatively influence their partners, children, or wider community. This impact of their actions, and influence on existing social structures, was something not mentioned or recognised throughout our conversations.

Chapter 7   An Individual-Based Approach to Change

"I wanted bigger things in terms of study, profession, quality of life. I wanted to be someone, have something, leave a legacy for my children."

- *Gabriel, 40, Colina*

"I told myself that I would be for them the father that I didn't have… I try to make them see me not only as a father but also as a friend."

- *Marcelo, 40, Colina*

7.1   Introduction

This chapter presents data encompassing the perspectives, attitudes, and reported behaviours of the participants regarding the equal treatment of women, how women are viewed in their community and wider society, the raising of their children, their household roles, and their involvement in gang activity. The intention is to understand the ways in which they had applied their agency in developing more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours and encouraging change in the gendered social structures of their communities. The analysis is framed within theories of structure and agency and applies theoretical concepts of the sexual division of labour, the structural nature of violence and masculine norms, and the intergenerational transfer of violence in the context of the literature on Latin America, Brazil, and the favelas of Rio *(Chapter 3).* The data are used later, in Chapter 8, to frame an analysis of how the research adds to an understanding of longitudinal gender transformation.

The chapter contributes to a theoretical understanding of how these men's actions provide insight into the ongoing structure and agency debate, particularly from a gender transformative perspective. It seeks to determine the level of influence that the programme had in developing agency in the men to influence the social structures of gender in their communities and among their peers, in response to the primary and second secondary research questions. This allows discussion of the individual-based approach to change that Promundo applied and their limitations in

bringing about structural changes that could have supported the men's attitudinal and behavioural changes. Two case studies provide insight into how Marcelo and Eduardo had used, or attempted to use, agency in advancing gender-equitable principles in their personal lives and in their households. Their stories, and following data, shed light on the complexities of the development of agency amidst constraining social structures and will support later discussion of approaches to change and longitudinal gender transformation.

7.2   Case Study: Marcelo

I had the opportunity to spend a lot of time with Marcelo during my time in Rio. As one of the first men I interviewed, he immediately saw the value in the research that I was conducting and wanted to help me in any way he could. This involved a willingness to share his life story, an apparently honest representation of his attitudes and behaviours on even the most uncomfortable of topics, and a desire to show me around his community and introduce me to his family. It also involved him helping to recruit other past participants, actively seeking out Francisco in the favela one morning and bringing him to meet me for an interview, convincing his wife to schedule an interview with me, and encouraging his fellow co-workers to meet with me and participate anonymously in my survey. He told me once, "Do you know where I found the true meaning of family? In a group of men called *Jovem para Jovem*. I found the true meaning of family there. Family is everyone who respects us, our opinions, our ideas, and supports us when we need it. That's it." Marcelo felt a true connection to the Promundo programme and, through having the chance to help me with my research, he wanted to do anything possible to "advance the work that had been done and to encourage further work in the community. A lot still needs to change."

As a father of two girls and two boys, Marcelo recognised the value of raising them to recognise the gender inequalities in their community and methods to avoid perpetuation of harmful norms. There was an apparent recognition in the way Marcelo spoke of the harmful gender norms in his community and the impact they

had on young people's SRH. He mentioned that "we have a 'tradition' here, though I don't know if I can call it a tradition, that it is very rare for girls to reach adulthood without becoming mothers. My eldest daughter managed to go through this phase without following this tradition and my other children are going the same way. There is the time for this, and I am managing to play a role in helping them recognise that." He also said that boys in the favelas are not typically raised to respect women. "We grow up with girls being eroticized. It starts at 14, 15 years old. The mentality of the older men will never teach boys of that age to respect these girls, because society sexualizes girls a lot. With Promundo, it was different. Their leadership changed everything. I didn't have that beforehand, the concept of respect. And of awareness that a grotesque thought can cause others to lack it today." It was during his time with Promundo that such an upbringing was challenged, and he acquired "knowledge of things that were not passed on to us elsewhere because our educational system here does not prepare us to be able to live this. These people who commit crimes today, commit homicide, or have homophobic attitudes, if they had a better education 20 years ago, this type of conduct would not occur."

Marcelo's perspective continued to be challenged today, making him reflect on equality issues that still mattered. He described his 14-year-old daughter as "super open minded. A girl you can sit down and talk to. She will talk about trans women and homosexuality. She explains things to me. Today, I feel ignorant about some things like trans people or abortion. She recently followed up on what happened with Johnny Depp and his ex-wife, and she was explaining the situation to me and I was amazed, dammit! Is this girl really 14? She can talk about everything and explain how we should respect without criticizing, in a way that comes from a person who is going to do you harm or bring you something bad. Like we're all the same." As a cook, and now head chef of a restaurant in Rio, Marcelo had also spent a lot of time around women in leadership positions. During his apprenticeship, he was one of two boys training along with 80 women, often had female managers in his restaurant as he moved up the ranks to his current position, and, in addition to

recognising how well his wife took care of him and the family, he said, "You can see that all my leadership is done by women."

I was told by the former leadership and facilitators of Promundo that Marcelo had a distinct awareness of the world around him that they recognised early on and had hoped to foster during their time with him in the programme. I recognised this awareness often throughout our conversations. Marcelo reflected a lot on the state of his community and what he believed needed to change in relation to gender equality and tolerance. "Today, you take a boy aged 15, 20 today, and what does the media put in his head? He has to admire that guy over there from TikTok and social media. And he ends up not appreciating the teacher, who can prepare him for a better life, for a profession. And we get lost because the values are inverted. To work on this, it gets a little complicated. Because you have an orientation that seems to not respect women, homosexuals, people of different colours, of different religions. In a way, we believe that thinking differently can be a crime. And what do we see as a result today? A sexist, homophobic, religiously intolerant society that is not prepared to see women in leadership, homosexuals leading, or Blacks leading. So how is this going to work, within a society with a closed mind? It's a type of behaviour that can't change in a snap." There had been no further programmes like JPJ or *Program H* to encourage such behavioural change in his community since Promundo. "Most of the programmes we have here work with sports. I'm not saying that the community doesn't need sports, but that creates competitors. You aren't teaching them equality; you are teaching them to compete. They become programmed to fight the other team. There is no equality."

I asked Marcelo if he ever felt like an outsider in his community with his way of thinking. He said, "I go through this a lot because I have aligned thinking, not politically speaking. I have a type of reasoning that I often avoid these types of conversations (on gender equality). I'm a guy who tends to walk alone a lot. Others think differently. Every day our political system throws up a smokescreen to distract the population, we have high inflation, skyrocketing prices, and yet people are worried about the beggar who had sex with the personal trainer." He said he finds it

difficult to connect with people "because if you give your line of reasoning that is different from theirs, they are going to look at you like, 'hey, what does this guy want? I said this and that, and he doesn't agree with me, who does he think he is?' So I often choose silence." This silence unfortunately accompanied an apprehension to get involved with efforts to instigate changes in his community. He remained close with Raimundo, and appreciated the continued work he did with youth in their community, but his work schedule and home life kept him busy and he was unsure of how he could go about getting involved in potential social projects. When discussing what he thought needed to be done in his community, he said, "My head is exploding with ideas that I'm always thinking about what I would change. But how would I change the mind of a teenager who was programmed not to accept changes, how? I need to attract his attention in some way where he will see me as a peaceful leader and not someone who is offering something in exchange for his attention. I need to work on that."

Marcelo had maintained a strong connection to his time with Promundo. After hearing that so many of the other men had mentioned feelings of abandonment from the way the programme ended, I spoke again with him to understand his perceptions of that time. He told me, "I felt that my time to walk with my own two legs had arrived. I have always been very grateful for what the foundation I received has done for me. I had the opportunity to know what I wanted, and if I were to define what I experienced at the time of my youth in one word, it would be gratitude. For the friends, the work developed, the experiences acquired, the way I began to see personal relationships. It was like a good apprenticeship. Everything I am today is due to the fact that in my youth I had the support of Instituto Promundo in my life."

7.3   Case Study: Eduardo

Eduardo was the first individual that I interviewed for my research. Having only just met my interpreter in person for the first time that morning, we took an Uber at 7AM to drive two hours from Rio's city centre to arrive in the community where

Eduardo lived and worked, about 30 minutes further away than Colina. While this created initial concern that most of my time conducting data collection in Rio would be spent travelling in Ubers around the larger-than-expected city, all nervousness of it being my first interview was assuaged upon meeting Eduardo. From the moment we started talking, it was evident that he was an approachable individual, easy to speak with, and genuinely kind to even complete strangers he had only just met. As one of the oldest participants in JPJ, Eduardo took on a leadership role among the men that, in a way, reflected the role he was required to take in his household from a young age. Eduardo's parents split up several times, fighting regularly and exposing him to violence throughout his childhood. They officially divorced when he was 12 and, after his dad left the family behind, his mom expected him to take on the role of being the "man of the house". The expectation was something Eduardo felt had "blocked" him from experiencing more of a childhood, but he said that he managed the situation well; he learned that he needed to "be the mirror for his family", to be a model they could all look to.

This experience in his early years reflected not only into his time with Promundo, in which he and Marcelo became leaders among the JPJ men, but also into the role he felt was vital to take on as a father and partner in a shared household. Even though his father had been violent and chose to distant himself from his children after the divorce, Eduardo had learned from him the importance of fulfilling parental obligations. "I always had this perspective inside me. From both my father and my grandfather. Even though my father was separated, he always fulfilled his obligations. As the head of the family." It was the foundation of obligation that the programme was able to build on with Eduardo to incorporate a more gender-equitable approach to fatherhood. "The ideas that Promundo provided contributed a lot. Promundo strengthened the idea of not letting (these obligations) get lost. They were really maturing these ideas for me to also know how to be a father beyond just fulfilling obligations." Making family a top priority and being an active and present father had long been Eduardo's primary focus in his adulthood. While this did mean that he was unable to finish his education, dropping out of his college studies to focus on providing financially for his growing family, there was no regret

in the direction his life had gone. His "vibe and perspective of life had changed" once he had his first child, and while he did hope to return to his studies at some point, he was "completely happy and content" with his life.

Eduardo had one daughter from his first marriage, who had just finished university, another from his current marriage, and he and his wife had recently had a baby boy. Prior to meeting him, I was told by Paulo that he had been very excited about finally having a boy. I asked him if he had ever been upset by previously only having daughters and not yet a son. He said, "No, on the contrary. We are very connected. There was even an episode recently where the middle one was feeling sad because of the baby (getting more attention), so I took her to the cinema to see a movie. Next, I see a message from my eldest: 'Dad, you took her to the cinema and didn't take me!'" Eduardo talked of taking full advantage of being a father, showing excitement at being able to do things with his daughters and share with them "family heirlooms" (traditions) like going to watch their favourite football team. When asked about his excitement over 'finally, a boy', he said, "It was more an expectation that I always had, from 21 years ago. It's a matter of what I had been a part of with *Jovem Pra Jovem* and what I learned. There were also some things about being a man that my grandfather has taught me, that my father taught me. Where even though my father and mother had separated, that question of paternity remained, where I could pass on a little of all this as well. My daughters are very similar to me, in terms of perceptions, positioning, everything. They are very similar. And I wanted to have a boy like that too. I am very happy with my children and even more complete with a boy. We will all get along well together."

Eduardo was also able to reflect on his approach to parenting and how it differed from his brother and ex-wife, both of whom, he made sure to note, had no exposure to ideals and curriculum like that provided by Promundo. He said that his brother was a church pastor, "So the professional part of him didn't develop. I mean, I've had thirty years of a signed contract and had these people (Promundo) to contribute to my own teaching so that I can educate my children. And he didn't have this. He didn't have as much information as I was able to have. So he can't pass this on to his

children. And there is this question of the church which is a bit complicated if you don't have any other previous experiences. With all due respect, these are just theories and not personal experiences." Regarding his ex-wife, considering that he remained in regular contact with her in shared responsibility for raising his eldest daughter, Eduardo noted a parenting approach from her that he had to regularly push back against. "She would swear and curse in the house. Tell my daughter to be careful when dating because every man only wants to 'eat you' and then leave. Nothing positive and not a kind of thinking a mother should pass on to her daughter. So I had to try to revert all that mindset and create in my daughter's mind new values, new ideas. Show something new. Reorganise the ideas." In comparing himself to his brother and ex-wife, it became more apparent how much Eduardo felt the need to pass along the values and ideals he learned during his time with Promundo, through his children, onto the next generation; a desire he had hoped he could have continued with if Promundo's work had been maintained in Rio.

I perceived Eduardo, like Marcelo, to have maintained a thoughtful persona and successfully continued to be a 'mirror' for his children and family members. "My goddaughter, the shop where she works is closing and she is going through a difficult moment in her life. A moment of failure, she thinks she has failed. I say, 'Look how much you did. Look how many people you helped; how much you contributed inside this process to the shop.' And she says, 'My godfather, I mirror myself in you.' And I say, 'You are mirroring me in many ways.' I told her the story of my twenty years with a formal contract and said, 'Man, in this process, I have worked with many people. So I can never tell you that I have not failed. There are cycles, they pass, and we have to think about them in a positive way. So get it out of your head that this won't be the first or the last time. It's a cycle that needs to be closed, you fulfilled your mission and it's over. And that's what you will take with you into your life.'" Eduardo spoke with a wisdom that he felt he had developed over the years, and it was apparent that he felt a responsibility to develop and maintain it to best provide an image of himself in which his children and family members could mirror themselves. While this image had been influenced by early life circumstances beyond his control, he attributed his growth and understanding

about life priorities to the opportunities gained through, and lessons learned from, his time with Promundo.

7.4   Results

The following sections present data from my conversations with the men that support a recognition of their use of agency amidst the social structures of their environments. This evidence should be considered in relation to the data presented in Chapter 6 and subsequent analysis and discussion. It begins by considering the equal treatment of women, and how the participants perceived women to be viewed in their communities, before discussing the ways in which they raised their children and took on roles and responsibilities in the household, and ending on their discussions of involvement in gang activity and community safety awareness.

7.4.1   The Equal Treatment of Women

My initial inquiry into the men's views on gender equality and the equal treatment of women was a simple question: *Do you believe men and women should have equal rights?* Carlos, Eduardo, Rodrigo, Marcelo, Felipe, and Francisco immediately answered "Yes", "Of course" or "Definitely". Eduardo expanded by saying that he had always understood the importance of treating women equally, an idea he learned from both his father and grandfather. Felipe had incorporated his thoughts on where things currently stood in Brazilian culture in his response, but presented more of an ideal perspective: "Yes, for sure. Man and woman can work together. Women have free will and nowadays women are warriors. Nowadays there are women who are the head of the family." Felipe's response gave me pause because the ability to have free will, be a warrior, or be the head of a family does not confirm that equal rights and opportunities have been provided for or made available. He often failed to look beyond gender equality in terms of his perceptions of the roles that women had the ability to take in society rather than the roles they were actually able to take on.

To expand on this idea, I asked them whether they believed men and women were equal in relationships. Equality in this context was still agreed upon by almost all of them as being important, and Francisco went so far as to say that "if it isn't, it turns into sexism." Marcelo shared this agreement, but also reflected on the potential for difference in the respective roles in a relationship: "I think it depends a lot on what is required, it depends on what is different (between the two individuals). But at the same time, I believe that the functions are the same and the responsibilities are the same, from dawn to dusk." I did receive two responses that suggested a gendered difference in the roles of men and women in relationships. Carlos responded by saying that both men and women have "important roles" in a relationship and that the expectation of both, "has to be 50-50. It is not because I am the man of the house that I have to work and pay for everything, and my wife does not help at all." Rodrigo also said, "Yeah equal roles. Depends, though. For example, a woman is more fragile. Would a woman raise a heavy cement sack? In situations like leadership and knowledge, though, they are even smarter than man. They are closer to the details." While Rodrigo and Carlos both expressed agreement with equality in a relationship, they touched upon some common stereotypes that the woman is weaker or more fragile and that the man works and provides the primary source of financial support.

Felipe was the only one who did not think that men and women were equal in relationships. In a more obvious adherence to traditional gendered roles in relationships, his response was, "No. In a relationship the woman is more of a housewife. She ends up accumulating different functions, though, and I believe it should be like this." This was the same point in our interview that he went on to say that a woman was also expected not to cheat, although he did not say the same for a man.

I have not yet mentioned Gabriel's responses as I wanted to highlight some points in his answers.

> *David:* "Do you believe that men and women have equal rights?"
> *Gabriel:* "No."

David: "Why do you say that?"

Gabriel: "They are different cases. I think gender difference is a question of its own. If you take a woman to do 90% of what a man does, she won't be able to do it. But in all due respect, if you want to do what I do, you'll earn the same as me. If you do better than me, you will earn more than me. Like my wife, she's a warrior woman. But if you're going to make her do what I do on the motorcycle taxi, she won't be able to stand it. From 2 am until late in the night, it's not possible. She thinks she'll want to be without a nail? And in that boot helmet, take off the helmet and spoil your beautiful hair? Carrying a man on her back? She will feel uncomfortable. Yes, there is a difference, but I cannot say that I think it is right. There is a very big difference, and this is real, I think. I will not be hypocritical. If she wants to compete, she is able to occupy a place and stay there. I clap my hands."

David: "Do you think that women should have the opportunity to do the same as men?"

Gabriel: "Of course, that is what I am saying."

David: "But you think the reality is different?"

Gabriel: "Yes, that's the situation. If you stop to look, there are several girls passing by working as motorcycle taxis. But they're not girls, they're dykes. And there's that attitude. Now a normal woman working that way will feel uncomfortable. But she has the right, now."

In explaining his views, Gabriel suggested a common misunderstanding of the role that equal rights or opportunities play in either perpetuating or changing traditional gender roles. He also gave in to stereotypes, within his profession as a motorcycle taxi, one that is commonly male dominated by his own account, that most women who work in that job are lesbians and that a "normal", straight woman would care significantly about how her hair and nails would be affected. He did express an understanding that things needed to change, though, and that equality was important within a relationship as well. "There is no difference, each one is each one, there are things that I do that a woman won't do, there are things that she does that I won't do. We are all equal, everybody, there is no difference, neither colour nor social class, there is no face. I have lived alone, I washed, ironed, I am not

a woman or gay, they were my needs and I had to do them." In this comment, however, Gabriel maintained an adherence to certain inequitable stereotypes by saying that doing the washing or ironing were actions taken by women or gay men. While he expressed a belief in the equality of everyone, there was still a disconnect or misunderstanding in the way that stereotypes or expected role divisions in a relationship could further enforce gender-equitability within society.

My last point of inquiry on this topic was around the idea of contraceptive access. In my interviews and on their surveys, all the men agreed that women should be able to choose and have access to any contraceptive method they wanted. Whether or not there were sufficient services or education about contraceptives within their community was another story. After their involvement with *Hora H,* every man expressed a need for more campaigns in their communities. Carlos said that, "If there was a campaign, it (contraceptive access) would be better. But you don't see it, not only in the community but in general. You don't see a campaign or an incentive programme anywhere (in Rio)." While it was true that everyone in their communities had access to condoms, all the men supported a need for educational and incentive programmes that were directed towards men and women of all ages, but primarily the youth.

7.4.2   How Women are Viewed in the Community and Wider Society

In connection with the reported attitudes on gender equality, many of the men also presented interesting perspectives on the way in which women were viewed and treated in their communities and wider society. Eduardo believed that women today were presented and treated, "in a pejorative way. Especially today, what influences most? It's internet, music, these TikTok things. It's scary, man. I remember a situation, I even talked to my wife (about it) this week. Because one of the girls who works with me, her daughter posted a music video on her social media. It was talking about trafficking women. And she had no idea what the song was about. And then she saw it, she talked to her and I (told her): 'Man, this is also your fault.' Then she took it and said: 'Oh, so I have to stop and see this.' And I said that she should

have seen this a long time ago. I particularly don't let my daughters have this kind of vision, this kind of music with them, because it's not good for them! And then (in the video) talking about the woman, that the woman has to do this, do that. She has to be like the kind of person that is singing. They are not good examples for them."

When I asked him how he saw the differences between men and women within his community today, he expanded on this understanding by saying that there was, "A totally different face (than in the past), both for men and for women. Today values have been lost, especially family values. Things are reversed, so much so that this is becoming evident within families. To the point of not respecting the father, not respecting the mother, the elders. These are different times where people have no priorities and have lost their values." Marcelo also had seen that there was a need for change in the way that his community raised and viewed women: "We are guided from childhood not to allow women to play the same role as ours. Where I will say that this happens, you see that the mothers themselves raise the girls to be housewives and the boys to be heads of the family. There is not that behaviour where the girl can do what she is allowed (or wants) to do. The woman can exercise a leadership role. I'll give you an example, in my marriage there are situations where I don't know how to solve the problem and I go to my wife, she may not have the solution, two heads think better than one. So I believe that the community here is in need, really in need."

This idea of their communities not viewing and treating women equally was not just the fault of its male population, though, according to Carlos. When asked whether he thought men and women were viewed equally in his community, Carlos said, "No, men think they are so great, but nowadays women don't give themselves respect. The man treats her like a whore, but she makes the guy treat her like that. But there are many women who do give themselves respect, who work." While this perspective put some of the blame on women, it reflected Carlos' inclination toward an attitude that separated men from women in their expected roles and responsibilities. However, he did recognise that there were many women who were, what many of the men called, "warriors". This idea was further supported by

Francisco, who told me, "I don't agree that a woman's place is at the cooker. I use the Band FM (radio) and statistics show that 70% of the communities are headed by mothers and not fathers. So for me the opportunities should be equal because it's the woman who holds the marimba, not the man; children are from women and not from men. Because there are many women who have children but no husband. The woman is the provider. So I think they should have more opportunity in politics and in every way. I think it is necessary."

7.4.3   Raising Boys and Girls

In addition to how they viewed their roles as fathers *(Chapter 6)*, I also sought to determine how these men raised their children based upon their biological sex and associated genders. Francisco only had daughters, admitting to the fact that he wanted to have a boy but only got girls. He still viewed them as a blessing to his life, and was not upset about them being girls, but told me that he was "more delicate with them. With boys, we are always more energetic." Eduardo had also been raising two girls for most of his adulthood and only recently had had a baby boy. When asked if he thought he was raising the two girls differently, he told me, "They are girls, they were born first, they are treated the same. Today, in my shop, I work with four girls, but I tell you, here everyone is treated as a man. Not because it is a question of masculinity, but because we need a communication so that everyone stays." He did not want people saying, "'Oh, he treats so-and-so differently.' Everyone should have the same treatment. I do this at home too, not as a question of masculinity, but to have good communication between everyone."

Marcelo and Rodrigo were both raising girls and boys, often finding it a challenge to ensure their sons did not view themselves as any better or more privileged than their sisters, while at the same time ensuring equal chore responsibilities around the house. Marcelo told his boys that "whatever attitude they are going to take with any girl on the street they should remember that they have two sisters at home. And I guide my daughters to be able to understand what surrounds them." He also had different approaches when discussing sex and contraception. For the boys he

focused on the importance of respect and protection; and for the girls, he ensured they focused on being safe. "When my oldest daughter showed up with her first boyfriend, I said, 'You'll be in a room alone with him. Turn off the light and make sure there's no blue or red dot recording what you'll be doing.' I told her to use a condom. It's cheaper than a can of milk and a packet of nappies. And she keeps to that advice to this day. She says, 'I don't forget when my father said that.'" As mentioned in his case study, Marcelo prided himself on the fact that neither of his two teenage children had become parents thus far, his oldest daughter having completed her university education and beginning a job.

Gabriel had three boys, the youngest of whom lived with him while the older two lived with their mother, his ex-wife. He made sure to see his older children every day and raised his youngest to be self-sufficient and able to take shared responsibility for household chores. "My son knows how to take care of the house. Wash the bathroom, (etc.), but nothing forced. It's more so that he doesn't depend on us. He makes his bed, does his laundry, if there are clothes on the line, he takes them off himself. The housework for a child is not to force, it's to teach that it's part of life. In some moments, neither father nor mother will be present. So he learns to take responsibility, make food and such." In addition to this focus on raising self-sufficient, responsible boys, Gabriel was affectionate with his sons. As noted in the previous chapter, he hugged and kissed them often, even when it embarrassed them. I noted similar affection from Marcelo when he joined me in a walk around their community and his 10-year-old son came along. While we were walking, he was holding his son's hand and had his arm around him. According to Bruno, a component of Promundo's work with the men was to normalise non-sexual male affection; to allow for the expression of mutual love between men that is often viewed negatively within traditional forms of masculinity. As such, Gabriel and Marcelo appeared to translate such action into their roles as fathers, showing affection to their boys publicly, even if this was not the norm, as mentioned by Gabriel.

The idea of raising boys to be self-sufficient was also reflected in Rodrigo's approach with his son: "I have this thought: I want my child to be independent. And for him to be independent, he has to have his own dreams. There is no point in my son following my dreams if he doesn't want to, and in the future he could become frustrated. So, I go very much like this, to allow him to go for what he wants." He took a similar approach with his niece who had been living with them for seven years. In taking on the role of her father, he guided her to also be responsible and self-sufficient, giving equal responsibility in household chores to them both and ensuring a focus on their studies so that they both would finish high school and continue to university.

There were a few situations where, due to divorce, men did not have a significant, daily role in their children's lives. Felipe was the only one with young children who did not live with any of them, even on a part-time basis. All three lived with their mother, his ex-wife, and saw him primarily on the weekends, though he spoke with them often over the phone. In contrast, as previously described, Gabriel saw his oldest two children almost every day, and spoke with them daily on WhatsApp, and Carlos saw his daughter every day after school. Given this reality, the role that these men held as fathers did not entail the distribution of household chores or regular discipline. While this affected the influence they could have had over their children's upbringing, Gabriel and Carlos still viewed their fatherhood role as a primary component of their responsibilities and maintained a good relationship with their ex-wives to ensure that their children's well-being was a priority. Felipe took less responsibility for his role as a father, though, and relied primarily on the children's mother to provide guidance and discipline, making it difficult for him to ensure his daughter was raised as an equal with her two older brothers. He described his children as the best part of his life, but I still recognised a potential dismissal of his parental responsibilities.

7.4.4   Household Role

When discussing the men's roles in their relationships and as fathers *(Chapter 6)*, I also sought to understand how their ideas translated to the roles and responsibilities they took within the management of the household. Considering that Francisco remained single, and Felipe had only been dating his current girlfriend for two months, they could only agree that they understood roles and responsibilities within the household to be shared in a partnership. There was no way to confirm their behaviours would match their attitudes if they had been in such situations, though. While Carlos made comments about being the primary financial provider in his relationship, he told me that when he and his partner were living together, he would regularly help with the cooking and cleaning. Even at the time of our interview, when he was living alone in the house that was under construction for them to move into, he regularly visited the old house to cook meals and clean the dishes for his partner and her daughters. He described it as "teamwork". This idea of teamwork was also held by Eduardo, who viewed the household responsibilities as "shared" to best provide for the well-being of their children. His wife did not work, as she had only recently given birth to their son, so she took on most of the household chores. Eduardo still, however, did the dishes and helped with the cleaning once home from work so that his children could see and learn that the responsibility should be shared and not be taken on only by the woman.

Marcelo emphasised a similar idea when I asked him if he and his wife shared household chores: "Yes, even to exemplify for them (his children) that the woman does not necessarily need to be tied to all the housework." He said that he used it as an opportunity to raise his son with a more gender-equitable mindset. Regarding the inclusion of his children in the division of household chores, Marcelo told me that, "it is the same for everyone (in the house) and my wife is very strict. My eldest son has a very pro-American way of thinking. I usually say that there is a difference between a macho man and a true man. If I let him down, he would be the macho man. If my wife gave in to him, he would be the guy who dirties his plate and wants

my daughter to wash it; the boy who ate, filled the table with crumbs and expected my daughter to clean it up. It doesn't work like that at home. That's where the part about setting an example comes in: at Sunday lunch, I wash the dishes." While he had a busy work schedule, and his wife primarily managed the household from day to day, he did what he could to support her and provide a good example for his children of how the responsibilities should be shared. Maria also made note of this to me: "Not only does he work outside, but he has that thing of being my partner inside the house. So, what I say, he goes there and reinforces it too." Family seemed very important to Marcelo: "What I say in relation to happiness is that happiness is, after a tiring day at work, having somewhere to go back to with your wife there to tell you how her day was; with the children there telling you what happened at school, in the street, on the football pitch... Happiness is this, having somewhere good to go back to after a tiring day. This is it."

Gabriel also took an active role in his household. He told me, "When she is not at home, I do everything: dishes, children. Like now, I worked early, took care of the house, came for our interview, and later I will play (in his band). I left the house with everything ready for her." Beyond this, he described a common understanding in the way that they divided their responsibilities: "At the moment she doesn't work. She doesn't have an income that she can contribute. But caring for the home and our son, at the moment it's her responsibility. I'm the one who works. I am even the one who pays for her college." Rodrigo and his wife had a similar agreement on the division of household responsibilities, although his role primarily involved caring for the children and providing financial support: "We talk about it often. It's like this: I work and bring the financial part home, and she takes care of the home. When I'm home, of course I give her support. I take the children to school, to football, the gym, and everything else. When I'm not home, she takes care of the whole house." His wife had not worked since they were married even though she had studied administration and worked for a time as an administrator at a clothing company. Unlike Rodrigo, Marcelo, Eduardo, and Gabriel told me that they recognised their marriages had taken on a traditional gendered distribution of roles and responsibilities. They all expressed an intention to encourage and support their

partners' return to work once their children had grown older and, for Gabriel, once his wife completed her college education.

7.4.5   Involvement in Gang Activity

Felipe and Francisco were the only two who revealed to me that they had been actively involved with gang related activities in their respective communities. As will be discussed in his case study, Francisco told me that he was only involved for about two years, primarily working in a facility packaging cocaine. Like Francisco, Felipe got involved when he found himself unemployed and in need of a way to make money in his late 20s. Through connections he had with a friend, he began working for the gang that controlled Jaraguá and several other Rio favelas. He began packing and selling drugs so that he could make money to send to his children. Being assigned to work in other favelas, he would regularly travel around the city to sell as needed, always risking being caught by the police during his movements. After two or three years of selling, Felipe was seeking refuge in another favela, Morro do Piolho, during a police operation in Jaraguá. However, "that day, there was (also) a police operation in Morro do Piolho where I was, and they caught me." He would spend the next six months in prison.

In speaking about his time in prison, Felipe said, "It is not a cool place, but as I am communicative and make friends with everyone, I made friends with the people there. But the shower was cold, there was no toilet and no women. I stayed there for six months, then I left and continued (in crime). Then I stopped everything. I went to a pagoda, and I saw those guys playing (musicians). They were my friends at the time, and seeing them play, it touched me, my ego, my dream touched me, and I gave it all up." When I asked him further what made him stop his involvement in the gang, he said, "My talent. Wanting to see my children grow up. Being with my family. Not the money, but my talent and family." In reflecting on his time working for the gang, Felipe said that he likely would not have turned to working with them had he still had the support and guidance provided by Promundo. At the time, he

simply had no one to turn to who could provide advice on other ways to manage his financial situation without turning to gang involvement.

While Felipe had not been involved with any gang-related activity since that time and Francisco said he was only involved for two years, it was my understanding that Francisco was still involved in gang-related activities at the time of our interview. Their reasons for joining their respective gangs were similar, but their experiences differed. Felipe understood during his involvement that he was a part of something that was not beneficial to his life, beyond financial gain, and was harmful for his community. Francisco, on the other hand, had developed a positive perception of the gang and believed it provided a lot of benefit for him and his community, allowing him to overlook or not recognise the potential pitfalls that the other men noted in their interviews.

Likely because of potentially longstanding involvement with the gang, Francisco described a high degree of trust and understanding in their activities within his community. He seemed to give a lot of leeway to their actions and strong control over the favela because of what he had received and how little trust he had in the state to provide for any of the community's needs.

> *Francisco:* "Here, he (gang leader) is a social worker. He plays the role of the State. He gives money, gas, and basic food supplies. So everyone here wants Mano (gang leader). We don't want the police to come here, not the State. The majority of the communities will embrace him. Here is [Antônio] (gang leader), the fish, the brother, our friend. He gives us a basket of basic food and gas. If a resident is sick, he gives us money to help. If someone dies in the community, do you know how much the burial is? Five thousand! And who will give the money? Rio de Janeiro is like this. Each favela has its boss, and the one here is a welfare one."
>
> *David:* "Did you ever worry about your children's safety here?"
>
> *Francisco:* "No. We are protected here. Outside here is the problem. Let's be clear that our war is with the State. We are safe because those who are

in charge here, we have known since we were kids. We know who they are."

While many of the other men expressed concern for the safety of individuals in their community because of gang activity, particularly the safety of women, Francisco placed his trust in the 'welfare' of the gang.

> *David:* "Do you think there is enough protection for women here?"
>
> *Francisco:* "Yes there is. If you hit a woman here, she goes to the Boca de fumo and the guys beat you up. You can't do that here."
>
> *David:* "Do you think domestic violence happens inside the home?"
>
> *Francisco:* "I don't think so here, man. That's what I say, the State is out of touch. Here there are other rules. You can't beat up women. You can't steal. You just have to live and let live."

He told me that the state did not even provide contraceptives and that they no longer offered professional courses through neighbourhood associations that used to allow "for people to grow in life. Today, in my mind, poor people will die poor."

Beyond involvement in gang-related activities, Felipe, Gabriel, and Francisco had also all admitted to being involved with gang-related violence. Gabriel had never been involved actively with gang activity, but his experience came in acts of self-defence against gang members who provoked and got into fights with him at community parties. Similarly, during his involvement with the gang, Francisco would use violence when provoked from time to time, saying "I'm not always calm. (But) I'm thin, I want no problems." Felipe, as a drug trafficker for the gang, was expected to use violence and did so on many occasions. He told me that "I never killed anyone. It was more to appease."

7.4.6   Community Awareness

Gabriel struggled with the all-encompassing presence of the gang in his community. "The traffickers that are here we've all known since we were little, we were raised together. So you can't say that because he's a trafficker, I'm going to be a trafficker or my son is going to be a trafficker. I take a lot of risk if I go to him. He takes less risk

of coming to me." Through similarly understanding the lack of safety in their favela, Eduardo saw the importance of moving out to find a safer life: "You have to change your environment to connect with other cultures. I know that violence is everywhere, but it decreases the chance of something happening if I leave. If I diminish my connection with that kind of place." While he remained the only one to have moved away from the favela into a safer neighbourhood, Marcelo, Rodrigo, and Gabriel all expressed a desire to leave to provide for a safer and better life for their families. Rodrigo reflected on his worry that his son would get involved with gang activity similarly to Marcelo. When asked if he had this fear, he said, "Very much so. That's why I'm always with people who think the same way as me, who work. So that he can see and mirror himself in them." He did what he could to encourage his son away from involvement in the gangs until the time he might be able to move his family out of the community.

Having lived in the same neighbourhood of Jaraguá his whole life, Rodrigo had wanted to leave for most of his adult life. He believed that their community was not a safe environment to raise his son and niece in and wished that there was an opportunity to move elsewhere, away from the strong gang presence and persistent violence with which it was associated. He said that he "had some friends who joined the gang and died while others went in and later left. But for me, my mind was about work and having a family." While wanting to instil a similar mindset in his son, he did not want to influence his life direction too much. "I leave it to him. I think that I want my boy to be independent. He can get frustrated sometimes, but I do usually like what he decides to do. I say, 'What do you wanna do in life, boy?' And we often follow what he wants." There was a recognition from Rodrigo that much of his life, and that of his son and niece, had been, and could still be, impacted negatively by the constant fear of violence and presence of gang activity in their community.

The outlier on this topic was Francisco. He felt as though life within the community was much safer than outside. Viewing the state as an entity unconcerned with their well-being or quality of life, he felt comfortable raising his two daughters inside the

favela and believed that the gang leadership took better care of him and his children than the state would if he had chosen to raise them elsewhere. Due to the rules put in place by the governing gang, he had no worry of his daughters ever facing violence, assault, or rape from anyone within the favela. This trust in the gang will be analysed further in Chapter 8 given Francisco's past, and perceived continued, involvement with gang activity. However, on the topic of raising children in a favela, a significant contrast can be seen between Francisco and the other men; there was simply no fear of any negative impact the gang's presence could have had on his daughters' lives.

7.5   Analysis and Discussion

From analysis of how and why the men had constructed their understandings of gender, masculinity, and their understood gendered roles and responsibilities *(Chapter 6)*, the question turns to its implications for theory. Promundo's theory of change indicates an individual-based approach to gender transformation that relies on the development of agency in programme participants to bring about further change to the gendered social structures in their communities and wider society (*Chapter 3*). I begin by recognising how the men's attitudes and actions can be analysed within existing theories of structure and agency before recommending alternative perspectives to the application of the structure and agency debate within programmatic approaches to change.

Theories of structure and agency highlight the deeply embedded social structures of masculine norms that can constrain the agency of individuals to change and act in opposition to them (MacArthur et al., 2022; Crossley, 2022). Paramount to this is ensuring that individuals recognise the negative influences of the social structures that constrain them (Chandler, 2013; Shiffman, 2018). Evident in my conversations with Marcelo, Eduardo, and Rodrigo was a recognition of macro social structures of gender, upheld by the conservative government, that limited open discussion on topics such as feminism, abortion, the equal treatment of women, and masculinity. There was also a recognised need for individuals to focus on their own physical

sexual health because the government and health system were not providing adequate services and education. This was supported further by a recognition by all the men that contraceptive access was limited in their communities and systems were not in place to meet need. Marcelo and Eduardo also recognised the way women are viewed negatively in society and the implications that social structures based on traditional masculine norms have in perpetuating negative perceptions. There was a tension in the opinions they expressed between ideals that they maintained from their time with Promundo and the macro social structures of gender that placed barriers on their expression, through cultural processes, and constrained their health, and that of their communities, through material processes.

There were also situations in which some of the men appeared to have failed to recognise social structures that were constraining their gender-equitable perspectives. Felipe made comments about the importance of equal rights and opportunities for women, and how the reality of this was evident in the free will women have and the fact that they are "warriors" and "the head of the family". Unlike Eduardo and Marcelo, he did not show recognition of the existence of gendered structures that were at the same time limiting women's rights to potentially take on the same roles as men. Additionally, despite expressing support for gender equality on a societal level and within relationships, Carlos, Gabriel, Felipe, and Rodrigo all failed to recognise masculine structural norms which upheld inequitable role expectations for women and perpetuated harmful stereotypes that hinder advancement in gender equality. This suggests the naturalisation of social structures in their communities, which continued to influence their individual agency to maintain the gender-equitable perspectives provided to them through the JPJ programme.

There was minimal evidence from my conversations with the men of the use of agency to advance gender-equitable principles, beyond educating their children. There were influences from the programme on individual agency being applied to their understanding of the way women should be viewed in society, of the way they interacted with their partners in the household, and their behaviours regarding

sexual health practices (*Chapter 6*), but even after recognition of issues in their community that needed to be addressed, there remained a lack of utilisation of agency in advancing gender equality and SRH within their communities or peer groups. Marcelo provided further evidence of this when he said he often chose silence rather than speaking with others who thought differently. When we spoke, it was almost as if he knew what was necessary to say to apply his acquired knowledge to instigate gender-equitable change, but simply did not know how, or feel empowered enough, to do anything about it. He said that his "head is exploding with ideas" of what he would change in his community, and yet there were no indication of actions taken to go about implementing, seeking out those who could help, or trying to be the driver of such changes. He also said that he felt like an outlier in his ability to reflect emotionally and speak about topics surrounding gender-equitability, and yet found it hard to have such conversations with others in his community who might disagree with his opinions.

On the topic of involvement in gang activity, Felipe and Francisco had both been exposed to corporal punishment from their fathers and had witnessed IPV by their fathers (*Chapter 6*). Such experiences have been shown to normalise and increase the endorsement of violence at a societal level, reinforcing a cyclical relationship that perpetuates norms of violence among men as a gendered social structure (Lansford and Dodge, 2008; Kimber et al., 2018) As discussed in Chapter 6, Felipe maintained a close connection with his father despite his use of violence against him and his mother. While he had remained non-violent throughout much of his life, his involvement in gang activity required the use of violence against men. It can be assumed that he was unable to go against these expectations and that the use of agency to stop the perpetuation of such violence would have led to significant repercussions or even death. His use of gang violence in the past had not aligned with what he was taught during his time with Promundo, but his recognition of the negative consequences of continued direct involvement with the gang pointed towards adherence to more gender equitable ideals. Just as Felipe had played into the violence expected of him by the gang, Francisco can also be seen to have been influenced by the social structures which allowed for the continuation of gang

activity and its hold on his community. Considering the feelings of abandonment that he had felt from Promundo, he appeared to have chosen to utilise agency that was influenced by the existing social structures that he had developed trust in, and which provided well for him and his family, rather than agency that was influenced by the institution which had hurt him and had desired to change such structures.

For the situations in which the men had used violence against other men (*Chapter 6*), and Rodrigo and Gabriel's perceptions that violence can be understood or justified in some circumstances, social structures in their communities appeared to have maintained a hold over them and influenced their actions when emotion took hold. For example, Eduardo and Marcelo both spoke of instances of violence in which, despite having maintained significant knowledge of, and attitudes towards, its unjustified nature, they had resorted to it in defence of themselves or others. These responses are supported by cultural understandings linking male identity with the capacity for violence and its explicit use, assuming men's natural aggressive nature (Penglase, 2010; Gutmann, 2021), particularly when they may feel that violence must be utilised in response to violence directed at them or their loved ones (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). Despite this, there was evidence of potential impacts of the programme on encouraging the use of agency to challenge existing social structures by avoiding gang involvement, not using violence against a partner, and not using, or learning from and no longer using, violence against other men (*Chapter 6*). Exposure to the programme, and the associated role models, may have encouraged Marcelo, Eduardo, Carlos, Rodrigo, and Gabriel to avoid involvement in gang activity. Additionally, there was evidence indicating a broken cycle of intergenerational IPV through the exposure that the men had to the programme (*Chapter 6*). Felipe, Marcelo, Eduardo, Francisco, and Rodrigo were all exposed to uni- or bi-directional violence between their parents and all had utilised their agency to not perpetuate violence against their partners, providing encouragement for their children in their future relationships. Such perceptions of violence also translated to the use of agency to act in defence of women, even if the circumstances involved the use of violence. As previously mentioned, Marcelo sought to prevent the use of violence against his niece when a man hit her at a bus

stop, and he responded by punching him. Francisco also said that he intervened whenever he saw IPV occurring in public, although it was unclear whether the circumstances resulted in his use of violence against the perpetrator.

There was also recognised agency among the men in their desire to encourage their children to achieve what they were unable to: a university education to get a good job and have a better life. Marcelo, Francisco, and Eduardo expressed pride in their eldest children having completed their university education, something only 2% of favela residents achieve (Zaluar, 2021), and Carlos and Rodrigo were committed to encouraging their children to focus on their studies and go to university. Working for their children to have more opportunity and a better life also translated to Marcelo, Gabriel, and Rodrigo's fear that their children would get involved with gang activity. Marcelo and Rodrigo mentioned efforts they made to guide their sons away from the idea of gang involvement. However, in recognition of the lack of safety in their communities to raise children in, only Eduardo had been able to move elsewhere, while Marcelo, Gabriel, and Rodrigo were unable to do so because of economic limitations which impeded their ability to leave. Conversely, Carlos and Felipe recognised the unsafe reality of their communities, but presented acceptance rather than the agency to raise their children elsewhere, and Francisco did not even recognise the existence or severity of the issue, viewing his community and gang leadership as having provided better for him and his family's needs than anything the state would have done outside of Colina.

Within the theory of gender and power, the sexual division of labour, sexual division of power, and structure of cathexis represent imbalances within the gendered relationships of men and women that explain their expected roles in society and relationships (Connell, 1987). While the intention of applying this theory is to recognise these structures and address them to encourage equitable relations between men and women, persistent social norms and ideals can perpetuate inequalities when not addressed successfully on the individual or societal level (Pulerwitz et al., 2014; Fleming et al., 2018). Carlos mentioned that he viewed some women as not giving themselves respect and making men treat them like "whores",

showing an inclination toward cultural attitudes that place undue responsibility on women to prevent their own poor treatment and perpetuate an imbalance of power in relationships. Gabriel also presented an idea that played into the sexual division of labour and perpetuation of social stereotypes in saying that female motorcycle taxis were lesbians, "normal" women would not want to take on such a profession, and that he knew how to wash, iron, and help take care of the household even though he was "not a woman or gay". While Carlos and Gabriel both expressed an understanding of, and belief in, equality among the sexes, encouraged by Promundo, there was a potential ignorance of the gendered, cultural social structures they ascribed to, and the influence such thinking could have on perpetuating inequality within their relationships and communities.

Reinforcement of the sexual division of labour was also explicitly recognised in Felipe and Carlos when they spoke of expected roles in the household. Both of them did not live with their respective partners. Felipe had said that a woman's role was to be "more of a housewife" and Carlos said a relationship had to be "50-50" while also speaking of himself as the "man of the house" and that he had "to work and pay for everything". These comments presented stronger adherence to macro, society-wide structural norms in Brazil of gendered roles and expectations, with little recognition by either of them of having played into such inequitable structures. Considering the influence of masculine norms within the favelas of Rio (*Chapter 3*), such perspectives on the sexual division of labour can be recognised as commonly accepted and reinforced through interactional cultural processes, limiting the potential for men to behave in contrast to norms and maintaining women in positions of economic dependence on their partners (Conroy et al., 2020).

Marcelo, Eduardo, Gabriel, and Rodrigo all expressed recognition of the importance of utilising their agency to, in some respects, positively alter gendered structures in their own households, but still maintained normative functions and presented an inability to apply agency to restructure those norms. Their wives did not have paid employment and took on the role of managing the household and caring for their children. While claims were made that they all took on a role in helping manage the

home, they had ended up in the expected role of men to work and financially provide for the family while their wives stayed at home to care for the children and manage the household. These men expressed an intention to encourage their wives to return to work, but there was no way to confirm that they would put these intentions into action once the situation arose with societal expectations maintaining an influence. Considering that their wives had not had any exposure to Promundo materials or activities, the men were in positions in which their household partners potentially maintained adherence to these social structures, which added a further interactional barrier to possible change. Not only did they have continued influence of the normative beliefs in their communities to guide their expected behaviours, but they also had support from their partners in upholding the social structures at play, limiting the impact of Promundo's efforts to ideally have created households that do not reflect inequitable societal norms. This continuation of the sexual division of labour created a potential power imbalance in their relationships based on gendered structures which limited the agency of their wives to potentially recognise and seek to transform norms (MacArthur et al., 2022). When discussing the reasons why they took on a shared role in household chores, several of the men also said that the intent was to show their children that it is not solely the woman's job to care for the home and to set an example. It is possible that such agency, to take on a shared role in the household, may not have been taken if there wasn't the intent to be an example for their children.

While the characteristics of a gender-equitable man that JPJ sought to achieve included the importance of being 'involved domestic partners and fathers and maintain responsibility for at least some household chores and childcare', this encouragement, on the individual level, had not changed the gendered roles of their households. There was also no explicit message presented to the men to change these structures and create a truly equitable division of household responsibilities in which their wives could also seek employment. As discussed, some men had made efforts to achieve such equitability, which suggests the beginning of a shift in their ideals that may still be in transition or could have been encouraged further had their exposure to Promundo continued into adulthood. Gendered macro-level social

structures also influenced the ways in which they raised their children. Comments made by Francisco about being "more delicate" with his girls because "with boys, we are always more energetic", showed an ascription to societal norms that meant his daughters may have been raised to assume their roles in society as different from men. In recognition of the norms that essentially dictated the way in which the men perceived their roles in raising boys or girls, Marcelo spoke of the different approaches he took to educate his boys and girls so as to maintain gender-equitability among his boys and safety for his girls. While there was a difference in his approach based on their genders, his actions showed a recognition of the varying experiences he knew they would face in the world and therefore an attempt to ensure his girls could attain an education and good job before becoming mothers and raise his boys in line with the principles he learned from Promundo.

The discourse of incorporating structure and agency in gender transformative interventions places importance on encouraging growth in the capabilities and capacities of individuals to empower them to utilise their agency to bring about change in the social structures of their environment (Chandler, 2013; de Vries and van den Brink, 2016). Chandler (2013) and Shiffman (2018) both indicated that the impact of development programmes comes from such increase in the recognition of social structures and the choice-making capacity of individuals. However, it seemed apparent that while the men did have agency encouraged during their involvement in the programme, as evident in their feelings of pride for spreading positive messages throughout different communities and being recognised in their community for the *Hora H* campaign and theatre productions, this agency was not maintained when the programmatic structure and associated role models were no longer present to provide direction or a framework for how to influence change. They appeared to recognise the negative influences of social structures, but struggled to enact agency, and the constraints placed on them were at odds with what they had learned. Considering that agency and context are mutually constituted in the lifeworld of the favelas, and residents clearly understand that context is a central determinant of their socialisation, self-determination guides an individual's agentic choices (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez, 2013). Utilising

agency to maintain a sense of socialisation and inclusion in the world that they are a part of can therefore be considered self-preservation; believing, and even experiencing, that little exists for them outside the lifeworld of the favela. In Chapter 6, I discussed the role of social recognition in influencing the construction of the men's understandings of gender and masculinity. As will be discussed further in Chapter 8, structural violence limited the opportunities for them to connect with, and be a part of, the world outside their communities. Rather than choosing to utilise agency to bring about change in their communities, they chose silence to remain socially accepted in the only world they knew would be available to them.

To apply agency in their situations required more than just knowledge of what was 'right' and 'wrong' in gender equitability; it required a way of thinking that could look beyond the inequalities inherent in gendered social structures and recognise the malleability of these structures. However, the men appeared to treat these social structures as unchangeable or only susceptible to forces beyond their control. When shifts did occur, through governmental action or societal changes, they recognised outward adherence as their expected role rather than causing any debate or friction in their communities. When agency was applied in their personal lives, it was done in a 'safe' manner; applying it only in situations where they received minimal push-back from others or could be seen as 'wrong' or an 'enemy'. Any pride they felt when adhering to what they had been educated was the 'right' approach to violence, their relationships, role as fathers, and overall lives, as instructed by Promundo, did not come from the recognition or validation of others beyond what they had learned from the programme itself and possibly their families and other peers from the programme. As will be discussed further in Chapter 8, the men also should not have been expected to recognise the complexity of gender as a social structure in their community, let alone enact agency that could bring about dramatic change beyond their personal lives. Considering the two lines of thought regarding human agency and whether it is voluntarist or determinist (Elder-Vass, 2010), a claim can be made that the men had both agency influences. The knowledge provided them through the programme gave them the ability to utilise voluntarist agency in their daily actions, but, when programmatic exposure was no

longer present, structural norms influenced their attitudes and had a determinist impact on any agency that could have had the potential to influence modifications in the social structures of their communities. The gendered social structures themselves had determined their actions when further agency could not be developed through continuity of the programme. The encouragement they received from Promundo to enact change had placed undue pressure on them to be drivers of change, individually or collectively, primarily when the programme ended, and they were left with no further support or guidance from the programme or its leadership and staff.

In Chapter 2, I discussed Giddens' structuration theory and his idea that social structures shape individuals just as individuals shape social structures (1984). Risman placed the social structure of gender within this theoretical understanding in recognition of how it both constrains individuals and is reshaped by their agentic choices over time (2018). My evidence indicates that within gender transformation it is not individual agency that alone has the power to shift social structures. From my analysis, I propose that the individual, even as part of a group, is in fact relatively powerless against the gendered social structures that constrain them and inhibit changes to social norms. This supports a claim against the individualisation of the change process and indicates that significant collective, institutional, and structural approaches may in fact be more vital than individual approaches in bringing about gender transformation. Individualisation creates circumstances in which programmatic success is determined in what has been achieved through individual growth in gender-equitability, rather than in how they have been able to influence change in others or enact change in the social structures of their communities. Just as individuals who maintain 'toxic' attitudes and behaviours have often been blamed for the perpetuation of gender inequalities, so to have interventions commonly viewed these individuals, rather than the structures themselves, as the necessary source of change in communities or wider society. While I support the bifocal approach of de Vries and van den Brink (2016) to increase human agency at the same time as implementing structural changes, I suggest a significant shift in the gender transformative work that has been conducted thus far, which has primarily

placed focus on individual behavioural change and agency development. This shift would place a primary focus on enacting structural change to the gendered social structures within communities, institutions, organisation, and governing bodies that would provide a supportive and encouraging environment in which individual and collective change could be fostered. Structural approaches may have, in fact, been the necessary solution that could ensure existing individual-based approaches lead to the desired longitudinal outcomes of their programmatic efforts. Without significant institutional or organisational change, individual change will have difficulty in bringing about structural change and continue to be constrained by existing social structures.

7.6   Conclusions

By not abandoning their families, taking on some household chores and responsibilities, encouraging their children to attain a university education, and raising their children guided by principles they learned from Promundo, all the men had utilised their agency within the limiting social structures they had faced and influenced their children to seek out and develop more gender-equitable relationships in their futures. Regarding violence, only some of the men had been able to use the agency they had developed to break an intergenerational transfer of violent behaviours and discontinue corporal punishment, although the propensity towards violence still existed. While community and household exposure to violence in their youth and structural violence had developed and maintained structures of inequality that the men assumed a role in perpetuating, their intent to avoid violence and maintain equitable relationships can potentially be seen as a result of their exposure to Promundo's programmatic material and the extensive conversations they had surrounding the impacts of GBV, IPV, gang involvement, community-wide violence, and the masculine and social norms with which they are associated. There was also indication that all the men who were currently married had adhered to gendered household roles in their relationships, although efforts were made to share in household responsibilities and some men had intentions to have their wives seek employment. Additionally, Felipe maintained gendered

expectations in placing the primary responsibility of raising his children on his ex-wife and all men but Eduardo, who desired to, had been unable to utilise their agency in seeking to move their families out of their communities, encouraging further recognition of the social structures and lack of economic opportunity that played a role in limiting such change.

One may possibly view it as a deficiency of the programme to not have been able to maintain agency within the participants and to not have done more to change the social structures in their communities that remained constraints to their gender-equitable attitudes and personal agency. Throughout their involvement in the programme, the men had implemented campaigns, performed theatre productions, and helped develop curriculum, all of which were intended to develop agency that could encourage further change in their community and wider society. While my analysis suggests that they had exercised personal agency to create more equitable relationships in their personal lives, take a more present role as fathers, and reduce their use of violence to varying extents, agency for gender equality, active parenting, and the prevention of violence was not sustained long-term after the programme had ended. There was a recognisable lack of this agency among all the men, particularly in relation to addressing the issues that they were aware of in their communities. The evidence, however, supports recognition that the burden of life in the favelas, which will be analysed further in the next chapter, allowed minimal opportunity for the programmatic approach to even achieve its intended outcomes due to the violence, poverty, and limited opportunity inherent in the social structures and lifeworld of the favelas. Structural changes were necessary on the interactional and macro levels of the gender system to encourage the maintenance of the ideals and values that Promundo provided.

Considering that the individual-based approaches to change that Promundo applied place minimal focus on, or are unsuccessful in, enacting structural change, I propose that theories of change rooted in attitudinal and behavioural change at the individual level will likely be unable to influence interactional and macro level change in the gendered social structures of the communities and societies in which

they work. I suggest that even if the men had developed significant individual agency, their personal or collective actions would prove ineffective in attempts to encourage changes to the social structures they faced. Promundo's application of social norms theory, the theory of reasoned action, and the theory of gender and power was founded in work at the individual level to change the attitudes and behaviours of individual men. These theoretical foundations proved insufficient to work against societal expectations and normative behaviours, which limited the potential impact of the programme. Additionally, any desired change that the men might have hoped to implement in their communities was restricted by both the social acceptance they sought from others in their community and a lack of support or guidance from the Promundo programme or its leadership and facilitators. Desiring structural change through individual agency is simply not possible in the circumstances that these men had faced. The existing behavioural change theories that are the foundation of individual-based, gender transformative interventions face the unfortunate reality that attitudinal change in the individual plays a vital role in gender transformation, but that such change alone will not be able to create longitudinal transformation in their communities and wider society. Gendered social structures will continue to prevent the maintenance of gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours, as well as the development of agency in programme participants. The next chapter expands on these conclusions to interrogate additional factors that contributed to shortcomings in programmatic outcomes and propose modifications to existing theories of gender transformation that may be able to produce more significant longitudinal results.

Chapter 8   Longitudinal Gender Transformation

"They are the ones who formed me into the man I am…. The knowledge that I have today is because of the project. I could otherwise be any man who lives in a community and only lives inside that world and is not open to the good things that are outside."

- *Rodrigo, 40, Jaraguá*

"They couldn't move. They wanted me to stay the whole time holding their hands and that wasn't the proposal. It was to give them a hand to cross the street and then let them walk on. I particularly believe that the institution gave them all conditions to do so."

- *Raimundo, Former Colina Facilitator*

8.1   Introduction

This chapter seeks to build on the data, analysis, and conclusions so far through inclusion of the men's discussions of abortion, their association with violence, their survey responses on topics relating to violence, and institutional perspectives from the former leadership, facilitators, and staff of Promundo. The intention is to understand the implications of the evidence on longitudinal gender transformation, and the potential hindrance of a lack of programme continuity or continued exposure to programmatic materials and role models for long-term change. The analysis incorporates theories of gender transformation and the concepts of abandonment and structural violence within the context of the literature on Latin America, Brazil, and the favelas of Rio *(Chapter 3).* The chapter is a contribution to knowledge through recognition of the roles that structural violence, abandonment, and a lack of continuity in the programme played in aiding or inhibiting longitudinal gender transformative change, and how such information speaks to existing theories of gender transformation. It highlights a need for methods of programmatic continuity and long-term exposure to be incorporated into interventional theories of change and supports claims made in Chapter 7 for a necessary shift in programmatic focus towards structural-based approaches. Two case studies introduce Francisco and Rodrigo's experiences within their communities to frame later discussions of

favela life and the structural violence it imposes on the lives of inhabitants. Their stories, and following data, shed light on the complexities of gender transformation amidst the constraint of overwhelming social structures and support my recommendations in Chapter 9 for the future of gender transformative work.

8.2   Case Study: Francisco

I was told on several occasions by the former facilitators and leadership that I was lucky to get the chance to interview Francisco. As discussed in Chapter 5, Francisco was vocal about his feelings of having been abandoned by Promundo. Raimundo told me that Francisco had even mentioned never wanting to discuss his time with Promundo or to meet with anyone associated with the organisation. Francisco was also difficult to get hold of; he had no cell phone, and at any time of day could be almost anywhere within Colina. The day that I interviewed him, I had travelled to Colina in the hope that a scheduled interview with another past participant would happen. After determining that it would not, I thought that my trip had been in vain. Marcelo and Raimundo both made efforts to seek Francisco out and convinced him to come with them to meet me.

Francisco was 38 years old and, with a slim build and young face, was constantly smiling and seemed to be something of a celebrity in the community: he was known by everyone and treated every person he came across as family. After our recorded interview, he invited me to tour the community with him and Raimundo. We walked for hours, he showed me where he lived, I met his close family members, and we ate dinner at his favourite local restaurant along with Marcelo and his son. During my visit that day, I was introduced to every person we came across, met several gang leaders who controlled different neighbourhoods within the community, and shook hands with more young men holding machine guns than I ever thought I would in my life. Francisco made sure to tell me, almost incessantly, that I was safe and would not be hurt in the community. From the moment I set foot inside the community boundaries, my presence was made known to gang members via their walkie-talkies and, through my connection to Raimundo and Francisco, they were

told that I was not a threat. I would come to be told by the study participants that inside a favela was probably the safest place for me to be in Rio. A theft or act of violence committed against a visitor could result in major issues for the favelas and bring on police incursions. Either way, despite meeting me just that morning, Francisco ensured he looked out for me, made me comfortable in his community, and was calling me "brother" by the end of our time together.

Having lived in Colina his whole life, Francisco never wanted to leave. "I have lived and want to live my whole life (here). My area is all I have. If I get sick, my neighbours come to help me. I don't cut my umbilical cord." By remaining in the favela, he never had to pay for electricity or water, he received food and gas vouchers, and much of what he would need in life was provided for by the gang leadership. I asked him about his trust in the gang:

> *David:* "You never worry about gangs here like the others do?"
>
> *Francisco:* "I am not worried. I even have a nephew involved. After a while I got the idea, it's the State that's wrong. Do you know why the poor only work in cleaning? Because they don't have a good education. Nobody gives them a college education or a job. Here there's just a lack of opportunity, and it's the State's fault. I don't blame the gang members. They are dealing (drugs), and they buy off who they want."

While the other men also recognised the failings of the current government to care for the well-being of themselves and their communities, Francisco was the only one to place his trust in the gang. This might be understandable from the experiences he had had. He had a difficult upbringing, the state did not provide for the things his community needed, and it was the gang that provided him the means to live a comfortable life.

In 2016, Francisco joined the local gang for "two years. With cocaine. But let me be clear, it didn't make me any better, it was a necessity. I have several brothers and they suck my aunt dry (asking for money). All older. I used to go to the popular restaurant in [Colina] to eat for 1 Real so as not to suck her dry." Francisco was drawn into the gang "only for the money" when he found himself unemployed and

"running low" in his early 30s. He told me that his brothers were still involved with crime, but that he felt more responsible than them for the decision he made to leave the gang. "I have to be an example. Nowadays they are in crime but if they make a mistake they are in trouble. They chose (to join), but I went out of necessity." Francisco decided to end his involvement in the gang after contracting tuberculosis in the cocaine packing facility he was working in at the time. "There were 39 people working in a small space like a factory and I (got sick) so asked my brother to leave." Additionally, due to continual handling of the drug, his fingerprints corroded which he found dramatic and felt as though he lost his identity. He admitted to visiting Raimundo in tears after noticing this, recognising how his involvement in the drug packing had made him lose a part of who he was.

In discussing his time with the gang, I found it interesting that throughout our conversation Francisco did not admit to using violence against another man, but had answered in his survey that he had been involved with gang-related violence and alluded to it in our conversation.

> *David:* "Have you ever been violent against another man?"
>
> *Francisco:* "I'm not always calm. (But) I'm thin, I want no problem."
>
> *David:* "Do you think violence is ever justified?"
>
> *Francisco:* "At no time, I had the situation with my ex-wife, but I don't like it. I have a brother who is involved with gangs so… the saying goes: violence only begets violence; Peace must reign; Jesus owns the place."

A statement like "I'm not always calm" suggested that a violent response when provoked or angered was a possibility. However, he said that violence was never justified and told me that he intervened whenever he noticed domestic violence occurring in public on a bus or train because "I have done it before". The situation with his ex-wife that Francisco mentioned happened because he cheated on her, during his time with the programme.

> *Francisco:* "I was immature, I regret it."
>
> *David:* "Did it happen many times?"
>
> *Francisco:* "No, a few times. As I said, I was immature, 17 years old. But the project helped me a lot because it talked about family violence."

David: "Could you tell me about the situation where you hurt her?"

Francisco: "I worked at the market, I cheated, we were fighting, and I commented on the other person's name, and I was assaulted (by her) and fought back. But men are stronger than women, and I flinched. I'm super sorry to this day. I'm so ashamed of myself."

David: "You mentioned you broke her arm?"

Francisco: "That was the day. I even helped, I took her to the hospital and then suffered police aggression. I was handcuffed and beaten. I asked them to respect me, not to hit me in the face, and they came in front of my ex-wife and slapped me in the face."

He told me that he had learned from that situation and that "we only make a mistake once. I asked for forgiveness. But later, she wanted to live a single life. So we parted for good." He said it was a mutual decision for the two of them to end the relationship, but the guilt seemed to still hang heavy. During the several hours that we spent together, he would tell me four times how regretful he was and how he had, and would, never again use violence against a partner.

There is something to be said for the fact that his one instance of domestic violence occurred during his time with Promundo. It provided the opportunity for the leadership and facilitators to work with him and address the fact that he had committed violence. This is perhaps the reason why it continued to weigh heavy on him. While he had said that he absolutely believed that his life would have gone in a different direction had he not been involved with Promundo, Francisco seemed to still be involved with illegal activity in his community. He had told me that he was only involved in the gang for about two or three years, but when we were walking around the community together, he left for ten minutes to collect his "cut" from someone. He remained elusive as to what he needed to collect money for, but both Raimundo and my interpreter knew that it was related to the drug trafficking activity run by the gang members in the community. His connection to the gang remained strong: his sister was married to the "chemist" (drug producer) in the community, one of his brothers and his nephews were still members, his oldest brother was a

corrupt policeman, and he was friends with many gang members we came across when walking around Colina.

This association with the gang did not translate into an aggressive persona or appear to limit the kindness he was willing to show to members of his community and to me as a stranger he had only just met. Despite the reality that Francisco had felt as though many of the leadership simply forgot about him and the work that he and the other young men had done when the programme ended, he told me that he still had gratitude for what he had experienced with Promundo and what he had learned. "We who live in a favela, who would have thought that we would ever go to Brasilia? To São Paulo? Regardless of (future Promundo programmes) being the fruit of our efforts, they saw our potential and invested in us. Gratitude." To this day, there was little that Francisco said he would change about his life: "My daughters are grown. I'm single. I live next to my sister. I have a washing machine. I've worked in the maternity ward in the kitchen, so I know how to make my own food. I know how to get by so well." When I asked Francisco if he was happy with his life today, he responded, "Yes, a lot. Do you know why? Because many people pointed at me and said I wouldn't make it past 18, I'm now 38. Thanks to Raimundo. I'm very grateful."

8.3   Case Study: Rodrigo

As my scheduled time in Rio was nearing an end, I had become increasingly frustrated by my inability to convince men from Jaraguá to agree to an interview. It was not a sense of hatred for Promundo that was holding them back, according to Rodrigo, but rather the fact that they no longer wished to recollect their time with the institution. While this was an opportunity to understand, at least from minimal contact, the feelings that some men from Jaraguá had about their time with Promundo (*Chapter 5*), Rodrigo shed light on their perspectives and felt apprehensive himself about connecting with anyone associated with Promundo. It was not until I told him about my research and that I was not a part of the institution that he agreed to meet with me. When asked if he felt the same way as the others, he said, "Yes, because of the way they responded to the idea of meeting

with you: 'Ah, you are going to call me to talk about a project that left me aside. I don't want to talk about it.' I wouldn't feel right doing that, though. I decided to talk to you because you explained it to me directly, we talked about who you are. I thought to myself, 'I'd be unfair if I don't go.' And I decided to listen to you. I thought I had to act differently. And it costs nothing to come here and talk about the project. I have negative things to say, but I also have many positive things. They are the ones who formed me into the man I am. My family and my way of thinking I owe to the project because it opened my mind. The knowledge that I have today is because of the project. I could otherwise be any man who lives in a community and only lives inside that world and is not open to the good things that are outside." During my interactions with Rodrigo, he presented as a reflective individual who had spent time working to understand himself and the influences throughout his life that had made him who he was today.

Rodrigo provided me an opportunity to better understand the extent to which Promundo had been able to work with the young men of JPJ to address the prevailing norms of violence that were present in their respective communities. He spoke of what a "big situation" it had been to mix the groups of young men from the two favelas and the implications this had for their perceptions of gang rivalry and community violence. "When the Project was created, the ideal was to happen only in our neighbourhood inside Jaraguá. It was only us youngsters, but Bruno knew Raimundo and decided to connect with the other neighbourhood in Colina. Two times a week, guys from Jaraguá were going to the other community. This was a big situation, both communities were rivals. But even with that rivalry, we were able to join up and be together in the safest way possible. So we did that. We broke a sequence of paradigms, of violence. Because both communities were rivals, for us youngsters to go to another community was pretty cool. It was very different and the confidence between us grew. I'm very proud of this today. I feel so much pleasure to have had this in my life." He said that the groups from the separate communities would "work a lot on the topic of violence. Discuss all kinds of violence in communities, inside the home, or among ourselves. Also issues of drugs, STDs, safety… we were always discussing and working on these important themes."

As mentioned in Chapter 6, Rodrigo had little contact with his father growing up and was raised by a stepfather who was sometimes physically violent with his mother. He was exposed to violence as a young teenager and attempted to intervene on several occasions. Although he recognised the negative impacts of violence, understood that violence against a partner was never okay, and reported never having used any violence against his wife or son, he was the only study participant interviewed who provided circumstances in which he believed violence against another man to be justified, without any caveat that such violence was still not okay. He said that he viewed violence as justified in self-defence such as in circumstances of "violence, theft, or when the person comes to attack you." He gave an example: "In the streets, yes, I have. I was on a bus and a guy came on. The bus broke down, we were all waiting there, he didn't like the way I was looking at him, and he tried to fight me. So I defended myself and hit back." This perspective on violence for Rodrigo, though, did appear to only apply to circumstances of self-defence. He told me how he had never wanted to get involved with any form of gang activity because of the associated violence. "I had some friends who were involved and got killed. Others joined and later chose to leave (before getting killed). So for me, my mind was focused on work and having a family."

Family was evidently a priority in Rodrigo's life and its value had been developed and continually supported by his experiences with Promundo. "I have a family today structured on the Project. A very well-structured family. Everything that we learned, we brought to our families. Like relationship, being talkative, thinking about the other side, no violence. For me today, the Project was the base for our futures." He had negative things to say about the institution (*Chapter 5*), but still saw a lot of value in what was provided to him and the other participants. When I asked if there were any programmes like JPJ in his community today addressing violence, he said, "Like in the past, no. There are maybe some on sexual health if you go to the health care clinic and ask them about contraceptives, but they don't invite you, they don't go after people. Only if you go after them. You can see a lot of youngsters today in gangs, in crime. Because before the government had projects to keep them

occupied, giving them knowledge, and bringing the best out of them. Showing them different paths. Like, 'hey, here is the world we have for you'. Today, if the youngster doesn't look to a course in life, they can't do it. They stay inside a circle, and the option they find is to become a drug dealer, a criminal."

According to Rodrigo, not much had changed for the youth from favelas since his involvement with JPJ. Just as many of the men had discussed how they had limited opportunities in life during their youth and Promundo was an external presence that provided them with more, Rodrigo spoke of the continued need of the youth in his community to have similar support and opportunity. When discussing the types of programmes he believed should be implemented, he said that they would need "to have a programme like what we had. The focus could be the same, still working within communities on sex and violence. The ideas could be different, like thinking about the future of the youngsters and not just about solutions today."

I remain grateful for Rodrigo's willingness to have met with me. He thoughtfully presented both the positive and negative experiences associated with his time in the programme and the impacts those experiences had on his life. While it would have been ideal to have heard from other Jaraguá participants directly, Rodrigo still provided an insight into their experiences and the shared feelings they had all experienced together in response to the programme and how it was ended. There was also a kindness and respect that Rodrigo embodied and was evident even from my minimal interaction with him. Although he believed his life could have turned out better, he said that he was content with what he had achieved and was happy about who he had become "through the lessons I learned from Promundo."

8.4   Results

The following sections present data from my conversations with the men on abortion, their association with violence, their survey results on the topic of violence, and discussions I had with the former leadership, facilitators, and staff of Promundo. The data are intended to add to the evidence provided in Chapters 6 and

7 to support my analysis of the way in which the programme was ended, the structural violence that the men faced, and theories of longitudinal gender transformation.

8.4.1   Perspectives on Abortion

The topic of abortion was a very interesting one to address in my conversations with the men. Modern understandings of gender-equitable men indicate support for a woman's right to choose whether she would want to have an abortion, in addition to support for the availability of safe and secure abortion services within health provision (Strong, 2022). However, this understanding is more accepted and widespread today than it was in the early 2000s and still a complex conversation in many cultures and places. Governmental policy in Brazil categorises abortion as a crime, with up to three years of imprisonment for the woman and up to four years of imprisonment for the individual performing the abortion (Malta et al., 2019). In 2022, a survey conducted by Poder360 found that 58% of Brazilians were against legalisation and only 24% were in favour (Queiroz, 2022). In my conversations with all the men, I noted rather similar sentiments. Carlos called it "cowardly". He said, "Nowadays, there is everything - pills, injections, everything to prevent. We don't ask to come into the world and then the woman goes there and kills the child." Eduardo, who once had a relationship with a woman who had previously had an abortion, said, "I am against abortion because if there is the question of abortion, it is because someone did not take care of themselves. So you have to stop and think so that you don't have to do something. Because if the person has this option, they will not need to think about contraception. Instead of being careful not to have an abortion."

After saying that he did not believe women should have the right to abortion, Gabriel said, "This issue is complicated. I think we have many resources and knowledge today. There are pharmacies, health clinics. I think that the woman and the man only get pregnant, I can't say only if she wants to. It's very complicated. Nowadays I see many pregnant girls and mothers - 12, 13 years old. Then you ask

why she didn't use a condom or take medicine. She has the knowledge and nowadays she becomes a person who is not prepared for this issue. There will be a child who maybe grows up without education, it may be mistreated, and end up interrupting that cycle with the mother not enjoying it, not studying. It is a very complicated situation. One of the issues that we discussed in the project: condoms, condoms." Carlos, Eduardo, and Gabriel all justified their stances on abortion by placing the blame on the individuals themselves, primarily women, for not taking care in the first place to avoid the pregnancy. Francisco took a slightly different approach: "I don't agree, man. But to each his own. It's still killing." While he did disapprove of abortion, he used the terminology of "to each his own". This does present a manner of thinking that a woman should be able to make her own decision, but he still was unable to say that he would support a policy allowing women to have such a choice.

Felipe, Marcelo, and Rodrigo all took positions in which they believed abortion should be allowed in particular situations, albeit rather restrictive ones.

> *Felipe:* "I was with a girl but she was not my girlfriend. She got pregnant and took the medicine but without my will. I don't like abortion."
>
> *David:* "Do you think women should have access to abortions?"
>
> *Felipe:* "It depends. If it's the result of rape, ok. (But) I am against it. It's a life. But with these stakes, it's a bit complicated."
>
> *David:* "Do you think that only in this situation (rape) should abortion be legal?"
>
> *Felipe:* "Only in this one."

In a similar line of thinking, Rodrigo presented an idea in line with time restrictions for access to abortions for women.

> *Rodrigo:* "I am against it because it is a life that is lost. If the person wants it, okay. But even so, I am against it because of life, we are giving up having a life."
>
> *David:* "So you are against abortion, but you think the woman should decide?"

> *Rodrigo:* "After the foetus has raised (begun to grow), no. Because the woman knows, let's say, if within a month her menstruation is late, she can very well do the exam and know. She can then take the medicine and avoid the foetus continuing to be generated. Then I am in favour."
>
> *David:* "Before the foetus forms?"
>
> *Rodrigo:* "Yes, I am in favour. But when it has grown and taken the form of a life, then no (it is not worth it)."

While Felipe and Rodrigo accompanied their statements with stances against abortion because "it's a life", Marcelo never showed direct opposition to it and seemed very open and understanding to the idea of a woman's right to choose. He talked a lot about his 14-year-old daughter and her progressive viewpoints that he often got the chance to discuss with her. "She is a brat who knows everything, and she speaks, she really speaks. And her mother is pissed-off saying that I should not support this because it is a murder of a life. But she (his daughter) hits the key with arguments. Will talk and talk and I will think, 'oh you're right!'"

When I asked Marcelo whether he thought women should have the right to choose to have an abortion, he said, "I believe so, for a series of factors. When we talk about sexual violence, it is generally not practiced by strangers. Sexual violence, be it through forced sex or aggression for not giving in to the sexual act. It doesn't come from a stranger on the street, it comes from a father, a stepfather, an uncle. I believe that in this case abortion should be allowed." Although this again provides a particular situation in which he thought abortion should be allowed, Marcelo was open to understanding and learning more to see how the situation could become better for women: "This is a complicated subject that divides opinions, talking about abortion in a circle of friends where you don't know the beliefs of each person there. The person can judge you as a criminal. Abortion is a very complicated subject depending on the circumstances. I don't know if the media and digital platforms have developed a way to explain the benefits and harms of abortion so that the person who receives that idea agrees or not without judging the person who accepts it. How are you going to talk about abortion with a religious person?"

8.4.2 Association with Violence

Young men in the favelas of Rio are regularly exposed to structural masculine norms that reinforce the connection between their gender and the use of violence (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997; Penglase, 2010). The presence of drug traffickers and gang members creates an association of power and status with the use of violence, show of aggression, or possession of weapons (Taylor et al., 2016). This association is reinforced by the societal perceptions of young men from favelas as violent individuals who are presumed to be drug traffickers or gang members (Gonçalves and Malfitano, 2020). Such stigmatisation stays with them throughout their lives, limiting their social and economic opportunities as well as urban mobility outside the favelas (Misse, 2018). As previously mentioned, the continued prevalence of violence in their communities remained a constant concern for almost all the men, particularly as fathers. While several of them discussed their inability to move their families out of their communities for financial reasons, and Gabriel mentioned being unable to find ideal employment elsewhere when he tried to move away, Felipe was the only one who spoke about instances of racism and discrimination he experienced as a man from a favela, limiting his social mobility beyond Jaragua's borders. He told me about being called a "monkey" while walking around central Rio and having people regularly roll up their car windows as he walked by for fear of him robbing them, a common occurrence for cars waiting at stop lights, as I was informed by my interpreter.

I would also come to learn that the societal perception of young men from favelas was experienced by the men during their participation in the programme. Raimundo told me of a situation that had occurred when Promundo's work had been featured on a local television station. "The proposal took on a very large presence, we were highlighted in a TV programme, quoted in books outside the country. It was a very big thing and the boys initially thought they were not going to be a part of it." In the TV programme, however, the young men had been presented as 'violent teens' who had been helped by Promundo. "Then the guys called me asking why they were presented that way. I went to talk to James, and he said, 'This is good for us, we are

on TV.' I said it was good for us but not for the boys. The boys asked for the right to reply to the TV station and, while it listened to them, the station never answered properly. It was traumatizing for them, for me, and for the families. It was embarrassing when I saw the TV talking about the boys as violent. The proposal was actually meant to talk about prevention. But for them it was shocking. Because in the community they were charged (as being violent). Everyone was watching the TV." Bruno also told me of an occurrence when the boys from Jaraguá got on a city bus to travel to Colina for a programme activity. "When the group of eight boys all got inside, people thought the bus was going to be assaulted. The other passengers started to leave. When we went inside, they all left the bus." None of the men mentioned either of these episodes during their interviews. However, these situations reinforce the reality that they all had been exposed to the structural violence and societal perceptions placed on them as violent individuals, a stigmatisation with potentially lasting impacts.

8.4.3   Survey Results on Violence

The third part of my survey included 15 'yes' or 'no' questions that were intended to provide a basic understanding of the men's self-reported current or past use of violence. While their survey responses in this section allowed for a comparative analysis of their use of violence, they also provided a look at how their reported behaviours in paper format might have differed from what was later reported in the interviews, once we had had more time for conversation and the development of trust.

The first five questions asked the men about their use of violence in their current relationships. All reported having never punched, slapped, pushed, kicked, or pulled the hair of their current partner. The second five questions asked the same type of question about a past relationship. In these questions, the two that were answered 'no' by every individual were whether they had ever pulled the hair of a previous partner or kicked a previous partner. Gabriel and Francisco both reported having punched a previous partner, Gabriel reported having slapped a previous partner,

and Marcelo, Gabriel and Francisco all reported having pushed a previous partner. Eduardo, Carlos, Felipe, and Rodrigo all reported not having used any form of violence against a previous or current partner. Their responses were in line with what they said in their interviews, apart from Marcelo not mentioning that he had pushed his first wife. When I brought this up with him, he said that it was during the fight that he had with her father when she tried to intervene, and he pushed her out of the way.

In the last five questions, the men were asked about their use of violence in other situations outside of their romantic relationships. When asked if they had ever been involved with gang-related violence, Gabriel and Francisco both responded 'yes'. Francisco reported having been involved with violence against police. When asked whether they had been involved with any form of violence against one of their children, Marcelo was the only one to respond 'yes'. Finally, when asked whether they had ever been involved with violence against another man, Marcelo and Francisco reported that they had, when they were the ones to initiate the violence, and Eduardo, Marcelo and Gabriel reported that they had, when the violence was started by the other man. Carlos, Felipe, and Rodrigo all reported having not used any form of violence in these types of situations outside of a romantic relationship. These last questions varied more from what was reported. Regarding the use of violence against their children, Carlos and Eduardo both said in the survey that they had not done so, but directly told me in their interviews of instances in which they had. Additionally, Felipe told me in his interviews that he had been involved with gang-related violence to "appease". However, in his survey responses, he said he had never been involved with gang-related violence or violence against another man.

8.4.4   Institutional Perspectives on Reported Feelings of Abandonment and Loss

While the feelings of abandonment expressed by the men *(Chapter 5)* brought up mixed emotions in Paulo, James, Bruno, and Raimundo, they understood the faults and missteps that were made in transitioning away from the JPJ programme into

Promundo's expanded work. When I told James that the men still had feelings of abandonment, he sounded sad and, perhaps, a little guilty. "That personally just still causes deep pain, confusion, ambivalence around it." He would later say, "In terms of where we had left them, it's big. I felt some of that when I decided to move to the US after some years." He appeared to have struggled with a desire to maintain the relationships he had developed with the men in Promundo's early years and the career and life trajectory he saw in front of him. He understood that the men had likely continued to process thoughts like "'Whoa. Hey, you were close friends. You were with us a couple of times a week here and now you're promoting this stuff elsewhere around the world.'" Time had passed and it was only possible to look back and reflect on how things might have gone differently.

Bruno also appeared sad when he heard about the men's feelings of abandonment. He believed that they had not had the maturity at the time to comprehend the organisation's reliance on funding and associated time restrictions. "When you are inside of very good work, the dimension of time gets complicated. It's not possible for youngsters to understand. It is easier for us, the adults, to have this notion of time and funding restrictions. Even if you talk with them about that reality, when they are inside the work, they lose the thinking that it's going to end sometime." This reality had not been explained to the men in a way that they could comprehend or fully accept (*Chapter 5*). Bruno also believed they had not been mature enough to understand ways they could have moved forward from JPJ and continue the work in their own lives. "When the *Hora H* campaign happened, that was something that changed them. It impacted the way they lived, with appearances and artistic productions. They would go to a health clinic or the outdoor parties and see their faces on it (campaign materials). When on the stage, the crowd loved them. But they were not thinking as we were. They were not thinking that after this, the reality would be back to the same." Bruno reflected that none of them had taken action to continue the work in their own careers or through further education. He had recently reached out to the Jaraguá men to participate as facilitators on a similar programme to JPJ. However, the reality that so much time had passed, no money

could be offered, and their lives had gone in different directions made it difficult for any of them to consider involvement.

Paulo discussed the feelings of abandonment in relation to the *Youth for Gender Equality* programme that Promundo had implemented after JPJ and *Program H.* "Since the beginning, we were concerned about scaling up. So to have a group of 15 young males, it was nice, it was interesting, but it was not enough. How could we contribute to public policies to have this idea, or this methodology, implemented not by us, but by teachers?" Part of this process was incorporating both young men and women in a programme that sought to engage them in critical reflection on gender and build skills to act in more empowered and equitable ways. "I think *Youth for Gender Equality* had a greater impact in those participants' lives. Much more impact than *Jovem Pra Jovem*. Why? I don't know. I think one of the differences was to have men and women together. Where they would have gay and trans people involved as well. It's completely different for these young, straight, Black males from favelas. It was less diverse in a sense." Paulo said, "this sense of being abandoned by Promundo, it's something that those from *Youth for Gender Equality* didn't say. *Jovem Pra Jovem* had been a good moment for us, but everyone was searching for different things in their lives. Some of them have been in contact with us since the end. But others were like 'uh no'. Those from *Youth for Gender Equality* had more social capital too. I can say that in terms of education, in terms of culture, in terms of families." Like Bruno, Paulo recognised a potential inability of the programme to foster maturity in the men, a maturity that might have minimised feelings of abandonment.

When I asked Bruno how he believed things should have gone differently at the end of the programme, he said, "If today I created a project, I would want to know how to deal with the responsibilities of those who are supporting me. Who are those in the background? What is the responsibility of continuity? So that we could bring this job to an end. There should have been the dialogue you and I are having now. I never had this dialogue with James. I never had it with Paulo. We never talked or thought about it. We were thinking about the happiness that we had. We never

thought about what happens after the end." James confirmed that such conversations were not had. It was clear that ideas might had been introduced, but no direct solutions or approaches were implemented. "I think we went in there in a very informal way, which is both its strength and weakness. I think that informality meant that at a moment of transition or those moments of need, we couldn't provide. Which is what the young men needed. So, why didn't we use them as facilitators? Because the guys needed an income. They needed income and stability of employment that allowed them to start their families and all that they wanted to do." Informality created potential for deep connections to be made among all parties involved, but had resulted in a lack of preparation and support that the men needed. These ideas were, simply, secondary.

While James said that he was not making excuses, his desire to justify what had happened, perhaps even if just for himself, was evident. "It is what happens when you become an NGO, and we felt that. I mean, we knew. And they told us then as well, like, 'you've abandoned us' and we're like, 'Oh, what do we do?' If I look back, now having connected to some other development psychologists, and think of what we could have done that might have had a greater result… Would it have been to be more honest about that? Were we clear enough about, 'Hey, this is why we're headed in this direction as an organization.' Or did we just run into it?" While James said that the men had expressed feelings of abandonment around the time the programme ended, there was still no indication that efforts were made to remedy the situation.

Raimundo's response placed responsibility on the men themselves as well as on Promundo's potential faults in preparing them for the end. He believed that when the time came for the programme to end, the men were unable to handle the situation on their own. "They couldn't move. They wanted me to stay the whole time holding their hands and that wasn't the proposal. It was to give them a hand to cross the street and then let them walk on. I particularly believe that the institution gave them all conditions to do so." While he did understand their feelings, and the reality that they would be different for everyone, "I believe that part of those

feelings was their inability to deal with life situations." This thinking takes some blame off the leadership and Promundo institution, saying that it was partly the young men's fault for not understanding the intentions of the programme. When asked whether he believed the feelings of abandonment were directed at Promundo itself or at the individual leaders and facilitators, he said, "I think it was aimed primarily at the institution, but also personally. There comes a time when you see that things are taking a turn, but it is not correct. I even questioned many things. I heard a lot of their hurt and I tried to help them. I respected their views, but I tried to make them see why things had to end. I do still have a fondness for them."

8.4.5 Institutional Perspectives on Attitudinal and Behavioural Change

When I told Paulo that the men had discussed attitudes and behaviours that were not in line with the intended outcomes of the programme, he mentioned work that he believed could have been done better to ensure the maintenance of gender-equitable behaviours and a better preparation for life beyond Promundo. "The failure is where you said it, in terms of attitudes - How can we convert attitudes into behaviours? It is a challenge of every programme. These men have very positive attitudes. But we know that in terms of behaviours, it's not the same. Some of them used violence against women because they have a lack of opportunities. I think just Eduardo went to university. Some of them were engaged in drug trafficking. And I think there was a lack of discussion with them in terms of racism. That was something we knew happened so many times like when they were in a bus or living in those communities, being arrested by the police because they were coming from a party at 4am. And now, they are fathers of Black children, and I heard some comments in terms of 'how can we protect our children from racism?', for example." He recognised the lack of continued support that could have been provided for the men in continuing to work on their personal development within their environments. "They didn't have any support. A family support or community support. Somehow, Bruno and Raimundo had this role, but we needed to figure out best ways for that transition."

Bruno also touched on his own understanding of a gap in knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours and recognised that guidance was not provided. "I think they symbolize a big tension in that they know that they could do better, but they still don't act. They can't do it. They are capable of being effective, they can produce a new perspective, a free perspective. But they are still looking and searching." It is likely that their feelings of abandonment and loss hindered the 'looking and searching' that he had hoped the men would accomplish. Bruno saw these feelings as "practical from their perspective. When they give of themselves, they don't know how to deal with frustration." He reflected further on their institutional shortcomings: "We missed reflection on continuity. How do we keep doing this work? Some of these boys weren't studying at that time, not doing well in school. To make money from a social project was not good or sufficient, but it was the reality. Some of these boys were receiving part of their money from the project to help at home." In such reflection, Bruno seemed to also point towards a level of dependency that the men developed on the programme; that due to the *bolsa* they were receiving, and lack of preparation for life after Promundo, the institution itself had not fostered their ability to continue with life and feel empowered to adhere to principles they had learned.

Despite his understanding of the factors leading to feelings of abandonment and unpreparedness for the real world, Raimundo did not want to associate the subsequent attitudes and behaviours of the men with the programme's end. He said that he recognised the men's marginalisation as the factor most associated with their use of violence, ascription to some gender-inequitable attitudes, or participation in gang-related activities. This marginalisation certainly played a role, but the original intention of JPJ was to instil values and perspectives that would be able to overcome it and prevent such outcomes throughout their lives. When asked what he thought could have been provided for the men to help better manage the transition out of the programme, he said, "I didn't want to be cruel in the way I speak, but I believe that institutionally, they were afraid of the next step. These young men needed help and they lacked training for institutionalisation. Then comes the feelings of being exploited and abandoned. We take theatre, writing, our

everyday activities away from them, and what do we give back to them? We refund money? Travel expenses? I think there was a lack of professional courses for them. We had to think about it all and, when I say we, I take responsibility too." Raimundo recognised that sufficient agency had not been fostered. "Where do they go now? How does the programme continue for them? They weren't young anymore. There was a financial grant for young people, but it had not completed their growth. This is where our inability comes from. We did not have the ability to take advantage of those young people as adult multipliers within the community and perhaps to perpetuate the *Jovem Pra Jovem* proposal."

Ana, one of Promundo's former staff members, compared the programme with *Youth for Gender Equality*, which was able to foster significant agency in its participants, all of whom had gone through university and many of whom were involved with social development projects within and outside of Rio. However, behavioural change remained a difficult indicator to monitor and evaluate. "Things are long-term. What makes a difference is something that cannot be easily shown. And we had to deal with this the whole time (in Promundo). It's like interventions and transformations are seen as an end. Something we are looking to achieve. But what is meant by a 'transformed man'? A 'changed man'?" For the *Jovem Pra Jovem* men, change was only evaluated through my research, which came much later. Even then, direct causation from programmatic exposure was difficult to ascribe. Ana had conducted similar research with six of the former participants of *Youth for Gender Equality* 15 years later. While she recognised adherence to principles learned, and the ability for them to maintain agency in applying it to their careers, she stressed the fact that behaviour change is an ongoing process. "When we work with life and transformation, there is no end. It's all a continuing process." She also believed much of the success of the programme had been the participants' exposure to diversity and culture and life outside of the favelas. Indeed, all participants had moved away from the favelas to seek better opportunities elsewhere. Perhaps part of the inability of some JPJ men to maintain full adherence to gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours learned in the programme was due to the lack of diversity they were exposed to, minimal empowerment to utilise agency in further social

change work, and the fact that almost all had remained living in the unchanged environments of the favelas.

On this topic, James responded from an understanding of the varying perceptions of gender transformative interventions. He believed that public health logic was "still stuck in a kind of biomedical rational understanding of change" and that "behaviour change never works in that way". Funders and partners wanted gender transformative approaches to be "kind of a vaccine for harmful masculinity". Therefore, when Promundo was working with the men, "and one of the guys uses violence against his girlfriend…we're like, 'Damn, this shouldn't have happened. Because this is the vaccine, and they should be fixed'." However, this idea that gender transformative interventions had to be a sort of 'vaccine' for or permanent 'fix' to stop negative attitudes and behaviours may be overgeneralising the abilities of such programmes to implement across-the-board positive outcomes. "This is the world that we live in. Behaviour change is not like, 'oh I'm done'. And it is so hard to get that message across in the public health or the gender-based violence space that is looking for this one-off or two-off or a three-off solution."

James discussed the positive evaluation data from their global projects that showed "good trends and actually good attitude change." But there was also little evidence to support positive behavioural change in the long-term. "We're just looking usually six months, at the most nine months, down the road." One of their projects, *Bandebereho* (*Role Model*), with adult men in Rwanda, was one of the few evaluated six years after programmatic end. In this project, "we've got really strong data that the violence prevention part continues to work. Men's ongoing participation in hands on caregiving, men's own mental health. On the strength of that, it is becoming a nationwide programme in Rwanda." The programme's effectiveness is promising but still gives cause for concern. "We're thrilled because it shows 40% less violence than in the control group. But it's still high rates of violence. So we talk to the funders and say, 'you know, it works. But you should be really worried. We should all be really worried that there's still physical violence reported by women in about a fifth of households. Even after guys have gone through this

and even after they're doing all the great things and even after we do qualitative research and find how much they talk about the strength of the relationship. Human lives are really complex. And in the field of gender-based violence, there's kind of a 'no violence is acceptable' mentality."

James wanted to push back on the idea that gender transformative interventions should be a 'vaccination'. "It's probably more like nutrition. If you ate well as a child, it matters a huge amount and there's moments in your life of growth spurts where it matters a lot how you ate. But you can't stop eating well and not have all the effects just go out the door. It's why we also try to change the laws and policies in the world around us." He compared Promundo's programmes to vitamin supplements that help boost positive changes, "but you need to also be getting good nutrients from the rest of your life", like from the social environment one is a part of. He admitted this felt like a poor analogy or metaphor for gender transformative programming, but the idea highlights the importance of viewing these interventions not as an end result but a vital component of change supported by a political and social environment that allows for change to be maintained and supported.

8.4.6   Institutional Perspectives on Organisational Growth and Limitations

Promundo's global expansion not only limited the potential for the JPJ participants' continued exposure to the leadership and facilitators, but further alienated them from access to the institution itself and potential future involvement. James said, "It's not by chance that those who ended up staying longer at Promundo were those who went on to university and got degrees. That's the whole challenge: who speaks the language we need to be a professional NGO? As we hired staff and the next round of promoters and for the next projects… was it for Jaraguá and Colina or was it for another part of the country?" He recognised that the men were simply not qualified to maintain a role in Promundo's expanding operations. "But how much does explaining that do? How much is felt versus, 'I get why you're doing it; it still hurts.'" James continued to accept that, despite justifications for how things turned out, the men were still hurt and the transition should have been approached

differently. "Might there have been a ritual of sort? I don't know what kind of things we might have done to just be more transparent about that all? To acknowledge the loss. Because it is a loss on a certain level."

There was a tension when these relationships became secondary while Promundo's work expanded to other communities in Rio and into an international setting. "We've got that moment in time. There is attachment of a kind happening in terms of those relationships. And then we formalized an organization that is funded to do not that all the time or it's funded to do *Hora H*, and then we have some funds for this project, and then for this, and then at a certain point, the two-person organization is now a thirty-five-person organization. And they were part of the starter material of that, and yet we've now hired 30+ other people." Growth within the organisation facilitated a one-sided detachment of the leadership from the men. "We introduced them, and we tried to do some events where we introduce them. But yeah, they're going to come to the office. I mean, I'm not making excuses, but now there's a new administrative assistant who's like, 'I don't know these guys. There's a lot of guys who come through.'" There was no attempted follow-up by the leadership to remedy negative impacts, and the men seemed to detach from the situation through realisation that their involvement was perhaps no longer needed or desired.

Bruno also spoke of the newly hired staff and resultant changes in how Promundo operated. "These hired people had work to do but were not prepared or educated enough to understand the history of Promundo since the beginning. The history was not respected by them. We had a relation of equality when we used to do our work. And when Promundo formalized, we lost some of this. Because Promundo had to respect international agendas. And the international agenda didn't want to know about only one group of men." This change had a negative impact on the JPJ men who, through the work they had accomplished, "felt like authors of Promundo. Authors of James' work, what his doctor thesis influenced. They felt part of this all. But in the end, it wasn't like that. Today, if I could go back in time, we could think, 'What is this project? How will we end this? A contract of work for all the young

men?' Instead, they ended up thinking, 'Promundo is hiring all of these people, shouldn't it be us from Jaraguá and Colina? We know everything better. We know Paulo and James.' This is what I would want to do if I could go back." Bruno again saw a missed opportunity in possible continuity, and wished to have fostered a connection between the men and the work that Promundo continued to do.

Raimundo had recognised a desire among many of the men "to be a part of it all" once the programme ended but saw that "there came a moment when perhaps there appeared the inability (for the organisation) to deal with growth. You had to change with what transforms and transpires". He said JPJ was "like teaching someone to walk. One hour you let go and they fall. But they would sit down, and someone would come back and pick them back up. Those who couldn't break through didn't have it. Then, since they don't have it, they blamed the programme. I cannot particularly blame the institution, but I do not fail to point out that some men were unable to break through." Raimundo seemed conflicted about who may have been at fault for how the programme ended. No matter what, the feelings were real and "I think we always fall short with our institutional abilities."

When Promundo expanded its operations around the world, resources in Rio became scarcer. Paulo said that "this idea to have Promundo U.S. or international Promundo and Promundo Brazil - from my perspective, it was really complicated because we know that the funds were not for Latin America and not for Brazil specifically anymore, but for Rwanda, Ghana. James had this interest to implement some of those initiatives in the U.S. too, so the national work in the U.S. became one of the goals for the organization and this connection with Asia and Africa became more intense. And they didn't have any specific interest in Latin America and Brazil anymore." Ana also said that, "In that moment, Brazil had left the list of recipients of social funding. The country started to develop, and it did not need outside resources. Projects started to centralise in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere in South America." She said that this loss of investment further complicated the "small race for resources" within Promundo, made worse by a new director who was not interested in advancing existing projects. Promundo became "an organisation with

limits placed on them by the interests of those who were funding them. We had to attend to those interests: small projects that were not too long, with limited staff, expectations to make a large impact, provide access to a lot of people, and then change their attitudes and behaviours with the projects."

Lucas, another former staff member, said that this new director, from Portugal, had deemed Brazil a "rich country that didn't need resources" and no longer sought funding for their programmes in Rio. The team therefore "had to look elsewhere." The political environment at the time meant "low resources and a conservative environment where the media was saying that everything Promundo was doing was robbing (resources), corrupting youth, and destroying society and the family structure". Lucas said that a cycle of one conservative government after another meant that "in the end years (of Promundo), there was almost no one left." He went on to say that "Promundo (in Rio) can be divided into 'before James' and 'after James'. He was the head of the institution and had the insight of what should be developed. I don't know if it was coincidence or not that James left Brazil. But there was a big change here that affected Promundo. We started to lose financial importance and human resources." Lucas and Ana would both be fired by the new director due to a lack of resources. Lucas saw this process, of limiting funding and firing staff who had been with the organisation since its early years, as a way "to accelerate the process of what Promundo has become today."

Paulo, Anna, and Lucas all believed that part of the reason *Jovem Pra Jovem, Program H,* and *Youth for Gender Equality* did not continue was the conservative governmental policies that complicated scale-up within the educational sector. Developing a relationship between Promundo and the communities in which they worked became complex and time consuming. To scale up impact required linking their pedagogy to the educational sector and training current teachers to apply Promundo's methodology. The political environment and limited resources made this difficult and incorporating sex education within Brazilian schools became a fight that continues to this day. Paulo "thought that since the beginning, the schools were the best places to have this project implemented. That's why we tried to make

connections with the educational sector and public schools here. But they are so difficult." Lucas said, "this (current) government, is doing everything to stop this type of work. Nothing goes to projects in Brazil that have words like 'gender' included. I was working in an NGO, with the education minister. They asked to remove the name 'Paulo Freire' from its work. So you can see how this government is very influential. How do you design a project like Promundo did when you cannot say the word 'gender'? So, you cannot get resources anymore, it's impossible. There is no way."

8.5   Analysis and Discussion

Chapter 6 determined that the JPJ men faced significant influences from the social structures of their peer groups, communities, and wider society in constructing their current understandings of gender, masculinity, and their roles and responsibilities as men. Chapter 7 suggested that these social structures had impacted their ability to encourage change in their personal lives and wider communities. It raised the possibility that encouraging individual agency alone, even within a collective group, might not bring about structural change and, therefore, the limitation of individual-based approaches to influence longitudinal gender transformation. I now consider the implications for the process of gender transformation and propose modifications to existing theory that I suggest may ensure longitudinal change from gender transformative interventions and approaches. For the men, the process of gender transformation appeared to be guided and hindered by several factors: the pride and gratitude they felt from their involvement in the programme, the feelings of abandonment they expressed when the programme ended, the lack of continuity in programmatic exposure and access to the Promundo leadership and facilitators, and the structural violence they faced while remaining inhabitants of favelas.

The pride and gratitude that the men felt for the impact that the programme had on their lives was reflected in the positive attitudes that they had maintained regarding gender equality and on the behaviours described in Chapters 6 and 7 that they enacted: showing respect for their partners, communicating in their relationships,

and viewing women as equals in relationships and in society. This understanding is supported further by their statements that the programme made them who they were today and encouraged them to be respectful, caring, and active partners, indicating a desire to uphold that reality and potentially make their role-models, of that time, proud. Considering that a primary component of Promundo's work with the men was to ensure their active involvement as fathers and domestic partners, the gratitude for what they had gained also influenced their desire to exemplify these components of the curriculum in their parental and household responsibilities. Eduardo's expressed desire for, and happiness at, having a boy reflected this gratitude and he wanted to pass along what he had learned; to do for his son what those in Promundo had done for him. Marcelo, Rodrigo, and Gabriel also made comments about how their time with Promundo instilled in them guiding ideals of how to be responsible and active parents. Bruno and Raimundo had become father figures for some of the men and role models for them in their approach to fatherhood. This, however, also had the potential to result in the feelings of abandonment that arose from the programme's end when they were no longer around.

The attitudes and behaviours the men reported may not have reflected the reality of their perspectives and actions in daily life, but rather how they believed they should be presented in line with Promundo's ideals. Social desirability bias is the tendency for an individual to present themself "in a way that is perceived to be socially acceptable, but not wholly reflective of one's reality" (Bergen and Labonté, 2020, p.783). As discussed in his case study in Chapter 6, Felipe had taken some time to fully comprehend the nature of my interview with him and may not have understood that I would be asking direct questions about his past use of violence. In his survey responses before our interview, he seemed to have responded more in line with Promundo teachings and how he would have liked to be perceived on paper rather than his true past actions. He reported in the survey not being involved with gang violence. While admitting that he had never killed anyone during the two to three years that he was involved in gang activity, he did tell me that he had used violence "more to appease"; to essentially "keep the peace". This did not

correspond with his answer to a simple yes or no question, which reinforced the idea that perhaps he thought we would not be discussing his past use of violence during our conversation and wanted to be viewed positively, particularly since his survey responses were perfect regarding gender equitability on the GEM scale. There were similar inconsistencies in how men responded in the survey about the use of violence against their children. Carlos and Eduardo both said that they had not done so, but told me in their interviews of instances in which they had. This may similarly suggest that they initially did not want to be viewed as having used violence against their children, or that their understanding of such acts against their children would not be classified as 'violence'. My perception was that this also suggested an initial desire to not be perceived as violent individuals when it was unknown whether such topics would be discussed in the interview process. In Chapter 9, I will further discuss the possibility that social desirability bias may have complicated the data collection process.

In analysis of the role of abandonment, Felipe appeared to reflect his own experiences, of his father having "moved on" and "followed his own life", back onto his children without recognition of it having been of similar circumstance. As discussed, there was a recognised dismissal of his parental responsibilities which, when viewed through the lens of the theory of planned behaviour, can be seen as an ascription to normative beliefs he understood to be acceptable and expected through his prior experiences of his father (Montaño and Kasprzyk, 2015). This is further supported by the fact that he still maintained an adult relationship with his father, presenting a potential understanding and acceptance of his father's actions as a proper approach to take as a parent. Considering the attachment that Felipe had developed to Bruno as a father figure from the age of 11, stronger feelings of abandonment may have arisen when the programme ended and Bruno no longer played a significant role in his life. Felipe also said that if he had still had a connection to Promundo leadership and facilitators in his late twenties, he would not have gone into gang activity. Francisco did not make such a claim, but his reasons for becoming involved with the gang included the financial benefit it provided, although he might have been able to seek alternatives through

consultation with Promundo. Without the ability to seek advice from those who could steer them away from illegal activity, Francisco and Felipe made risky life choices, based on material and cultural processes on the interactional level, which Francisco said, "did not make me any better" and that had even resulted in Felipe being imprisoned for six months only to continue in gang activity once he was out.

Francisco had developed trust in the local gang, with an associated lack of recognition of the negative influences it could have had on his daughters and their safety growing up in their community. In my conversations with all the other men, including the past leadership and facilitators, Promundo's programmatic approach was intended to educate them on the harmful effects that the gangs and their associated violence had on perpetuating inequitable gender norms in their respective communities and negatively impacting the safety and well-being of them and their families. There may have been further opportunity for Promundo to intervene in Francisco's development of trust in the gang leadership and provide reinforcement of alternate perspectives of their negative impact on his community and the well-being of his children and fellow inhabitants. In our interview, he was almost immediately vocal about the abandonment that he felt from the institution and other leadership and facilitators beyond Raimundo. These feelings of abandonment had the potential, therefore, to allow for interactional cultural processes to support justification for him to place his trust in the gang that had not shown any inclination to abandon him.

The conversations with James, Paulo, Raimundo, and Bruno clarified both the intentions behind what the programme had desired to achieve and the reasons why it had ended as it did. While there was no intention to abandon the participants and there was a continued sadness and regret about being unable to maintain continuity, James and Bruno had recognised that there had been no discussion about methods they could have utilised to transition the men out of the programme and maintain adherence to what had been provided them during their involvement. The former leadership, facilitators, and staff all recognised that a lack of continuity in the programme may have contributed to the men's feelings of abandonment,

their deviation from principles learned from the programme, and how they illustrate the difficult reality of encouraging behavioural change.

The lack of guidance and support from Promundo can be seen to have impacted the ability of all the men to respond to circumstances that they experienced later in life once they were in long-term relationships, had become fathers to older children and teenagers, and faced unforeseen violence directed against them or their loved ones. Principles of what they had learned had influenced their ability to avoid violence when faced with conflict and issues throughout their relationships and marriages, but Gabriel, for example, could have sought guidance when he had 'immobilised' his wife in self-defence, hitting her so hard that she fainted, to contemplate his actions and consider alternative responses if a similar situation presented itself again. Marcelo could have taken a similar approach after the situations described by Maria, in which he had used violence against other men in defence of his family. As for their roles as fathers to older children and teenagers, since the concept of corrective punishment had not been a component of Promundo's materials, when the men came across situations in which they had to determine punishment for their children, they did not have significant reference for how to respond beyond that provided from their own childhoods or societal norms. They needed to determine for themselves how to deal with situations and primarily turned to cultural ideals that reinforced their understandings of what is allowable in punishment of their children, even if this involved what can be defined as violence from an outside perspective.

Regarding my conversations with the men about abortion, Francisco had mentioned that it was not discussed in the programmatic materials, but it would seem that the ideals presented to them on respecting women's SRHR, as well as showing concern for their feelings and opinions, would have translated into more open-minded perspectives on abortion rights and less accusatory remarks on the situations that may lead women to decide whether or not they would desire the right to an abortion. Given the widespread sentiment against abortion in Brazil, it was not surprising that the men held similar sentiments. However, in line with principles of

what constitutes a 'gender-equitable man', the conversation may have been important to incorporate into programmatic discourse. The fact that abortion was not a topic of discussion for the JPJ men suggests that perhaps it was too controversial to incorporate into the programme materials at the time of implementation, or that an approach was taken to encourage a changed mindset in the men that allowed for an openness to the debate and therefore a potential shift in their perspectives on the topic later in their adulthoods. In either case, the gendered social structures around abortion can be seen to have had a strong hold.

This indicates that gender transformation does not work if it is confined to a process of instilling gender-equitable perspectives on different topics and encouraging corresponding behaviours and actions. It needs to be the development of a way of thinking. The men did not develop the capacity to think critically about the implications of abortion or recognise the inequalities inherent in limiting a woman's choice and autonomy over her own body. This way of thinking was not developed and the men's ability to hold gender-equitable perspectives on abortion seemed to be outside the realms of voluntarist human agency, particularly considering that they all seemed to recognise the rights of women to maintain autonomy over their health and well-being. This also shows the influence of macro gendered structures in which the material processes of laws and cultural processes of religious and political conservatism have played a role in constructing the men's understandings of gender and the inherent inequalities they seem to uphold. It shows their inability to utilise the knowledge that they gained from the programme to maintain an openness to the abortion debate and recognise that upholding the criminalisation of abortion maintains a level of gender inequality.

My interviews with James, Paulo, Bruno, and Raimundo provided further support for these findings in confirming that agency was not sufficiently developed and that gender-equitable behavioural change was minimal. They recognised their inability to maintain support and guidance for the JPJ participants after the programme ended and that such relationships had become secondary to institutional growth and expansion. While no excuses were made, blame was placed on circumstances

beyond their control, namely the conservative influence of governmental parties in power and the funding and capacity limitations imposed by supporting partners in an international setting. Raimundo also placed blame on the men themselves for not having been able to move on successfully after the programme ended and maintain gender-equitable attitudes, behaviours, and agency throughout their lives. However, all former leadership and facilitators admitted to not effectively preparing the men to do so once guidance and support were withdrawn. Considering the absence of Promundo's influence in their lives after the programme ended, the men can be perceived to have allowed their normative beliefs of their expected behaviours to influence their actions in becoming the primary financial providers in their relationships and upholding the assumed gender roles of their communities (Montaño and Kasprzyk, 2015). Through my conversations, these social structures became more apparent in communities which place expectations on men to provide financially for the household and ensure, to at least a basic extent, the health and well-being of their children. As discussed in Chapter 6, such social structures were supported by Promundo with the intention of applying a further gender-equitable approach to expectations, beyond simply providing for children, to prioritise their roles as active and present fathers. When the programme ended, alternative structures in their communities, such as fatherhood as a more detached or absent role, that had been shown them in childhood by their own fathers, gained more exposure and had a potential influence in constraining their agency (Crossley, 2022).

There had been potential for the programme to have better developed a gender transformative way of thinking, encouraged reflection on a broader scale, and allowed for more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours to have been maintained throughout the men's lives. Rodrigo also seemed to allude to a perceived weakness of the programme when discussing what was needed in his community. Through mention of a need to focus on "the future of the youngsters" rather than just on "today", he showed belief that perhaps Promundo had focussed too much on addressing issues in their present lives as young men without looking to how their futures could have been better shaped or influenced. In combination with our conversation on perceived abandonment by the institution, this reinforced

the idea that many of the men felt unprepared to navigate adult life without the guidance and advice they were receiving from Promundo's leadership and facilitators. This suggests that continued exposure to role models could have encouraged further development of positive, more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours. Just as the leadership and facilitators were able to work directly with and educate Francisco after his use of violence against his wife during the time of his involvement in the programme, leading him to not use violence against any partner since, they could have addressed situations in which the men used violence against a partner, other men, or one of their own children and educate them on different approaches to addressing conflicts or appropriate corrective punishment.

In the favelas of Rio, structural violence comes in the form of macro level, cultural processes that produce a lack of alternatives for social integration outside of the communities and often reduce the opportunities of inhabitants to only what is available inside them (*Chapter 3*). The results suggest that such violence may have played a role in limiting the men's educational and employment opportunities. There was a gendered ideal in the communities for individuals to prioritise from a young age getting married and starting families. Paulo recognised this and even spoke of the difficulty in adhering to such expectations prior to or during the men's involvement in the programme. Most had got married and had children young, and Promundo had to take a more remedial approach to the realities of early fatherhood. They could not focus on preventing the early start of families so that the men could seek higher education. While Promundo guidance encouraged agency in their role as fathers and ensuring they could provide for their families, it was at the expense of their personal educational goals. The end of the programme also meant the end of the *bolsa* that the men had been receiving for their involvement. This increased their need to seek out paid employment to provide for themselves and their families. The men therefore received somewhat contradictory messages about what they might perceive as unattainable goals: Promundo encouraged them to get an education, expected them to support growing families, and then did not provide the continued support to accomplish both. Their personal

development had been unable to translate into applicable capability or capacity to achieve their desired goals (Chandler, 2013).

In recognition of Raimundo's story of their portrayal on a local television station as 'violent young men' in their youth, as well as the negative response he said they had had to it, this labelling seemed to discredit the personal growth and accomplishments they had made in working towards applying gender-equitable principles to their lives and spreading such ideals to others. This situation presents a clear picture of the way in which structural violence could further marginalise young men from favelas and perpetuate a perception that they are violent, reinforcing its continued use to play into the roles already assumed of them (Misse, 2018; Gonçalves and Malfitano, 2020). It might have influenced their justification for resorting to violence in their daily lives, serving to continue a cycle of structural violence preventing their inclusion in society at large (Scheper-Hughes, 2010). One reason that none of the men had mentioned this situation during my conversations with them might be that their labelling and marginalisation was a normal occurrence during their early years, further impacting their perceptions of themselves in relation to the masculine norms of their communities. In essence, it is possible that they internalised the contradiction of 'why change when the world will always continue to perceive us as violent?' While such a potential internalisation of social assumptions was not a topic of conversation in our interviews, it is possible that it was reinforced through their continued marginalisation, even after they had worked to change and present themselves as different outwardly into their communities and beyond.

Raimundo also recognised a significant problem resulting from Promundo's institutional growth. While the press provided from the television coverage may have been good for Promundo, its inaccurate representation of the young men as 'violent' hurt them and reinforced their feelings of being used for their ideas or their image and then being cast aside by the institution. When the men had attempted to use their agency to reach out to the television station to correct the claims made, they were ignored. This response had the potential to not only continue their

marginalisation in society, but also impact their perceptions that any such agency they took would not result in change, discouraging future attempts to encourage change in deeply embedded social structures (Choby and Clark, 2018). This was echoed by Francisco's deep trust in the gang of his community that presented the largest deviation from gender equitability because it supported the actions of a group that reinforced the continuation of masculine ideals that, in turn, reinforced gender inequality and the continued use of violence. Structural violence can also be seen to have an influence here through the maintenance of a normative marginalisation of him and his fellow community members, leading to distrust in the state and support of the gang's structural hold on, and perpetuation of violence in, his community. Each of the circumstances in which Felipe, Gabriel, and Francisco spoke of being involved with gang-related violence, either in self-defence or to appease, perpetuated the culture of violence in the gangs, despite any personal beliefs against the use of violence that they presented in their interviews.

The leadership, facilitators, and staff recognised fault in the programme to have maintained a cohort of solely straight, Black, young men and to not have discussed components of structural violence like the racism, discrimination, and marginalisation that they experienced as residents of favelas. Paulo, Raimundo, and Bruno had also noticed the inability of many men to follow through on educational and career aspirations after the programme. This indicates a need for gender transformative programming to incorporate diversity in cohorts, address structural violence that participants have and will be exposed to, effectively communicate programmatic intentions with participants, further develop agency in them to focus on their personal development, and advance gender equality in their communities and future careers. Ana and Paulo were able to support this understanding through the comparison of *Jovem Pra Jovem* with the *Youth for Gender Equality* programme, indicating that differences in the cohort populations and programmatic approaches resulted in divergent outcomes where those from the *Youth for Gender Equality* programme had been more empowered to seek opportunities for the advancement of gender equality and rights in their respective communities and wider society.

Farmer indicated that structural violence is intended to inform the study of what he calls the 'social machinery of oppression' (2004). My data suggests that this 'social machinery' was inherent in the social structures of these men's communities and limited their agentic choice, isolating them to the lifeworld of the favelas and encouraging their adherence to the status quo of hegemonic masculinity (Scott-Samuel et al., 2009). This is evident in the way that Marcelo described his unwillingness to speak against the norm, potentially feeling as though his voice or actions had little capacity to encourage change, and also shows in the actions of the other men to ascribe to the expected roles and responsibilities in their communities. This social machinery of oppression therefore inhibits gender transformation from the individual or collective group who experience structural violence. From this understanding, the agentic choices of those who do not face structural violence will have more power over the processes of gender transformation. Individuals of influence within a community, society, and political body will be the ones who do not face marginalisation from structural violence and, in essence, are therefore the ones who can determine and maintain the status quo, limiting the voice of the oppressed who might seek to shift the norm.

In Chapter 7, I made a claim against Risman's application of Gidden's structuration theory which recognised equal influence between individual agentic choices and the social structures of gender. I suggest this imbalance is particularly due to the role that all social structures must play in the potential influence of individual choices. Banerjee and Connell (2018) recognised the role of oppression in the creation of gendered systems and the social structures of gender and England (2016) put forth the internalisation of oppression by individuals to become part of the self. This oppression is inherent in structural violence which perpetuates the oppression placed on an individual. I worry that presenting such influence primarily on the 'individual' maintains a continued focus on individuals as the best entry point for change. While individual change is necessary and the influence of one person can reverberate to others over time, I reiterate what has been proposed in Chapter 7 that the best way to ensure gender transformation occurs and is maintained is through collective action towards change on institutional and structural levels.

While one should not exist without the other, change in the individual has become prioritised in gender transformative work and a shift in perspective is needed for dramatic changes to occur. I propose again that gender transformation is needed foremost on structural levels within the leadership of communities, institutions, and politics and that structural violence must be addressed to enhance the potential of the individual and collective voice to encourage gender transformation and influence change on a wider scale.

Casey et al. (2016) indicated that a principal critique of gender transformative work with men and boys has been a failure to challenge structural power inequalities. Kato-Wallace et al. (2019) felt that it was still up for debate whether the critique was well founded. My results indicate that such a critique is accurate, and I support this claim with evidence that it was the intention of Promundo to bring about structural change through the individual, or collective group, via community influence and the transfer of gender-equitable ideals through programme participants to those with whom they interacted; this was not achieved. From the evaluation evidence I have considered, no programme has demonstrated such an influence from their implementation of methodologies like that of *Jovem Pra Jovem* and *Program H*. I also recognise that in the process of gender transformation, there were inherent power differentials between the programme leadership and the participants. To an extent, the programme leadership and facilitators controlled the process of gender transformation, yet only went so far to ensure some change had occurred before ending programmatic activities. During the programme, a level of power was provided to the men in having community influence in a process of gender transformation, through the campaigns and theatre productions they implemented. Such action, however, did not set the programme participants up with the means to continue the process, particularly amidst the structural power inequalities they faced, and it was evident in my conversations with some of the leadership, facilitators, and staff that they recognised they had not done so. The ideal intent should have been for the men to be given control over the process of gender transformation so that they might recognise the continued processes needed for change once Promundo was gone. Due to the power differentials, the

men were, in essence, reliant on the leadership to drive any necessary change for transformation in themselves and within their communities and wider society, all of which was already inhibited by unchanged social structures and structural violence.

I spoke in Chapter 2 of how theories of change for gender transformative interventions are commonly based on established behavioural change theories that encompass "psychosocial determinants of behaviour, positing how environmental and programme inputs lead to output behaviours via individual, interpersonal, and structural processes" (Robinson et al., 2021, p.2). While I agree that such approaches have the ability to encourage behavioural change within individuals, I propose that these theories of change do not go far enough to ensure longitudinal gender transformation in the individuals or the gendered social structures inherent in their environments. My evidence shows that these theories do not ensure that a gender transformative way of thinking is developed and maintained in programme participants or translate to change in their communities and wider society. As discussed above and in Chapter 7, the men could not have been expected to alone face the uphill climb of maintaining gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours amidst the structural violence they faced and the social structures of their environment, let alone make significant changes to those structures. Existing theories of gender transformation have also indicated a necessary minimum of three months of programmatic exposure (Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020). Considering that the programme was two years long, I suggest that the minimal exposure proposed in these theories is insufficient to ensure longitudinal gender transformation in the individual, let alone through the individual or collective group to gendered social structures. From what I have discussed in this analysis, I propose that gender transformative interventions must incorporate methods of programme continuity, through longitudinal exposure to programmatic materials and role models, into their theories of change in addition to transformational work on the institutional, structural, and political levels, as proposed in Chapter 7. I additionally propose that, on the individual or group level, the development of agency must incorporate continued guidance, support, and understanding of how action can be taken by programme participants to continue the processes of gender

transformation as norms, structures, and cultural understanding change over time. Only through such theory of change modifications will gender transformative interventions be able to see longitudinal gender transformation through their work.

8.6   Conclusions

My conversations with Promundo's former leadership, facilitators, and staff indicate an unfortunate reality of organisational growth and international expansion in gender transformative work and the impacts they have on existing programmatic activities. James, Paulo, Bruno, and Raimundo all recognised faults in the institution's ability to transition away from a primary focus on the JPJ programme into a wide variety of local and international programmes accompanied with a greatly expanded staff with minimal knowledge of the institution's early work. The relationships they had developed with their first cohort became secondary and they had failed to maintain a connection with the men and provide a level of guidance and support that had been needed during the transition. While expansion of this type should not be discouraged considering the benefit of conducting gender transformative work around the world, greatly limiting the connections that the men had to the institution and them as role-models had recognisable impacts on their lives and their adherence to principles they had learned. Without continued exposure to Promundo, accompanied with feelings of having been abandoned by the institution and role models it provided, evidence from the past three chapters has suggested deviations from gender-equitable ideals and a lack of agency to encourage gender transformational change in their personal lives or communities.

Structural violence was determined to also play a significant role in limiting the men's opportunities, reinforcing normative attitudes and behaviours, and creating circumstances in which they had limited ability to use their agency to influence gender transformative change in their communities. Inherent oppression in the social structures of their environment limited agentic choice and encouraged them to adhere to a status quo of hegemonic masculinity. Raimundo discussed how he believed it was the marginalisation that the men continued to face in the favelas

that accounted for their use of violence, ascription to gender-inequitable attitudes, or participation in gang-related activities. I have proposed that such a reality indicates further support for my claim in Chapter 7 that interventions must focus efforts on prioritising change on structural levels and that this includes addressing structural violence that continues to impede attitudinal and behavioural change in programme participants. The prioritisation of gender transformational interventions must shift to include significant work on structural change if longitudinal gender transformation is to be achieved both in the individual and wider society.

I have also proposed modifications to existing theories of gender transformation, beyond a shift to more structural-based approaches, that consider the importance of continuity in programmatic and role model exposure in ensuring and sustaining longitudinal gender transformation. My evidence indicates the overwhelming strength of gendered social structures and, therefore, the longitudinal work that is required to not only change but maintain the way that boys and men think about, and critically engage with, topics of gender equality, equitable relationships, sex, masculinity, fatherhood, and violence. It also indicates the importance of continued exposure to positive role models and programmatic ideals that can guide and influence their agentic choices as circumstances and society change and develop agency to influence change beyond the individual. I have therefore recommended that theories of gender transformation incorporate methods that ensure continuity and longitudinal programmatic exposure for programme participants. Chapter 9 will discuss the implications of my findings for the future of gender transformative work and provide recommendations for how such changes in interventional approaches can be achieved.

Chapter 9   Conclusions and Reflections

"It's like interventions and transformations are seen as an end. Something we are looking to achieve. But what is meant by a 'transformed man'? A 'changed man'?"

- *Ana, Former Staff Member*

9.1   Research Implications

This research has deepened our understanding of the implications and effectiveness of gender transformative interventions, the ongoing tensions between structure and agency in gender transformation, the role of social structures in developing and complicating individual perspectives of gendered roles and norms, the role of abandonment in transitions out of gender transformative interventions, and the foundational theories to gender transformative change. First and foremost, there exists very little evidence of the longitudinal implications of gender transformative interventions for participant attitudes and behaviours (*Chapter 2*). My primary research question sought to understand the longitudinal implications of the *Jovem Pra Jovem* programme for the attitudes and reported behaviours of its participants. The study has provided empirical evidence of programme influences on participant attitudes 20 years later, regarding gender equality, intimate relationships, sexual and reproductive health, their roles as fathers, responsibilities taken in their households, and their use of violence against women and other men. These attitudes are reflected in reported behaviours, despite deviations from what would ideally be seen considering the programme's intent.

While I cannot definitively say that the men's attitudes and behaviours were solely attributable to their programmatic exposure, I found linkages between what they had reported learning during their time in the programme and their application of the lessons to components of their lives. These linkages include their ability to reflect on instances of violence to prevent further perpetration, to understand the negative influences of gang involvement or ongoing gang activity in their communities on the lives of their children, and to be active parents who sought to

raise their children in equitable intimate relationships and in line with principles they had learned from Promundo. These provide support for the programme's positive impact in maintaining influence over their actions and show an effectiveness beyond the limited time they had spent in programmatic activities.

The research has also shown areas in which the men did not restructure gendered norms and roles within their households, take on active roles as fathers, maintain comprehension of the negative implications of corporal punishment, avoid the use of violence, change the social structures of masculine norms and roles in their communities and wider society, and develop agency to influence change in their communities and among their peers. External influences played a role in limiting programmatic effects and the programme itself had not fully prepared the participants to combat these external influences and maintain adherence to the gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours learnt through the programme. My analyses have considered the factors which limited gender transformation and therefore aided in informing the future development, implementation, and evaluation of interventions. However, I am comfortable in claiming that the JPJ programme has had, and continues to have, some influence on its participants. The extent to which it resulted in sustained gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours varied by individual and shows the overwhelming strength of the gendered social structures to which the men were exposed. I believe that my understanding of who they had become as partners, fathers, and members of their communities has implications for the potential of gender transformative interventions and their effectiveness in the longer term.

9.1.1   The Construction of Gender and Masculine Identity

My first secondary research question sought to understand how gender and conceptualisations of masculine identity had been constructed for the JPJ participants. The research has shown empirically that cultural and material processes on the individual, interactional, and macro levels of gendered structures in Brazil, the favelas of Rio, and the programmatic approach of Promundo all had

significant influence in shaping men's understandings of their gendered role in their households, relationships, and communities and their attitudes to issues relating to gender equality, active parenting, and the roles of men and women in society. There was a positive connection between their exposure to gender-equitable ideals and perspectives in early adulthood, and reasoned action taken in enacted behaviours throughout their lives since the programme ended, partially filling a recognised gap in determining longitudinal behavioural change from gender transformative interventions (Stewart et al., 2021). However, circumstances in which gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours were not enacted appropriately or consistently indicate the influence of, and the difficulties of working against, deeply embedded, structural perspectives on masculine identity, the use of violence, and the roles and norms that are expected of men in their households and communities (*Chapter 3*).

There were indications that the peer groups in which the men interacted, primarily through their professions, had influenced their perspectives on relationships, gender equality, and fatherhood. This influence was recognised through the importance they placed on social recognition of their presented roles and responsibilities as men in their community. Primarily this was noticed through Felipe's approach to relationships, cheating, and the distance he kept between his personal life and role as a father; as well as through cultural processes that influenced Carlos and Gabriel's comments about women and the gay community. While these views were maintained within their reported adherence to gender-equitable values provided by Promundo, they are examples of the influence that interactional exposure to masculine norms and roles continued to have on their lives. The few instances of violence against other men described by Marcelo, Eduardo, and Gabriel, as well as perceptions expressed by Felipe and Rodrigo regarding violence as an assumed male response, showed the conflict they faced when understanding both the lessons they had learned through the programme and the messages they received from society of how men are to respond towards anger or aggression directed at them from others.

While the evidence suggested some men's intentions to not ascribe to the norm and hold gender-equitable attitudes, a lack of continuation in programmatic exposure allowed for the normative nature of certain perspectives on gender equality, the use of violence, and gendered roles to regain control in some areas. This implies that participant understandings of gender and expected roles and behaviours, after programmatic exposure, will continue to be influenced by the gendered norms present in their peer groups, communities, wider society, and global perspectives that they are exposed to via social media or the internet. This research therefore reinforces an unfortunate, recognised reality for gender transformative intervention research to date: the inability to make a positive change in the structural components of societies that inhibit the maintenance and diffusion of gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours that are fostered in programme participants (Ruane-McAteer, 2020; Stewart et al., 2021). While Promundo had incorporated the *Hora H* campaign and theatre productions in the men's communities and elsewhere in Rio as part of programmatic activities, this work, accompanied by efforts to expand their programmatic work in other favelas and in educational policy, was unable to change traditional perspectives that prevailed in the men's environment.

Risman's gender structure theory (2004; 2018) was useful in recognising the various influences on the men's understandings of gender and masculinity, providing a structured, encompassing approach to my analysis. It allowed me to determine factors of disadvantage and marginalisation that reproduced inequalities in the men's own experiences and encouraged their involvement in the reproduction of gender inequalities in their personal lives and communities. There is merit in this theory's application to further gender transformative intervention evaluation and I support its ability to recognise areas on the interactional and macro levels of the gender structure on which interventional approaches may be able to implement structural change. Understanding how inequalities are produced and reproduced in a gender system is imperative to implement effective efforts that can begin to reduce such inequalities.

Gender transformation involves modification of the foundational understandings of what it means to be a man or woman and, primarily in the context of this study, the role of masculinity in the lives of individuals. Considering that hegemonic masculinity is a configuration of gender practices that guarantee the dominance of men and the subordination of women, gender transformation seeks to ensure gender equality in practice, eliminating these configurations to create a renewed understanding that allows for gender equitability on a societal level. These efforts must work beyond simply redefining masculinity in the cognitions of individuals, and encouraging individuals to deviate from societal norms, to essentially eliminate societal expectations of patriarchy-as-usual and restructure power relations in social domains that inherently perpetuate the norms upheld by hegemonic masculinity. It is through this renewed socialisation and reconstruction that gender transformative interventions can hope to ensure long-term social change. As I will continue to touch upon in the following sections, gender transformation requires the development of a way of thinking in individuals that can maintain longitudinal gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours and encourage the use of agency beyond the individual. However, to ensure transformation in masculine ideals and principles, this way of thinking must also be developed on a societal level; instilled in the structures of societal life. While this is not an easy task, I encourage practitioners of gender transformative interventions to work for this structural-level change in their approaches so that hegemonic masculinity, as we currently understand it, may cease to inhibit the attainment of gender equality on a societal level.

My findings present opportunities in gender transformation to understand how gender and masculinity are constructed for men, primarily in the favelas of Rio, and encourage gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours among individuals and peer groups through structural approaches that work on the community, societal, and political levels, fostering environments in which external, normative influences become minimal and a willingness to uphold ideals can be supported. Analysis also showed that effectiveness in the short-term cannot confirm effectiveness in the long-term. This reality implies that continued work in this field must prioritise work with programme participants to change the way they think about gender and

masculinity and critically engage with the external influences they will face after a programme ends, developing strategies they can use to maintain adherence to their learned attitudes and behaviours and encourage change among their peers and wider society.

9.1.2 The Tension between Structure and Agency in Gender Transformation

Gender is recognised as a historically established social institution that exists at micro and macro levels of politics and across all facets of society (Lorber 1994; Martin, 2004; Risman, 2018). From this perspective, efforts to address these inequalities should not simply focus on individual attitudinal and behavioural change, but work to develop agency among intervention participants to encourage structural changes and influence the spread of equitable perspectives at the interactional and macro levels (Parsons, 2009; Scheper-Hughes, 2010; Chandler, 2013; Shiffman, 2018). One of my secondary research questions sought to understand the role of social structures and programmatic exposure in influencing the development of agency in the former programme participants. My findings add to the ongoing structure and agency debate through recognition of tensions between gendered social structures and personal agency, suggesting that these structures inhibited the agency of programme participant's particularly when programmatic continuity and guidance was not maintained. The structure and agency debate has long considered a tension between whether individual-based or structural-based approaches are best suited to encourage societal change (Sabatier, 1986; Moser, 2017; Riga, 2020). The dynamism of gender structure theory, in which a change at one level has the potential to reverberate to others, recognises the possibility for both an individual-based approach and a structural-based approach to create positive change in a gendered system (Risman, 2018; de Vries and van den Brink, 2016). However, my research indicates that current methods of programmatic exposure on the individual level do not result in a gender transformative way of thinking that can reverberate beyond the participant's personal lives to the other levels when no focus is placed on changing gendered structures on the interactional or macro levels.

My research showed recognition by some men of the traditional gendered structures that influenced their communities. Agency to encourage change in their environments had been developed during the programme itself, but was currently only seen on a personal level in the men choosing to be active fathers, who had not abandoned their families, and in making efforts to stop the intergenerational transfer of IPV, GBV, or the use of any form of violence, actively reflecting on any personal use to no longer resort to violence in the future. There was also evidence of agency in their encouragement for their children to receive higher education and to show them examples of equitable intimate relationships by taking an active role in household chores. However, there was little indication of agency being used to actively combat traditional masculine norms, or influence the reduction of violence and gang control, among their peer groups, communities, or wider society. Little agency was seen in restructuring the division of labour in their households and there was higher ascription to traditional perspectives on gender equality among those in professions typically dominated by men in which they did not regularly interact with women. Evidence from my study supports Lorber's recognition of gender structures as maintaining the gendered division of social worlds with little room for resistance or rebellion (1994).

The programme did not develop a critical way of thinking in the men to use their agency in a manner that could elicit the diffusion of programmatic messaging beyond themselves and their households. The data show that the conversations the men had in their peer group activities, development and production of the theatre campaign, and involvement in the *Hora H* project had encouraged them to be representatives of change in their communities and wider society. However, when the programme ended, their ability to address and change the gendered social structures they recognised in their communities was hindered by pressures they faced to ascribe to these structures in their daily lives. An unrealistic burden had been placed on the men once the programme ended. They had been encouraged to seek and either individually or collectively create change, but were not provided with the tools, resources, guidance, or continued support to do so after they lost

contact with the institution or its leadership and facilitators. Structural violence also played a role in limiting the opportunities available to them to seek further education or better employment that could have made involvement in structural change efforts possible. There are limits to personal agency when a willingness to create change is confronted by a gender system that requires significant resources and external influence to change. The men were simply unprepared to take on such a role when faced with personal responsibility and the social institutions within which they continued to live.

My evidence suggests that the development of agency and encouragement to go against the norm is not sufficient to bring about change. I do not intend to say that such action is not needed, but gender transformative interventions often focus primarily on individual-based approaches that limit the potential for long-term, community- or societal-level impact. I believe that there is pressure placed on organisations and implementers to be able to show significant evidence of change in a limited period of time. Showing that a group of individuals have changed their attitudes on gender-equitable outcomes is something that can be accomplished in this short time, as evident in evaluations of existing gender transformative interventions (*Chapter 2*). An individual's behaviours can possibly also be modified and reported on within the timeframe desired by organisations and their funders. However, structural changes take significant work, time, and the incorporation of influential stakeholders with institutional and political power. Organisations and implementers have few benchmarks by which these structural changes can be defined, accomplished, and then evaluated on a societal scale. Later in this chapter, I recommend potential actions that can be taken in the gender transformation field which may support such a shift to structural-based approaches to change.

The results of the study imply that it will remain difficult for personal agency to be applied in helping to change the social structures participants recognise as impeding the spread of gender-equitable ideals among their peer groups and community members unless personal agency is developed and supported in a changing environment. I have proposed that the individualisation of the gender

transformation process inhibits structural-level change that interventions hope to achieve, and a shift must occur that prioritises structural-based approaches. This shift in gender transformative work will have the potential to ensure longitudinal change in the social structures of communities, institutions, political bodies, and society as well as support the long-term maintenance of attitudinal and behavioural change in the individual. Evidence from this study shows that agency can be encouraged on the personal level and can be developed to encourage change through gender transformative programming and the active engagement of participants in community- and society-wide campaigns. However, structural-level change must occur concurrently, and opportunity and support must be made available to participants to understand ways in which they may play a role in, and collectively accomplish, change.

9.1.3 Ensuring Longitudinal Gender Transformation

This research has indicated that current theories of gender transformation may be insufficient to ensure longitudinal attitude and behaviour change in the individual or gender transformation in the social structures of communities and societies. My data suggest that, despite Promundo's application of social norms theory, some men still maintained a misunderstanding of norms in their communities that led them to present gender-inequitable perspectives on sex, relationships, household roles, and the use of violence, and therefore perceive their gendered role in their households and society as contrary to messages relayed to them by Promundo. Cislaghi and Heise recognised that interventions utilising social norms approaches in LMICs to promote health have sometimes positioned themselves for failure by ignoring other factors that influence people's behaviours beyond norms (2019b). While my research supports these findings in recognising that Promundo was unable to address macro level policies and institutional influence in their communities, it was existing societal norms that prevented the men from developing gender-equitable behaviours. The approach taken by Promundo did not develop a way of thinking in the men that encouraged long-term reflection and recognition of the existing norms themselves, which led to more gender-inequitable perspectives and reported

behaviours. I have also found no evidence of, or research on, longitudinal effectiveness or maintenance of the positive impacts of social norms approaches. The theory of gender and power and theory of planned behaviour also end up supporting the role that gendered power differentials and normative structures had in constructing the inequitable perspectives and reported behaviours that the men described. There is evidence that these theories of behavioural change are limited in their approach to change within the individual and require a more rigorous, multifaceted, or long-term application to show impact in gender transformation. Normative beliefs on gender equality or violence against women and the sexual division of power and labour or structures of cathexis all take time to restructure in approaches to behavioural change, far longer than the length of the average gender transformative intervention.

My research also showed that the insufficient provision of knowledge had an impact on men's attitudes and behaviours. Most men did not recognise light slaps or firm holds as negative forms of punishment for their children, all men who were married had maintained a traditional gendered division of labour in their household, and all men but Marcelo did not believe in a woman's free choice to have an abortion. Cultural norms supported by governmental policies and religious influence have encouraged these perspectives, but these situations represent missed opportunities to have either provided clearer knowledge on the negative impacts of attitudes and actions or maintained connection to the men and provided further knowledge when such situations arose or became important topics of conversation regarding gender equality. Without continued guidance from Promundo leadership and facilitators, some men developed understandings of their role as fathers based on what they had experienced in their own childhood. Felipe and Gabriel both expressed an understanding of the importance of such a role and yet reflected their own fathers' actions in, either currently or in the past, prioritising their own freedoms and desires over their responsibility to their children. These actions implied an acquisition of knowledge contrary to what was provided by Promundo to justify behaviours that could be seen as harmful or neglectful of their parental responsibilities. Intervention developers and implementors should recognise the

opportunities available during programmatic exposure to provide sufficient knowledge and ensure its continued reinforcement, and provide updated or new knowledge as life progresses. Such action can play an important role in maintaining gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours among participants.

My third secondary research question sought to understand the level of exposure to programmatic materials and role models that the former participants had, and what implications this exposure, or lack thereof, had on their lives and gendered experiences. The implications discussed so far have all pointed to a significant hindrance to longitudinal gender transformation: a lack of programmatic exposure and continuity in access to the guidance and role models provided by the intervention. Promundo's positive impact has indicated the importance of a support system for programme participants, through a like-minded peer group and accessible role models, that can provide guidance and support to develop agency and maintain gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours. For many of the men, a recognisable shift in their perspectives and actions was not yet complete and the programme had not yet reached its intended outcomes. Due to the loss of guidance and support, the men had not followed through on educational or career aspirations, leading most to focus solely on work that could financially support their families, even if it included involvement in gang-related activities. While this has implications for the programme's inability to prepare the men to follow through on their aspirations, direct statements were made about their inability to accomplish this without the guidance and support to which they had become accustomed.

Due to the limited nature of longitudinal evaluations of gender transformative interventions, little attention has also been paid to the potential for the end of a programme to result in feelings of loss or abandonment by study participants. Quite explicitly, I have found no indication in my research that programmes have considered the potential for abandonment and loss at the end of exposure. As such, this research has discovered a shared reality among study subjects that they had experienced feelings of abandonment when the programme ended and they no longer had exposure to the programmatic activities or the leadership and

facilitators. These findings have implications for existing and future programmes due to the nature of funding and time restrictions inherent in global health and development work around the world. It must be understood that there is high potential for programme participants to develop an attachment to both the programmatic structure and the associated role models from the intervention to which they are exposed. This attachment can aid in the longitudinal maintenance of gender-equitable perspectives, as recognised through the influences of pride in what was accomplished during involvement and gratitude for what had been provided; but it can also result in feelings of abandonment and loss should a programme not incorporate methods of continuity in its structure. While it cannot be assumed that feelings of abandonment will arise as a result of the end of any programme, recognition of the occurrence in this situation provides for reflection on how programmes can plan for either the end of programmatic exposure or methods of continuity to ensure the maintenance of learned attitudes and behaviours.

I argue that the long-term effectiveness of gender transformative interventions is contingent on their ability to maintain long-term exposure to programmatic ideals and guidance for their participants. As things currently stand, there are limits to what interventions can provide in terms of societal influence and programmatic continuity in the lives of participants. While providing sufficient, appropriate knowledge is one thing, developing new attitudes is another, changing behaviours takes time, and modifying social structures is an immense task. I have proposed that theories of gender transformation must incorporate methods of continuity and longitudinal programmatic and role model exposure into intervention theories of change if longitudinal gender transformation is to be seen on the individual or collective level. The JPJ programme provided young men with two years of exposure and there were still deficiencies in intended outcomes. Without longitudinal programmatic implementation, or significant modifications or additions to Promundo's theory of change, we can expect similar outcomes in other iterations of gender transformative interventions, particularly considering most other interventions have been conducted over only three- to six-months and, from what I

have been able to determine, do not incorporate long-term exposure to programmatic materials or role models after the interventions have ended.

Based on the findings of this study, I am recommending a significant shift in the approach that gender transformative interventions should take when working with men and boys. Evaluation evidence continuously points towards a need to take more structural approaches to change that support individual change (*Chapter 2*). However, very few take on the recommendation in practice and there is a presumption that individuals will be able to bring about social structural change over time as a collective. Even 20 years after their exposure to the programme, the men in my study have not been influential in any gender transformative change beyond their personal perspectives and aspects of their family life. There was also no indication that they intended to work for further change due to the restrictions in their lives on their agentic choices and actions. I believe that similar evidence would be found from evaluation of case studies being done on other implementations of gender transformative work around the world. In my interview with Ana, she said that "It's like interventions and transformations are seen as an end. Something we are looking to achieve. But what is meant by a 'transformed man'? A 'changed man'?" I propose that a 'transformed man' or a 'changed man' is not only contingent on the acquisition of gender-equitable attitudes or the portrayal of gender-equitable behaviours. Gender transformation requires a change in the way that individuals think; to critically engage with the existing norms and social structures in which they live. It is the sustainment of such a way of thinking, in individuals and collective groups, that has the ability to actively challenge normative structures of gender and masculinity and influence gender transformation across communities and wider society. Such sustainment relies on the ability of interventions to not only provide continual support and guidance throughout the lives of their participants but to instigate dramatic change to the social structures in which their participants live; to foster environments in which gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours can be maintained and perpetuated.

9.2   Limitations

In addition to the limitations and complications of the data collection process (*Chapter 4*), there were additional limitations to the data, analysis, and implications. Social desirability bias suggests that the men may have presented attitudes and behaviours in line with what was learned through their time with Promundo, so as to be perceived as more gender-equitable than their actual attitudes and behaviours (Bergen and Labonté, 2020). While confirmation of this was not possible due to the time restrictions of the study, there was also a possibility they had assumed an association between myself and Promundo. I had assured them that I was not connected with the organisation, but they may have assumed that, in my efforts to understand the lasting impacts of the programme, and knowledge that I had also been in contact with James, Paulo, Bruno, and Raimundo, it would be better to be seen positively in the eyes of the former leadership and facilitators who might gain access to my findings upon publication. Such a limitation can only be addressed through my personal experience interacting with the men and my own belief that I had developed a respectful and trusting relationship with each of them to ideally have elicited honest responses and accurate information.

Time constraints and limited access to the participants also may have resulted in a lack of trust, leading the men to be selective about the information they provided me regarding their perpetration of violence. I had been unable to verify whether the men had told me about all instances in which they had used violence or provided full detail of their severity. It was possible that they might have withheld descriptions of violence in order to be perceived positively. While this could have been remedied by interviews with their former or current partners and family members, attempts to contact these individuals or organise interviews with them, other than my interview with Maria, were unsuccessful. Such response bias remains a limitation of this study.

Additionally, while applicable theories were used to support my findings and allowed for analysis of the data, direct connection between reported behaviours

and programmatic exposure could not be definitively confirmed. The influence of social structures and normative masculine norms and expectations was analysed in connection with assumed gendered roles in the household and inclinations towards the use of violence, but direct causation could not be confirmed without statements from participants on what had influenced their actions. Beyond direct statements of programmatic exposure having influenced the participants' approaches to relationships, fatherhood, violence, or gender equality, assumptions had to be made based upon theoretical understandings of how the programme intended to influence attitudinal and behavioural change. Ultimately, theoretical application to link programmatic exposure, life experiences, and external influences with participant attitudes and behaviours were logically considered through my analysis strategy, but could not all be directly, empirically linked in the research outcomes.

Expanding on this idea, while I encouraged self-reflection in those who agreed to participate, the study was not designed to elicit internal examination by the men to themselves confirm use of violence directly attributed to exposure to such violence by their parents or within their communities, or to the external influences of masculine norms and roles in their communities to attitudes that remained less gender-equitable compared to principles learned through Promundo. I did not aim to have the men consider how the division of labour within their relationships and households could perpetuate traditional gendered roles and influence their children's understandings of equitable relationships or their future roles as parents. Considering that the study did not seek to encourage further attitudinal and behavioural change among the participants, deviations from the principles learned during their time with Promundo could remain unchanged in their lives. There was, however, indication that Marcelo showed a willingness to gain additional knowledge that might elicit further gender-equitable ideals, showing continued self-reflection outside the purview of the study and Promundo's influence.

Finally, the implications of the data are limited to the programme and the environment in which the men had remained. *Jovem Pra Jovem* was one of the first gender transformative interventions implemented and was conducted among a

small group of straight, Black, young men from two favelas of Rio. There was a recognised lack of diversity in their cohort and minimal discussion of discrimination, racism, and gender diversity. Almost all the participants had remained in the same social and cultural environments in which they were raised, and educational and professional opportunity had remained limited throughout their lives. We need to consider the uniqueness of the intervention, as with each individual gender transformative approach around the world. My understanding of the results, through my theoretical approach to analysis, has guided my recommendations that other interventional approaches may draw upon when developing and implementing future programming. A programme's ability to work within the institutional, economic, and political spheres will vary with contextual setting and organisational capacity, as recognised in the complications that Promundo faced during its implementation of JPJ, but lessons can be learned regarding impacts on programmatic effectiveness in future gender transformative work.

9.3   Recommendations for Future Research and Gender Transformative Work

Longitudinal evaluation of gender transformative intervention effectiveness is necessary and can play an important role in determining the best approaches (Ruane-McAteer et al., 2019; Dworkin et al., 2013; Barker et al., 2010; Carlson et al, 2015; Plourde et al., 2020). Methods to monitor and recognise short-term attitudinal change have been well developed and continue to be applied to existing interventions (Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020). However, my research has shown that the maintenance of attitudinal changes is influenced by existing gendered social structures and traditional masculine norms that impact lasting changes and the development of agency. I therefore encourage further longitudinal evaluation of past gender transformative interventions beyond the ten-, 15-, or even 20-year mark post-programmatic exposure to add to these findings and develop a deeper understanding of the potential factors which may inhibit or encourage the maintenance of changes observed by interventions during the initial years following a programme's end. Such knowledge can be used to inform the future development

and implementation of programmatic approaches and aid in the development of effective methods and tools to conduct longitudinal evaluations.

My evidence also suggests that gender transformative interventions should be longitudinal in their approach. Lasting attitudinal and behavioural change cannot be limited to a three- or six-month process of programmatic exposure, no matter how complex and multifaceted the intervention. Long-term work with participants and their environments can address deviations from gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours, focus efforts to combat structural impediments to the maintenance of changed attitudes and behaviours, and implement large-scale, community- and society-wide campaigns that address gender inequalities across all levels of the gender system. This approach would also allow for an intervention to gain, and maintain, a permanent presence in study participants' environments, increasing the exposure of all community members and giving credibility to their involvement in macro-level policy and development discussions. I recognise that this would require significant funding and institutional capabilities for an intervention to accomplish, but, if conducted properly, I propose that such an approach can have profound implications for the restructuring of gender on the individual, interactional, and macro levels across a community and society.

On the basis of my findings, I reinforce the recommendation of past researchers that interventions consider an ecological approach in their implementation strategies that incorporates work with individuals and peer groups as well as the wider community and the institutional, educational, and policy spheres (MacArthur et al., 2022; Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020). I also recommend a significant shift in which greater focus is placed on structural-based approaches. While an ecological approach would address both the conceptualisations of gender and associated roles and norms of study participants and work on societal and political levels to influence change in the social structures that perpetuate gender inequalities, I propose that the latter is of primary importance in order for the former to maintain longitudinal impact. This requires the development of relationships with stakeholders on all levels and considerable work to influence policy changes that create an environment

that supports gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours in individuals. I also recommend that future interventions consider the role of structure and agency by adopting it as an approach and developing agency in participants to instigate change beyond their personal lives into their peer groups, communities, and wider society. Considering the recognisable lack of agency in the JPJ men to work with their peers and fellow community members to modify traditional masculine norms or the existing gender structure, a focus on agency allows for programmatic influence beyond those directly exposed to programme materials or activities.

Based on my background research and conversations with Paulo and Ana on the effectiveness of Promundo's *Youth for Gender* Equality programme in comparison to *Jovem Pra Jovem,* I recommend the inclusion of boys, girls, men, and women of all gender identities to incorporate diversity within programme cohorts (Greene and Levack, 2010; Jewkes et al., 2015a; Ruane-McAteer et al., 2020) and encourage discussions on discrimination and racism that provide for individual recognition of community- and societal-level changes in which the participants may be able to participate. The recognition of continued structural violence, marginalisation, and the limited opportunities made available to the study participants throughout their lives, supported by Paulo's recognition of Promundo's struggle in remedially approaching early parenthood and its impacts on participant educational and professional opportunities, also supports a recommendation for gender transformative programming to be conducted with participants earlier in adolescence (Mmari et al., 2023; Levy et al., 2020).

Throughout the research process, the ever-changing conceptualisation of gender-equitable ideologies was a consideration, particularly when conducting a longitudinal analysis of a programme that had worked to encourage more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours. The definition of a 'gender-equitable man' continues to be advanced as societal conversations incorporate wider perspectives on gender identity, conceptualisations of gendered roles and norms, and advancements in gender equality. The characteristics that Promundo leadership and facilitators had determined to be necessary in the early 2000s to achieve their

programmatic objectives fit with their understanding at the time of how a 'gender-equitable man' could, and should, be defined. Considering the study participants' perspectives on abortion (*Chapter 8*), what I had assumed to be an important component of gender equitability today - a support for women's autonomy over their own bodies - had not been incorporated as a necessary component of programmatic content for the men, a finding also supported in Ruane-McAteer et al.'s systematic evaluation of gender transformative programmes (2020). Promundo had also encouraged the men's involvement in 'at least some' household responsibilities and childcare, which allowed for the maintenance of a gendered division of labour in their households. While these programmatic decisions represented an understanding of the structural beliefs and values of Brazilian culture (*Chapter 3*), I believe that a focus must be placed on the ever-changing global understanding of women's rights to ensure that participants in future interventions remain open to the potential for change in its conceptualisation.

The challenges I faced in making contact and scheduling interviews with the former JPJ participants represent a potential difficulty in conducting longitudinal evaluation if continued exposure or contact is not established and maintained after a programme ends. Therefore, future developers of gender transformative study designs should be encouraged to plan for the inclusion of methods that would allow for continued contact with participants for attitudinal and behavioural evaluation in the years following the end of a programme. Due to the complexity of maintaining contact with a large number of participants beyond study exposure, and potentially in movement outside of their communities or countries of origin, methods can be included in continuity of programmatic exposure and in regularly updated programme alumni databases that are securely stored by the organisation. This involves another significant recommendation that arises from my research: that a level of continuity in programmatic mentoring and support should be built into a programme's design. While continuation will vary based on available resources and the willingness of participants, programme staff, and community members to maintain and support mentoring services, it has the potential to provide guidance and support for past participants as they continue to experience new life events,

face opposition to their newly acquired ideals, or simply need peer support to maintain gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours throughout their lives. Any continuity of programmatic exposure should also allow for a level of reflection among past participants that provides for the continued acquisition of updated and relevant knowledge which can break a cycle of intergenerational knowledge transfer that may not include updated understandings of gender equitability.

On this topic of continuity, I have discussed how the feelings of abandonment expressed by many former participants impacted the study, primarily in convincing some to be willing to meet with me and in recognising how they might have affected their feelings about Promundo and their experience. Had the programme incorporated better communication on why and how the activities would end, this could have been avoided to an extent and agency potentially further developed to incorporate or encourage them in some way to do similar work in their own communities. I further recommend that, when developing future interventions, consideration should be placed on the potential attachments that can develop between study participants and the implementing organisation or associated facilitators and role models through which programmatic activities are conducted. These relationships remain important to the effective delivery of programme deliverables, but it should be recognised that feelings of loss or abandonment may occur when a programme ends should good communication not be provided or transitionary processes not be implemented. This should be accompanied by a solid understanding of how programme participants can maintain what they have learned as they continue through life and potentially follow educational or career paths to advance gender equality in their own ways.

Finally, as discussed with James in our conversations, there is a potential limiting component to the mindset that gender transformative interventions must be a 'vaccine' against gender-inequitable attitudes and behaviours. Behavioural change is a complex process that cannot be limited to a programme that has not accounted for, or completely modified, all external sociocultural, political, or institutional influences that do not reinforce acquired changes. I believe the intention behind

gender transformative interventions should be to end the use of violence and create lasting equitable gender relations in participants' relationships, households, and communities. However, deviations from expected programmatic outcomes should not be labelled as 'failures' considering the complexity of behavioural change and of community- and society-wide attitudinal changes. Rather, a continuous cycle of evaluation and exposure should be applied to determine where programmatic design could be modified and better implemented to encourage the continuous behavioural change process in individuals and, ideally, end all use of violence by those exposed to a programme's activities. Yes, the *Jovem Pra Jovem* programme can be seen to have 'failed' in preventing all future use of violence by its participants, but it encouraged recognition of personal failures when such situations occurred and personal reflection to prevent any future instances from occurring. These circumstances should not be seen as discrediting the impact of these types of interventions, but allow for further analysis of the methods and how they can be applied more directly or have a continued effect beyond programmatic exposure so that instances of violence can be avoided in the first place. Ultimately, the definition of 'success' in gender transformative programming needs to be clarified in the public health field to recognise areas in which progress has been made and areas that require further modification and change to see desired results.

9.4   Final Thoughts: The Potential of Gender Transformative Interventions

The future of gender transformative work lies within the ability of programmes to maintain a focus on the intent of their work to create positive gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours among their participants in efforts to advance sexual and reproductive health and rights, combat IPV and GBV, encourage equitable relationships and active parenting, and combat traditional, normative beliefs surrounding masculinity, femininity, and the expected roles and relations of men and women. As indicated throughout the thesis, attention must be placed on the political, institutional, and societal context in which a programme is to be implemented, on the marginalisation and discrimination faced by participants in their communities or wider society, and the traditional norms prevalent in

participants' surrounding environment. Interventions should place attention on structural-based approaches to change, take an ecological approach to foster environments in which newly acquired ideals and principles can be supported, and have greater impact beyond the individual level, and efforts should be made to implement longitudinal programmatic approaches and ensure continued access to guidance, support, knowledge, and resources that can aid former participants in maintaining gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours throughout their lives.

I understand that change may be slow, particularly on the structural level. While a programme may create positive, lasting change in one participant, another individual may go on to act in ways contrary to what they have learned. The important consideration is to always be reflective: what has worked and why? What has not worked and why? Gender transformative interventions should not be viewed as a single solution that will end all gender-inequitable attitudes and behaviours, but should rather be a vital component in the process by which they can accomplish such a goal. We live in a complex world of nine billion individuals each with their own unique understanding of their gendered role. The end goal should always remain gender equality across all levels of the personal, institutional, social, and political spheres and an end to all forms of violence, but the process must be consistently reassessed to determine methods that will work for every individual, group, community, or society. It can be easy to give up hope that lasting change is possible, but I believe that a true difference can be made through gender transformative interventions, and that, through their effective implementation, it can be possible to see major advancements in achieving gender equality around the world.

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Appendix 1 – Interview Guide (Past Participants)

Warm up – About the project, aims, value of the project. Reiteration of the sensitivity of some topics and the right to cease participation at any time.

Background Information and Family Structure

- What is your current age?
- In your early years, did you receive an education?
    o What level of education have you received?
- What is your current profession?
    o What is your past work history since participating in the Jovem Pra Jovem programme?
- What is your marital status?
    o How long have you been married to your current partner and how long have you known them?
    o Do you have any prior marriages?
    o (If yes) How many past marriages have you had?
- Do you have any children?
    o (If yes) How many and what are their ages and sex?
    o Are all of your children from your current marriage?
- Do your children currently receive an education? Or if they are not old enough yet, do you intend for them to receive an education?
- In what area of Rio do you currently live?
- How long have you remained in the same general area?
- Since participating in Jovem Pra Jovem, have you remained in the same general area?
- If you've moved out of the Favelas, at what age did this occur and what prompted the move?
- Do you and your partner live together with all your children in the same household?

Division of Responsibilities in the Household and Child Rearing

- In your marriage, do you discuss how you will divide up household chores and duties?
    o How are household duties divided up?
- In raising your child(ren), what household roles and chores do you and your partner typically assign to them?
    o How do the roles differ between your boy(s) and your girl(s) (if applicable)?
- Who primarily takes care of the child(ren) in your household?
    o Was this arrangement discussed between you and your partner?
- What do you feel is your role as a parent to your child(ren)?

Gender Equitable Attitudes and Behaviours

- Do you believe that women and men should have equal rights?
- In your opinion, do you believe that women and men are equal in relationships?
    o What roles should men and women hold in relationships that may differ from one another?
- How do the roles and/or status of men and women differ in your community?
    o How do you see the roles differing on a larger scale in Rio or Brazil overall?
- What is your opinion about women having access to contraceptive methods?
- What is your opinion about women having the decision to choose what contraceptive method they would like to use during sex?
- Does your community support and/or provide for women's sexual and reproductive health?
    o (If yes or no) In what ways?

Promundo Experience and Interpersonal Relationships

- From your best recollection, at what age did you participate in Jovem Pra Jovem?
- From your best recollection, what do you remember about the structure of the Jovem Pra Jovem courses that you participated in?
- Do you remember finding the information covered in the education courses helpful?
- What did you find interesting or compelling about the information covered?
- What is your overall impression of Promundo and/or Jovem Pra Jovem?
- Do you remember feeling support from the peer group atmosphere created in the sessions?
- Were you ever involved with gang-related activities before or after your participation in Jovem Pra Jovem?
    o (If yes) In what ways?
- Do you have close friends who are men?
- Do you have close friends who are women?
- Do you speak with your male friends about your marriage, children, or life issues that might come up?
- How would you describe your relationship with your wife?
- How would you describe your relationship with your kids (if applicable)?

This next set of questions will be discussing sensitive topics including your sex life and use of violence. Therefore, I would like to reiterate that any information you provide will be kept completely confidential and that you do not need to provide any information that you do not feel comfortable sharing.

Sex (safety, contraceptive discussions, abortions, size of family, happiness)

- Do you and your partner use any form of contraceptives?
    o What methods do you use?
- Have you and your partner had discussions regarding contraception?
    o (If yes) What did you decide as a couple?
- Have you and your wife ever had discussions about how many kids you intend to have and/or the spacing out of children?
    o (If yes) What did you decide as a couple?
- Have you ever been involved in the discussion as to whether your current or past partner should or should not have an abortion?
    o What has been the outcome of these discussions?
- Are you content and comfortable in your current sex life with your partner?
    o (If not) In what ways would you prefer things to be different?
- Do you have any other sexual partners besides your current partner?
    o (If yes) Does your current partner know about your other partners and have you had any discussions regarding the situation?

Violence (interpersonal, gang-related, domestic, violence against women)

- Do you believe violence against another man is ever justified?
    o (If yes) In what situations?
- Have you ever participated in gang-related violence?
    o (If yes) What did this entail?
- Have you ever initiated or been involved in violent actions with others (fist fights, gun violence, etc.)?
    o (If yes) What were the reasons for or causes of this violence?
- Do you believe violence against a partner is ever justified?
    o (If yes) In what situations?
- Have you ever used violence against a past partner or your current partner?
    o (If yes) In what situations?

Appendix 2 – Interview Guide (Partners of Past Participants)

Warm up – About the project, aims, value of the project. Reiteration of the sensitivity of some topics and the right to cease participation at any time.

Background Information and Family Structure

- What is your current age?
- In your early years, did you receive an education?
    - What level of education have you received?
- Do you currently work in a profession outside of the home?
    - (If yes) What is your current profession?
    - What is your past work history?
- From your best recollection, at what age did you start a relationship with your current partner?
- How long have you been married to your current partner and at what age did you get married to them?
    - Do you have any prior marriages?
    - (If yes) How mane past marriages have you had?
- Do you have any children?
    - (If yes) How many and what are their ages and sex?
    - Are all of your children from your current marriage?
- Do your children currently receive an education? Or if they are not old enough yet, do you intend for them to receive an education?
- In what area of Rio do you currently live?
- How long have you remained in the same general area?
- If you've moved out of the Favelas, at what age did this occur and what prompted the move?
- Do you and your partner live together with all your children in the same household?

Division of Responsibilities in the Household and Child Rearing

- In your marriage, do you discuss how you will divide up household chores and duties?
    - How are household duties divided up?
- In raising your child(ren), what household roles and chores do you and your partner typically assign to them?
    - How do the roles differ between your boy(s) and your girl(s) (if applicable)?
- Do you feel supported by your partner in your role as a mother and in raising your child(ren)?
    - (If yes) In what ways?
    - (If not) What does your partner do that doesn't support you in this way and what would you like for them to do differently?
- Do you view your partner as a good role model for your child(ren)?
    - Why or why not?

Gender-Equitable Attitudes and Behaviours of Self and Community

- Do you believe that women and men should have equal rights?
- In your opinion, do you believe that women and men are equal in relationships?
    o What roles should men and women hold in relationships that may differ from one another?
- How do the roles and/or status of men and women differ in your community?
    o How do you see the roles differing on a larger scale in Rio or Brazil overall?
- What is your opinion about women having access to contraceptive methods?
- What is your opinion about women having the decision to choose what contraceptive method they would like to use during sex?
- As a woman in Rio de Janeiro, do you feel that you have sufficient support with regards to your sexual and reproductive health and access to related health services?
    o (If yes or no) In what ways?

Gender-Equitable Attitudes and Behaviours of Partner

- At any point in time, has your partner ever shared with you the fact that they participated in Jovem Pra Jovem through Instituto Promundo in their youth?
    o (If yes) What impression did they give you with regards to the programme and/or Promundo?
- Do you get the impression that your partner supports equal rights for men and women?
    o Why or why not?
- Do you know what your partner's opinion is regarding women having access to contraceptive methods and their decision to choose what contraceptive method they would like to use during sex?
    o What gives you this impression?
- Does your partner support your overall sexual and reproductive health?
    o (If yes) In what ways?
    o (If no) In what ways do you feel a lack of support?
- Does your partner have close friends who are men?
- Does your partner have close friends who are women?
- Do you know if your partner speaks with their male friends about your marriage, children, or life issues that might come up?
- How would you describe your relationship with your partner?
- How would you describe your relationship with your kids (if applicable)?

This next set of questions will be discussing sensitive topics including your sex life and experience with violence. Therefore, I would like to reiterate that any information you provide will be kept completely confidential and that you do not need to provide any information that you do not feel comfortable sharing.

Sex (safety, contraceptive discussions, abortions, size of family, happiness)

- Do you and your partner use any form of contraceptives?
    o What methods do you use?
- Are you happy with the contraceptive methods available to you?
    o (If not) What would you like to be different in your availability or in your choice of methods?
- Have you and your partner had discussions regarding contraception?
    o (If yes) What did you decide as a couple?
- Have you and your partner ever had discussions about how many kids you intend to have and/or the spacing out of children?
    o (If yes) What did you decide as a couple?
- Have you ever had an abortion?
    o Have you ever been pressured by your past or current partner to either have or not have an abortion?
    o (If yes) If you feel comfortable doing so, could you please explain the(se) situation(s) further?
- Do you feel safe and comfortable in your current sex life with your partner?
    o Why or why not?

Violence (of Partner: interpersonal, gang-related, domestic, violence against women)

- From your knowledge, has your partner ever participated in gang-related activity?
    o (If yes) Do you know what it entailed?
- From your knowledge, has your partner ever initiated or been involved in violent actions (fist fights, gun violence, etc.)?
    o (If yes) What were the situations you know of?
- Do you believe a man's violence against a partner is ever justified?
    o (If yes) In what situations?
- Has your partner ever used violence against you?
    o (If yes) In what situations?
- Have you ever experienced violence from a past partner?
    o (If yes) In what situations?

Appendix 3 – Research Survey

Research Survey for Past Participants of *Jovem Pra Jovem* in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Study Participant #: _____

Please fill out the following survey by circling the response that best fits your personal thoughts on each topic item. For the additional questions at the end, please circle "Yes" or "No" to answer each question. Should you not want to provide a response to a particular topic item or question, please leave the answer blank.

Section One

1. It is the man who decides what type of sex to have.

   Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

2. A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.

   Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

3. Men need sex more than women do.

   Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

4. You don't talk about sex, you just "do" it.

   Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

5. Women who carry condoms on them are "easy".

   Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

6. A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.

   Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

7. There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.

   Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

8. Changing diapers, giving the kids a bath, and feeding the kids are the mother's responsibility.

   Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

9. It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

10. A man should have the final word about decisions in the home.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

11. Men are always ready to have sex.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

12. A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

13. If a woman cheats on a man, it is okay for him to hit her.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

14. If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

15. I would be outraged if my wife asked me to use a condom.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

16. It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she won't have sex with him.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

17. I would never have a gay friend.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

18. In raising children, it is more important for a boy to receive an education than a girl.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

Section Two

19. A couple should decide together if they want to have children.

> Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

20. In my opinion, a woman can suggest using condoms just like a man can.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

21. If a guy gets a woman pregnant, the child is the responsibility of both.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

22. A man should know what his partner likes during sex.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

23. It is important that a father is present in the lives of his children, even if he is no longer with the mother.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

24. A man and a woman should decide together what type of contraceptive to use.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

25. It is important to have a male friend that you can talk about your problems with.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

26. Men can take of children just as well as women can.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

27. If a man sees another man beating a woman, he should stop it.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

28. Women have the same right as men to study and to work outside of the house.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

29. Boys and girls should have equal chore responsibilities in the household.

        Agree   Partially Agree   Do Not Agree

30. Have you ever done the following to your current partner:

    a. Punched your partner?   Yes   No

    b. Slapped your partner?   Yes   No

    c. Kicked your partner?   Yes   No

    d. Pushed your partner?   Yes   No

    e. Pulled your partner's hair?   Yes   No

31. Have you ever done the following to any past partners:

    a. Punched a past partner?   Yes   No

    b. Slapped a past partner?   Yes   No

    c. Kicked a past partner?   Yes   No

    d. Pushed a past partner?   Yes   No

    e. Pulled a past partner's hair?   Yes   No

32. Have you ever been involved in the following activities:

    a. Gang violence?   Yes   No

    b. Violence against police?   Yes   No

    c. Violence against one of your children?   Yes   No
       (Punched, Slapped, Kicked, Pushed, Pulled hair)

    d. Violence against another man (started by you)?   Yes   No

    e. Violence against another man (started by them)?   Yes   No

Appendix 4 – Reflective Journaling Prompts

<u>**Instructions:**</u> In this journal, you will find 5 topics for you to reflect upon and write about. Each section has questions to help you think about the topic. You do not have to answer every question. You are free to write as much or as little as you want on each topic. Your responses will remain anonymous to everyone but the researcher.

Being a man – What does "being a man" mean to you? How would you describe this in your daily life? Think about how you relate to others as a man in your workplace, in your home, and with your friends. What do you see as the typical role of a man in your community or larger society? In what ways are you similar to or different from this typical man?

Fatherhood and household roles – How do you view your role as a father? What responsibilities do you feel you have towards your children? What responsibilities do you have towards your household? And how do you view household and parental responsibilities to be split up with your partner?

Relationships – Think about your current and past relationships. How do you relate with your partners? What do you consider good and bad about your current/past relationship(s)? What makes you happy or upset in your relationships? Do you think you have changed the way you approach your relationships over time? In what ways?

Sex – Think and write about your ideas about sex and your own sex life. Are you happy or not with your sex life? In what ways? Do you and your partner discuss your sex life? How do you feel about contraception and choosing with your partner when to have children? Also, have your ideas about sex changed over time? In what ways?

Violence – What is your understanding of violence? When is it okay to use violence and in what situations? Think about when you may have used violence in the past or present. What were your reasons behind using violence and what was the outcome? Additionally, have your feelings about violence changed over time? In what ways?

Appendix 5 – Thematic Network Diagram