INVOLVING YOUNG MEN IN PREVENTING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN:

A CASE STUDY OF INSTITUTO PROMUNDO'S PROGRAM H

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ABSTRACT

Intimate partner violence among youth is recognised as a public health concern, an obstacle to economic development, and a gross violation of human rights. This research found that intimate partner violence against women is closely linked to inequitable gender attitudes. In order to combat violence related to these gender attitudes, prevention interventions have particularly targeted young men in recent years. However, in aiming to solve this issue, violence prevention has often heavily focused on reducing the risk of negative behaviour, rather than positively empowering youth participation and growth. Approaches that instead view youth as resources to be developed, rather than simply as risks to society, are recommended. This research is focusing specifically on Instituto Promundo as an example of an organisation that seeks to fulfil youth rights in practice and improve youth behaviour and attitudes relating to gender within the Brazilian context. Promundo's 'Program H' works to empower young men to rewrite harmful traditional masculinities and ultimately prevent violence through engagement in both individual and community activities. This report utilised a Positive Youth Development framework to investigate Program H, and found that the initiative has the potential to simultaneously prevent the risk of violence while also promoting positive youth behaviour. Program H significantly contributes to changing inequitable gender norms amongst young men, with potential positive and empowering flow-on effects to the young people of Brazil and the wider Latin American region.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextual Background

"We are not the sources of problems; we are the resources that are needed to solve
them. We are not expenses; we are investments. We are not just young people;
we are people and citizens of this world"

(UNICEF, 2002, p.3)

The motivation for this research topic comes from personal experience of living and
working in Latin America, and involvement with organisations, both in Latin America
and in New Zealand, that seek to prevent violent behaviour among youth. Youth is a
diverse transitional period (Edberg, 2009). Most commentators agree that the period of
youth applies between the ages of 15 and 24 (ILO, 2006; UNDESA, 2009; UNICEF,
2005), however there is variation in the definition of youth, discussed further in section
2.1.1 of this report. In agreement with the UNICEF quote above, I am of the belief that
youth are an untapped resource, and require more care and investment to ensure they are
supported in their growth towards becoming positive and valuable contributors to
society. The world's youth should be seen as a substantial asset for driving innovation
and creativity in economies and societies (Cunha & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2013, p. 236).
Development perspectives have viewed the developmental period of youth, however, as
a precarious and dangerous time, and formed a deficit view of youth that focused on
risk and problem behaviours (Crocetti, Erentaité & Žukauskienė, 2014; Edberg, 2009;
Erentaité & Raižienė, 2015). In order for organisations to understand youth perceptions,

and for society to see the true benefits young people can bring, youth must be positively engaged with to ensure constructive behaviour is encouraged at this critical age.

Programs and organisations looking to fulfil youth rights in practice and improve youth behaviour are aiding youth participation. Grounded in humble beginnings in Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian organisation Instituto Promundo's[1] 'Program H' has evolved into a world-leading program that primarily encourages young men to question the costs of traditional and inequitable gender norms. Research and evaluations increasingly affirm links between inequitable gender attitudes on the one hand, and the use of intimate partner violence against women[2] on the other (Barker, 2005; Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2015; Promundo, Instituto PAPAI, Salud y Género & ECOS, 2013, p. 2; Pulerwitz et al., 2006). In order to offset these gender attitudes, a shift to include youth, particularly young men, in interventions against intimate partner violence has proven successful (Flood, 2011; Jewkes et al., 2015; Peacock & Butler, 2014; Storer et al., 2016). Involving young men is particularly useful as youth is often when violence first manifests itself (Ricardo, Eads & Barker, 2011). Through transforming harmful gender norms and unequal power dynamics, Program H seeks to minimise the potential for men's intimate partner violence against women, and recognise that "young men should be seen as allies… and not as obstacles" in finding affirmative action strategies (Promundo, Instituto PAPAI, Salud y Género & ECOS, 2002, p. 13).

The scale of men's violence against women is enormous and has a devastating impact worldwide. Intimate partner violence against women is widespread throughout Latin American, although its multi-layered causes and the consequences of its violence vary between countries (Bott, Guedes, Goodwin & Mendoza, 2013; Imbusch, Misse & Carrion, 2011). Latin America has gained international recognition for the legal progress it has made in addressing intimate partner violence; for example, all nations have ratified the Convention Eliminating Violence Against Women (CEDAW) (Contreras, Bott, Guedes, & Dartnall, 2010). These efforts have been augmented by the additional focus on engaging men and boys as proponents for gender transformation (Peacock & Barker, 2014). While recognising that not all men are violent, and many

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[1] Throughout this report, the organisation will generally be referred to as Promundo.

[2] Although intimate partner violence occurs within and between various sexualities, in this report the term refers to violence perpetrated by men against women within intimate partner relationships.

even actively oppose violence, the use of violence against women is seen as a source of power in many cultural settings within Latin America. Irrespective of their role in the problem, all men and boys can be involved in the solution (Jewkes et al., 2015).

In addressing violence against women, several organisations and researchers have questioned the convergence between preventing risky behaviour and promoting positive and healthy youth development (Catalano et al., 2002; Lerner, 2005; Olson & Goddard, 2015). Promundo's Program H was chosen as a focus for this research as it demonstrates a programmatic shift - the initiative aims to prevent youth violence while also being a respectful and empowering service for Brazilian youth, with an end aim of achieving improved levels of well-being and resilience. Several authors have evaluated the success of Program H in changing inequitable, and ultimately harmful, gender attitudes and behaviours, leading to violence reduction (Barker, 2005; Ricardo, Nascimento, Fonseca & Segundo, 2010; Pulerwitz, Barker, Segundo & Nascimento, 2006). However, there does not seem to be any research so far that examines the positive involvement of youth in Program H's prevention of violence.

1.2 Research Aim, Questions, and Objectives

The table details questions and objectives used to answer the research aim.

RESEARCH AIM	
To explore how violence prevention intersects with empowering Positive Youth Development within a Brazilian context	
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	
RQ1: How is gendered intimate partner violence among youth addressed in Brazil?	RQ2: How are empowering Positive Youth Development characteristics included within youth violence prevention in Brazil?
OBJECTIVES	
O1.1: To investigate the causes of gendered youth intimate partner violence within a Brazilian context	O2.1: To examine how Program H addresses gendered youth intimate partner violence prevention
O1.2: To explore prevention as a method of reducing gender youth intimate partner violence	O2.2: To investigate how Program H aligns with empowering Positive Youth Development characteristics

1.3 Research Framework: Empowering Positive Youth Development

This research project was informed by the Positive Youth Development (PYD) approach. PYD is predicated on the idea that every young person has the potential for successful and healthy development, and all youth have the capacity to generate positive outcomes (Lerner et al., 2005, p. 20; Phelps et al., 2009). Emerging from resistance to the deficit approach, several authors were fundamental in creating a theoretical perspective of PYD, including Lerner (2005), Benson et al. (2006), and Roth, Brooks-Gunn, Murray & Foster (1998). PYD is an umbrella term for a perspective that views youth as resources to be developed (Lerner et al., 2005) and "emphasises the potential of youth to follow a positive developmental path based on strengths, positive qualities, and favourable environments" (Erentaitė & Raižienė, 2015, p. 701).

The conceptual framework shift away from a deficit approach has inspired several theoretical representations of PYD and associated development interventions that emphasise the assets and strengths of the youth population (Travis & Leech, 2013). Travis & Leech (2013), Cargo et al. (2003), and Christens and Peterson (2012) note PYD incorporates notions of empowerment. Akin to PYD, empowerment challenges the deficit approach and instead focuses on contexts and processes that lead a flourishing and thriving youth population (Christens & Peterson, 2012; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; To, 2007). Christens & Peterson (2012, p. 623) define empowerment as the "mechanism by which people, groups, and communities gain control over their affairs". They explain that empowerment has been shown to prevent alienation, which is particularly useful in a youth context given positive self-esteem regarding a person's skills and societal importance decreases anti-social behaviour, including violence. Youth can be empowered to drive both their own developmental change and create positive societal impact.

Policies and programs that effectively target youth empowerment and PYD seek to influence a young person's surrounding social environment, and understand the sphere of social norms and practices that are accepted without question (Pick & Sirkin, 2010). Focusing on positive development and empowerment potential can facilitate inclusive and active community participation and appropriate institutional structures (Cargo et al.,

2003; McBride, Johnson, Olate, & O'Hara, 2011). Alsop and Heinsohn (2005, p. 6) put it another way; "if a person is empowered, they process the capacity to make effective choices". This is particularly relevant for a youth population, whose developmental stage is such that their choices have the potential to strongly influence their later life stages.

Within Brazil, and the Latin American region, there is pressure for national policy makers to educate and mould youth into responsible citizens that are capable of overcoming harsh systemic plights such as poverty and violence, and change their futures for the better (Perold & Tapia, 2008, p. 69). Youth within this context would benefit from a development of collective values in which young people can embrace their role as agents of change, beyond experiencing change themselves (McBride et al., 2011, p. 39). Youth require a transition from social exclusion to inclusion; ensuring youth become actors rather than simply recipients. When young people become confident of their influence over their own socio-political sphere, and developmental future, their patterns of behaviour can change for the better (Christens & Peterson, 2011). Hence, targeting and empowering youth in a positive manner capitalises on the development potential of youth. This research report examines to what extent Instituto Promundo's Program H positively empowers youth through methods of violence prevention within a Brazilian context.

1.4 Limitations

While the causes of violence have some worldwide overlap, particular cultural settings and norms are important in determining and preventing the potential for violence. This study focuses on the particular social issue of intimate partner violence within the specific Latin American context of Brazil. More specifically, it is focused on Instituto Promundo's Program H, and especially those aspects of the program that address intimate partner violence among youth.

Limiting the focus of research allows for deeper analysis and understanding of the issue. However, it is not possible to generalise all findings to either the whole program or a larger youth population. Nevertheless, this research's narrow focus provides insights

that are useful for future implementation of programs targeting intimate partner violence within the region, and also seeking to empower youth in a positive fashion.

1.5 Methodology

This enquiry is framed as a qualitative case study in order to provide a detailed description of Program H, and generate rich data (Bloor & Wood, 2006; Stake, 1995). Gerring (2004, p. 342) defines a case study as the "intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of units". Thus, studying Program H's methods of violence prevention among youth enables a wider understanding of prevention methods within the Latin American region, and specifically Brazil. The particular use of Program H was also for pragmatic reasons (O'Leary, 2014) as the program has suitable and sufficient descriptive and evaluative information available.

This qualitative case study of Program H analyses both primary and secondary source material in order to best answer my research questions (Bloor & Wood, 2006; O'Leary, 2014). The rationale for multiple sources of information addresses the need for triangulation, as written documents may not fully capture the approach of Program H (Bowen, 2009; O'Leary, 2014; Scheyvens, 2014; Ward & Wach, 2015). Thus, this research uses the research methods of specific literature review, qualitative document analysis, and semi-structured interview to seek convergence and corroboration, and to reduce the impact of potential biases (Bowen, 2009; O'Leary, 2014).

A qualitative document analysis examines three policy and evaluation documents pertaining to the Program H initiative to see whether they mention or refer to features of PYD. The criteria for analysis are the five characteristics (Five Cs) of PYD identified and explained by Bowers et al (2010) and Travis & Leech (2013) – a set of factors indicative of a shift to seeing youth as positive contributors to development. Each document is analysed against the Five Cs using keywords and phrases, assessing how these align with the Program's aim and objectives.

A semi-structured interview with a Senior Programme Officer of Instituto Promundo is also part of this case study and allows for collection of primary data. The unanticipated information revealed from this interview provides further insights into the present and

future work of Program H. Thus, the literature review develops a general descriptive background of Program H, complemented by specific insights into the initiative provided by the interview.

1.6 Ethics

The Massey University Human Ethics Committee has assessed this research project as low-risk. Nevertheless, there must be sensitivity to not over-simplify the complex and dynamic cultural setting explored within this research report, as often "our own worldview makes us value bound" (O'Leary, 2014, p. 51). Thus, I have taken care to situate the region and organisation within a worldwide context, and ensure I portray the culture and histories objectively. The case study in this research project aims to present a balanced account between international and regional research into intimate partner violence and Instituto Promundo's beliefs and actions.

1.7 Research Project Outline

This research project begins with an outline of youth development within the Latin American region in Chapter 2. The main development concerns of the youth population are explored, introducing the concept of PYD as a way to mitigate these concerns. Chapter 3 investigates the issue of intimate partner violence, and establishes a multi-layered approach to explain both the causes of violence and methods of violence prevention. The Brazilian context is described in detail in Chapter 4, as the first implementation site of Program H. Chapter 5 explores Instituto Promundo's Program H as a qualitative case study, through both primary and secondary source material. A review of the literature is supplemented with an interview with a Senior Promundo staff member to ensure a well-rounded view of the organisation and program. Chapter 6 analyses three primary documents pertaining to Program H against a measurement approach of PYD known as the Five Characteristics – a core set of intersecting characteristics that denote positive change. The final Chapter 7 is a discussion reflecting on the research aim and questions, and explores to what degree the violence prevention methods employed by Program H also allow for positive development of Brazilian youth.

2 YOUTH DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

2.1 Introduction

The future of the world lies in its youth. This is a commonly coined phrase, but one that is being increasingly questioned and challenged. Most regions around the world are currently experiencing a 'youth bulge'[3]; within Latin America the proportion of the population termed 'youth' will remain high over the coming years – between 30 and 40 per cent (Imbusch et al., 2011; United Nations, 2007; Vivo & Saric, 2013). As these youth grow into adults, they will be affected by a fast pace of economic, social, political, and technological change (Vivo & Saric, 2013). With society often viewing young people as simply a risk to society, the expectation that they will also generate a positive contribution to the world's future is potentially misguided.

This chapter defines and outlines the reasons for investing in youth development, and explores what the Latin American region[4] is achieving in this area. While the literature captures a myriad of challenges for the region's youth, this chapter focuses on three

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[3] The term 'youth bulge' refers to the demographic phenomenon when the proportion of the population termed as youth is larger than those age groups both older and younger (SPC, 2011).

[4] For the purposes of this report, the Latin American region includes those countries south of the United States where Spanish or Portuguese languages prevail: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Venezuela.

main issues: educational challenges creating low levels of skills and subsequent difficulty in entering the labour market; frustration with the resulting social exclusion causing high rates of risky behaviour and violence; and a lack of governance opportunities for youth to participate in their own development. Each of these issues includes specific examples from Brazil, as the focus country for this research. The chapter also provides an introduction on how to tackle the youth development issues, exploring the strategy of empowering PYD, which is further analysed later in the report.

2.1.1 Youth Defined: A Social Construct

The period of youth is a relatively recent concept. Previously, there was simply childhood and adulthood, with adulthood often determined as the age in which a child finds a reliable source of livelihood and starts a family (Galambos & Martinez, 2007). However, the past few decades have seen generational changes in values and priorities; protracted years in schooling; and an increase in intensive specialisation of labour; leading to an extended period to acquire the appropriate skills to generate to adulthood (ECLAC, 2008, p. 9; Galambos & Martinez, 2007). The unprecedented delay into traditional adulthood has created a new life stage termed 'youth', in which young people are taking increased time to leave the safe institutions of school and home; are managing new health risks including alcohol, drug abuse, and violence; and are feeling increasingly disconnected from the political system, amongst other concerns.

The term 'youth' is defined in several ways, including cultural and functional definitions. Imbusch et al. (2011) explain that *cultural* definitions of youth focus on the different social contexts and particular roles we may ascribe to youth. They compare this to *functional* definitions that refer to the physiological changes and certain rituals that occur between childhood and adulthood. The World Youth Report 2005 provides an explanation for youth that encompasses both cultural and functional definitions, stating that:

> "[Youth] is an important period of physical, mental and social maturation, during which young people are actively forming their identities and determining

acceptable roles for themselves within their communities and societies" (p. 150).

Both definitions are important to note in the creation of improved public policy within the Latin American region. The lack of rigid definition or age range for youth is because of the disparities of characterisations of the term within the literature. As illustrated in Figure 1 below, different international organisations adopt various statistical definitions.

Entity/Instrument/Organisation	Age	Source
UNICEF/WHO	Adolescent: 10-19, Young People: 10-24, Youth: 15-24	(UNDESA, 2009, p. 2)
UNICEF	Child until 18	(UNDESA, 2009, p. 2)
The African Youth Charter	Youth: 15-35	(UNDESA, 2009, p. 2)
International Labour Organisation	Youth: 15-24	(ILO, 2006, p. 2)
Ibero-American Convention on the Rights of Youth	Youth: 15-24	(UNICEF, 2005, p. 3)
Population Reference Bureau	Youth: 15-24	(PRB, 2013, p. 6)
ECLAC	Youth: 15-24	(ECLAC, 2014a, p. 1)

Figure 1 Statistical definitions of youth within the international sphere

As noted in Figure 1 above, most commentators agree that the period of youth applies between the ages of 15 and 24. However, wherever possible, instead of seeing youth issues as isolated events, or giving youth a definitive age range, I view the idea of youth as a social construct; a series of changes generating from the transition from one important life stage (childhood) to another (adulthood).

2.1.2 Why the Focus on Youth in Development?

Authors worldwide argue that young people should be a focus of public policy (Catalano et al., 2002; ECLAC, 2014; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; To, 2007). However, a lack of resources devoted to young people after early childhood to assist in the transition to adulthood could hamper these efforts. Within a Pacific context, a cultural view of youth believes that if young people were provided with the means to become better educated, find useful employment, and express their voice, they could make their communities more economically productive and socially resilient (SPC,

2011, p. 7). Cunningham et al. (2008) echo this statement from a Latin American perspective, noting that investing in youth could have a positive impact on both social and economic development in the region, increasing growth and productive capacity. Failing to capitalise on earlier investments in childhood may entrench youth in poverty and a lack of opportunity for subsequent generations. Additionally, policies and programs should view youth as a crucial stage of cognitive development, with significant behavioural changes (IDB, 2011; Vivo, López-Peña & Saric, 2012). Interventions and strategies for development must reflect young people's rapid changes in culture and preferences and target the specific social context.

Youth are primarily socialised through major institutions in society, namely family, school, government, and church (McBride et al., 2011). However, youth can become outsiders in these institutions if they lack opportunities and support - including a lack of income, education outcomes, and political systems unresponsive to the voices of young people (Galambos & Martinez, 2007; SPC, 2011). These feelings of exclusion can create increasingly risky behavioural outcomes, including violent reactions. Thus, as Vivo and Saric (2013) explain, these reactions can create a relatively negative perception of youth within society.

There are several key issues facing youth within Latin America that can lead to an increase in risky behaviour, including violence. While youth are privy to increased educational access, employment opportunities remain low, which decreases the chances of youth establishing themselves as adults in an ever-increasingly competitive world. As institutions exclude youth from decision-making processes, mainstream political issues are irrelevant to their interests. The following section addresses three issues pertaining to youth in Latin America, with a particular focus on the Brazilian context.

2.2 The Bridge between Education and Employment

Education and work are "essential pillars of inclusion and equality" (ECLAC, 2014b, p. 123). The link between the two is not only as the bridge between a dependent life and an independent one, but is also a key area for youth participation and personal development (ECLAC, 2014b). However, access to quality education in Latin America, including Brazil, has become a privileged commodity, and completion rates and the

quality of schooling are not sufficient to ensure a skilled labour force specific to the competitive markets (Imbusch et al., 2011). The contradiction of an increased yet unimproved education system leads to an unskilled young labour force unable to find work, and a large population within the region that finds both the systems of education and work too difficult to face.

2.2.1 Increased versus Improved Education

The past two decades have seen the region make some progress in the educational sphere, reflecting a substantial increase in education investments. The proportion of young people within Latin America who have completed primary education rose from 60 per cent in 1990 to 94 per cent in 2012 (ECLAC, 2014b, p. 124). The corresponding share for secondary school completion was 73 per cent in 2012, which is a marked improvement from 65 per cent in the 1990s (Funaro, 2012, p. 1). Figure 2 below shows the school attendance rate for the Brazilian population aged 15-17 from 2001 to 2012.
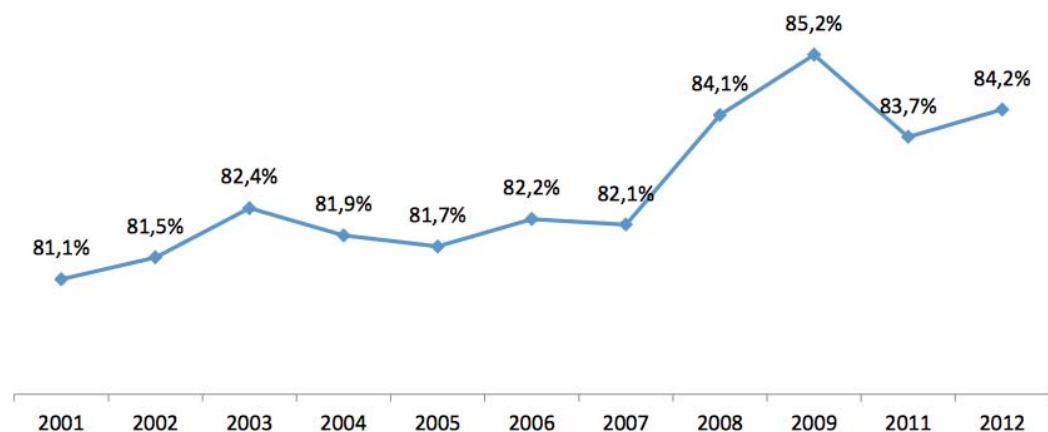
Figure 2 School Attendance Rate: Brazilian Youth Aged 15-17 from 2001 to 2012 (UNESCO, 2015, p. 32)

Figure 2 shows an overall upward trajectory in school attendance by Brazil's youth, increasing from 81.1 per cent in 2001 to 84.2 per cent in 2012 (UNESCO, 2015, p.32). Yet, as Funaro (2012) notes, ambitious investments in education are not having the expected payoffs. Despite major attainments in education coverage, there are still large rifts in educational capacity between the country's, and the region's, young people.

Access to education varies dramatically between, but also within, most countries in the region, leading to what can be termed as "socio-educational segmentation" (de Barros,

Ferreira, Vega & Chanduvi, 2009; ECLAC, 2014b, p. 127). The term refers to persistent inequalities of access to quality education, often directly affecting those in poverty (Salazar-Xirinachs, 2012). For example, in Brazil in 2008, only 78.5 per cent of rural youth aged 15-17 attended secondary school compared to 85.4 per cent of urban youth (UNESCO, 2015, p. 2). Imbusch et al. (2011) noted that poor educational attainment most often translates into a higher probability of marginalisation. Thus, if a young person is experiencing inequality of educational opportunity, inequality of economic opportunity often soon follows (Duryea, Edwards & Ureta, 2003).

An unsettling possibility behind the unexpected lack of educational investment payoff is that the *quantity* of educational output does not equate with increased *quality,* measured by international test results and the command of basic knowledge (Bassi, Busso, Urzúa & Vargas, 2012; Funaro, 2012). Therefore, students in Latin America may be spending more years in the education system, but not gaining the required or appropriate skills to enter the labour market. Government youth policies also often stress the need for acquiring higher education, without actually providing the means for doing so (Wolseth & Babb, 2008).

2.2.2 A Seemingly Impenetrable Labour Market

The Latin American labour market unfortunately does not reflect any educational advances in the region. There is a distinct lack of employment opportunities for youth, despite young people making up 40 per cent of the working age population (González-Velosa, Ripani & Rosas, 2012, p. 4). Youth unemployment in the region has risen to unprecedented levels (Imbusch et al., 2011; González-Velosa et al., 2012). This societal issue highlights the variances between nations in Latin America; ECLAC (2014b, p. 128) found between 5.4 per cent (Guatemala) and 22.8 per cent (Colombia) of youth aged 15 to 24 were unemployed in 2012. Taking account of variance, the ILO (2015b, para. 8) stated that on average 13 per cent of the youth population in Latin America aged 15 to 24 were unemployed in 2015 - three times the rate of adults.

A variety of factors exacerbate the vulnerability of youth in labour markets (Salazar-Xirinachs, 2012). Many authors have explained that the barriers specific to youth include issues of supply and demand; a high supply of increasingly-educated workers

into the labour market creates a clash between a lack of job prospects and rising expectations; and young people who do not have the skills demanded to enter the productive sector (Bassi et al., 2012; Duryea et al., 2003, p. 178; González-Velosa et al., 2012; IDB, 2011; Manacorda, Sanchez-Parado & Schady, 2010). Thus, a limited market in Latin America strongly reduces the opportunities for many young people to access employment (González-Velosa et al., 2012).

The "pernicious joblessness" of Latin America's youth has direct costs on the region's economic and social development (Feierstein, 2011, p. 38). An increasingly educated and informed, yet unemployed, population in an increasingly globalised society may result in frustration for those not included in the region's progress, and may contribute to growing social tensions (Duryea et al., 2003). Young people without decent work become disempowered, disheartened, and disengaged from political and economic development (Salazar-Xirinachs, 2012). Committing to decent work for youth is necessary to promote sustained growth and development; the high youth population could have incredibly positive impacts on the regions' economies if a greater percentage were engaged in formal work. Additionally, if the region's governments invest in the potential of youth, this could have a multiplier effect on the way youth feel about their own futures, reducing social exclusion.

Therefore, tackling this problem involves stimulating the creation of formal employment, and ensuring that the education system provides youth with the skills that the market demands (González-Velosa et al., 2012, p. 3). Moreover, if the growing youth population is divorced from productive activities, such as accumulating human capital or actively participating in the labour market, this could contribute to societal challenges and risks including crime, lower social cohesion, and violence (Cárdenas, de Hoyos & Székely, 2015, p. 4; González-Velosa et al., 2012).

2.3 A Violent World, a Violent Youth

The impact of a youth bulge can be either harmful or beneficial, depending on how nations within the region respond. A large number of well-educated, healthy, young people entering the workforce could be a huge boost to productivity and economic growth (SPC, 2011, p. 10). Conversely, a large number of unemployed youth with high

expectations but no obvious opportunity could easily become discontented. Young people within Latin America are found to engage in risky behaviour, including violence, in order to recapture a perceived loss of power from widespread frustration (Coe & Vandergrift, 2015). This section examines violence within Latin America, and the flow-on effects to the region's youth.

2.3.1 Violence within the Region

Violence is a persistent feature of Latin American history (Imbusch et al., 2011). While there now exists peace *between* Latin American states that previous generations have not experienced, there remains extreme violence *within* civil society. Society has seen a transition from collective violence, dictatorships and civil wars, for example, to interpersonal violence (Imbusch et al., 2011). This category of violence includes homicide, street crime, school-based violence, gang membership, drug consumption and trafficking, and intimate partner violence against women.

Intimate partner violence has demonstrated harmful effects on public health, economic development, and human rights (Heise, 2011). A comparative analysis of 12 Latin American countries found intimate partner violence to be widespread in every surveyed nation (Bott et al., 2013). Figure 3 below compares percentages of women aged 15-49 within Latin American nations who have ever reported experiencing physical or sexual violence by a partner.

Level of Violence	Percentage of women (15-49) who have ever reported violence by a partner	Countries
Low	Fewer than 15	
Medium	15 to 25	Dominican Republic, Paraguay
High	25 to 35	Brazil, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua
Very High	More than 35	Bolivia, Colombia, Peru

Figure 3 Classification of Latin American countries by level of intimate partner violence based on PAHO statistics (Bott et al., 2013)

While violence is only considered to be at epidemic levels in some areas of Latin America (Howarth & Peterson, 2016, p.126), for example those labelled as "very high" within Figure 3, addressing violence across the region remains a top priority. The factors underlying such significant differences in violence rates in the region are complex, multiple, and interlinked across many levels of society. Similarly, the continued prevalence of violence originates from a complex set of influences; violent actions are both a learned behaviour and also affected by societal and cultural factors. The multiple causes and solutions for intimate partner violence, particularly regarding youth, within the Latin American region are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

2.3.2 Focus on Youth Violence

In recent decades, the topic of youth violence in particular has developed into a major issue on the political and social agendas of most Latin American countries (Imbusch et al., 2011). In Latin America, youth are at a higher risk of being both victims and perpetrators of violence, especially young men (Biehl, 1999; Imbusch et al, 2011). Coe & Vandergrift (2015, p. 133) state "violence and marginalisation mark the everyday experiences and life chances of poor youth". The increasing violence facing youth is a major obstacle to development, yet the root causes of youth violence link to economic and social problems (ECLAC, 2014b; Imbusch, 2011).

A number of societal factors are associated with an increased risk of perpetration of intimate partner violence among youth, specifically. These include: educational and employment failure; an aggressive masculine culture, known as machismo, as normalised behaviour; high alcohol consumption; and witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child. It is unsurprising there is "violent reaction to an unequal and unjust society that offers few opportunities for disadvantaged youths to break out of the vicious cycle of poverty and exclusion" (Imbusch et al., 2011, p. 130). This violence directly affects young people as victims, and stigmatises them as perpetrators, to the extent that violence is now considered a condition of youth (Wolseth & Babb, 2008). Cunningham et al. (2008) explain that violent youth behaviour, and other risky decisions, is partly due to a lack of information and encouragement to engage in alternative actions. Thus, the period of youth is a key opportunity to create developmental change through

engaging youth in their development and ensuring that policies and programs created reflect youth ideals.

2.4 Youth Governance: Standing up for their rights

There is a consensus that young people should be involved in changing their own development agenda (Coe & Vandergrift, 2015; Lerner, 2005; Vivo et al., 2012). ECLAC (2008, p. 7) states, "young people must be both subjects and effective beneficiaries of development". Yet, youth are rarely prominent in either scholarly investigations or development outcomes, despite being clear social actors (Wolseth & Babb, 2008). Wolseth and Babb (2008, p. 4) believe that young people are a critically important area of society, and need to be more than simply passive recipients of others' actions. This is especially significant, given the risky behavioural outcomes that can occur if youth are not involved in decision-making regarding their future development.

For young people in Latin America, political participation is currently the best way to bring about social change. This is a divergence from previous generations (Coe & Vandergrift, 2015). At present, their social participation tends to fall into two main areas: youth demonstrations in city streets and organisation via virtual social networks. Key areas that youth are advocating for include issues previously mentioned: free and high quality education; decent working conditions; the right to live in violence-free settings; and more public and political recognition of the significance of the youth population.

However, lobbying by youth in Latin America is not generating much societal change. When coupled with existing social exclusion, a lack of change causes youth to feel disheartened, especially in an increasingly globalised world where the fortunes of others hold an increasingly prominent view. Wolseth and Babb (2008, p. 4) state, "in diverse ways, youth struggle to maintain their everyday realities even as they imagine global possibilities for change". The authors go on: when young people are seeing so few results from current public policy, it is difficult for youth to remain enthusiastic about the future.

Society often regards youth as both the cornerstone of the future and a national liability if they cause societal problems (Wolseth & Babb, 2008). Thus far, Latin America has responded to its youth population through "marginalisation, rendering invisible, or controlling" (Alvarado & Vommaro, 2010, p. 12). The traditional developmental process is often conceived as an effort to remedy the deficits and risks that youth bring to society, without necessarily involving youth in the process. However, shielding or excluding youth from this involvement may hinder their development (Christens & Peterson, 2011). Instead, as explained by Coe and Vandergrift (2015), governments should begin the process of inclusion and granting of rights. These authors warn that, if dominant public discourses continue to view youth as a 'social problem', resulting state repression leads to greater social inequality. Youth are, and can be, at the forefront of redefining societal behaviour, and contributing to a reduction in social exclusion and violence (Wolseth & Babb, 2008).

In response, Positive Youth Development (PYD) emerged from resistance to the deficit approach. PYD is an umbrella term for a perspective that instead emphasises the promotion of youth in a positive light with much to offer society (Christens & Peterson, 2011; Travis & Leech, 2013). PYD is an approach that stresses the productive capacity and potential of youth to make valued contributions to society (McBride et al., 2011). This is achieved through engaging youth in "protagonistic citizenship", or the collective action and involvement in decision-making (Coe & Vandergrift, 2015, p. 143).

PYD interventions are often categorised by the promotion of five characteristics, or the "Five Cs"; namely Connection, Caring, Character, Competence, and Confidence (Lerner, 2005; McBride et al., 2011; Travis & Leech, 2013). Interventions and programmes that promote the development of these characteristics foster youth skill building; opportunities for youth participation and leadership of community-based activities; and positive youth-adult relationships (McBride et al., 2011). PYD focuses on the future development potential of young people into citizens who thrive and contribute to society (Christens & Peterson, 2011; Sanders et al., 2015). This future development potential is harnessed through focusing on personal and environmental strengths, for example, even if a young person is burdened by factors increasing the risk of negative outcomes (Travis & Leech, 2013). Further explanations of PYD and an

analysis of how the Five Cs approach is used to empower youth within Instituto Promundo's Program H is covered in Chapter 6.

2.5 Chapter Conclusions

Despite recent praise for the Latin American region's social and economic performance, it is troubling that a large group of the population still faces a lack of opportunity, and a lack of voice in their own development. Without adequate support, protection, and integration, youth can be exposed to situations that can impinge on their future development and threaten others within their societies (Cárdenas et al., 2015). Equality of opportunity for education and employment, and cultural patterns, including the normalisation of violence due to masculine viewpoints, also require change and improvement. The future of the region depends on the engagement and active participation of youth in households and communities, and preservation of their rights (Wolseth & Babb, 2008). The Latin American region is failing in its provision of adequate educational and employment opportunities; resulting frustration causes high levels of interpersonal violence, including against an intimate partner; and an inhibition of involvement of youth in both the region's political and economic development, and their own development, ensures these issues are not easily solvable (Berkman, 2007). The following chapter details the complex causes and solutions to intimate partner violence as a key issue for youth within Brazil and the Latin American region.

3 INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: ARE MEN BOTH THE CAUSE AND THE SOLUTION?

3.1 Introduction

Despite 30 years of activism to end intimate partner violence against women worldwide, there is still little consensus on the source of gender-based abuse. Both academics and activists have hampered this task by advancing single-factors theories, rather than acknowledging that there are many levels both to explain how abuse originates and how to eliminate violence from society (Heise, 2011). Violence is the product of multiple overlapping levels of societal influence on behaviour (Imbusch et al., 2011). Therefore, this research will use a multi-layered approach to intimate partner violence, which encompasses various perspectives and scales within society in order to understand the issue.

This chapter applies and extends a multi-layered approach proposed by Briceño-León (2005) to explain the causes for the issue of intimate partner violence among youth. This Latin American approach notes macro, meso, and micro-social causes of violence, again including specificities relating to Brazil. This chapter examines these causes of violence in relation to youth, given that violent behaviour often first presents itself at this critical age. Finally, the chapter describes prevention as the most popular

framework used to tackle the issue of violence. Addressing various societal groups ensures ownership of violence prevention across society, with a special focus on youth being positively empowered to address this issue.

3.2 Intimate Partner Violence Against Women: A Widespread Issue

Violence against women is recognised as a public health concern, an obstacle to economic development, and a gross violation of human rights (Lehrer, Lehrer & Koss, 2013). The most prevalent form of violence against women is perpetrated by an intimate partner, and includes behaviour that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm (Goicolea et al., 2012). Heise (2011) also notes that because intimate partner violence shares a number of contributing causes with other types of gender-based violence, a focus on this type of violent behaviour builds a foundation for addressing other types of abuse.

Statistics show that intimate partner violence is a global health issue that affects approximately one third of women globally (WHO, 2013, p. 2). Hence, dramatic action is needed. Although intimate partner violence against women is widespread in every Latin American country, the multiple causes of the issue vary the extent of prevalence within countries in the region (Bott et al., 2013; Imbusch et al., 2011). In a comparative analysis of data from twelve Latin American countries, it was found that the number of women aged 15 to 49 who had *ever* experienced physical or sexual violence from a male partner ranged from 17 to 53.3 per cent of the populations (Bott et al., 2013, p. 6). Even the lower of these two percentages suggests a significant societal issue. However, despite legal and institutional progress in this realm, with almost all countries in the region having developed programs, plans and policies to address the issue of intimate partner violence, many of these actions remain unimplemented and violence against women continues to create severe economic and social costs for society (Contreras et al., 2010).

Barker, Aguayo & Correa (2013, p. 7) state that historically women have been "subjected to men's violence and control within a global context of social, legal and economic subordination". Therefore, acts of violence against women are not isolated

events, but rather result from patterns of behaviour (WHO, 2013). The high rates of abuse, plus a lack of implementation of solutions to remedy this, could thus very well be due to the interconnecting levels of causation of violence within a society.

3.3 Causation or Correlation?

There is no single factor to explain intimate partner violence against women, but rather the continued prevalence of violence originates from a complex set of influences; violent actions are both a learned behaviour and also affected by societal and cultural factors. Several authors have referenced different versions of a multi-layered approach, all of which embody the idea that many interwoven and interlinked issues within a society can cause intimate partner violence against women (Banyard, Cross & Modecki, 2006; Flood, 2011; Heise, 1998; Imbusch et al., 2011; Vézina & Hébert, 2007). In each version, risk factors are those conditions that increase the likelihood of a person becoming a victim, or perpetrator, of violence. Authors label the various layers of risk factors as: individual, relationship, community, and societal (Bott, Morrison & Ellsberg, 2005; Gomez, 2011; Heise, 1998); contextual and situational (Riggs & O'Leary, 1996); or micro, meso, and macro (Briceño-León, 2005). Violent behaviour worldwide occurs in the dynamic intersections between these risk factors.

Briceño-León (2005) presents an approach outlining the causes of violence specifically adapted for the Latin American context. This thesis relies heavily on this approach due to its geographical relevance. Using a multi-layered approach is particularly important when researching Latin America, due to the vast differences in developmental stages between countries in the region. Several fundamental factors causing violence may be a hindrance to development for most Latin American countries, while other factors may only cause issues in some nations (Imbusch et al., 2011). Therefore, researching violent behaviour must have different levels of analysis to understand the aetiology of the problem (Gil-Gonzalez et al, 2007).

Briceño-León (2005) explains factors that lead to violence on three levels: *macro-social* factors that originate violence; *meso-social* factors that stimulate violence; and *micro-social* factors that facilitate violence. This report, while strongly influenced by Briceño-León (2005), will also incorporate aspects of other approaches; several other

authors have noted specific factors within Latin America that increase the prevalence of intimate partner violence against women (Barker et al., 2013; Heise, 1998). Noting this, factors from several authors will be primarily focused on using the macro, meso, and micro approach: increased unemployment despite increased education; the masculine culture known as machismo; high alcohol consumption; and witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child. Figure 4 below illustrates these factors.

MACRO-SOCIAL

Increased unemployment despite increased education

MESO-SOCIAL

Traditional inequitable gender norms

MICRO-SOCIAL

Alcohol abuse

Witnessing/experiencing abuse as a child
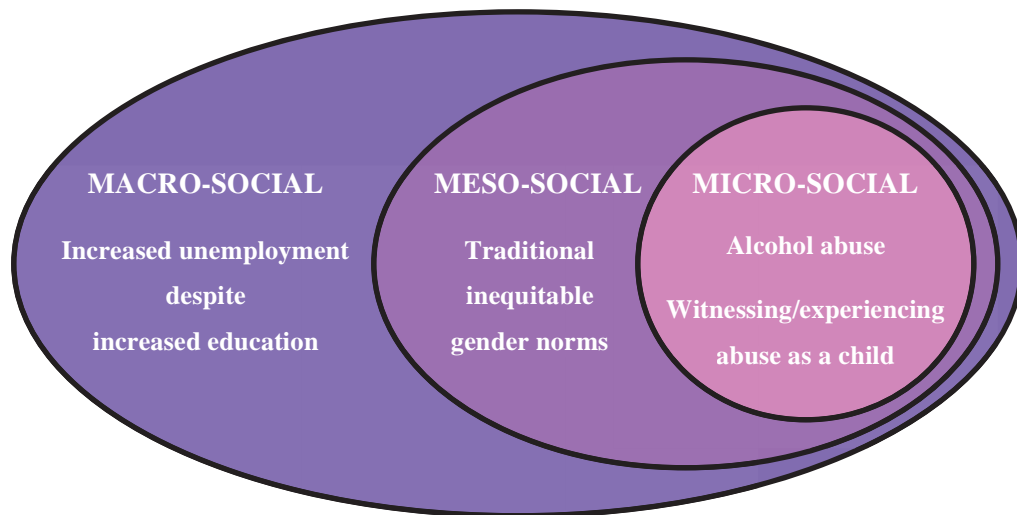
Figure 4 Diagram showing levels of causes for violent behaviour (Barker et al., 2013; Briceño-León, 2005; Heise, 1998)

The interacting macro, meso and micro factors in Figure 4 above characterise intimate partner violence within the region, with explanations for each in the forthcoming sections.

3.3.1 Macro-Social Factor: Low Education, Low Employment

Briceño-León (2005) explains macro-social factors have a general and lasting impact on society, and generate a societal transformation that creates the basis for violent behaviour; their structural nature ensures that they are the most difficult to change. An example is a lack of education and employment opportunities, echoing the youth developmental issue discussed in Chapter 2. This report will focus on this macro-social factor as one that is particularly important for intimate partner violence in the Latin American context.

Unemployment remains an issue within the Latin American region, with the rate rising for the first time in five years to 6.7 per cent in 2015 (ILO, 2015a, para. 1). Several authors have concluded, however, that it is not necessarily a subsequent lack of income from this unemployment that increases risk of abuse (Heise, 1998; Imbusch et al., 2011; Kiss et al., 2012), as this should mean the poorest nations have the highest level of abuse, which is not the case (Bott et al., 2013). Heise (1998) explains that other variables associated with unemployment are significant in causing violence against women. In a survey conducted in Brazil, the men who positively responded to feeling ashamed, stressed, or depressed as a result from lack of work reported higher perpetration of violence against female partners (Barker et al., 2013). If a male has a high education level, yet is still unable to find work, this could exacerbate these feelings.

In the Latin American region, the gendered and culturally defined male role is one of provider (Felix-Ortiz, Ankney, Brodie & Rodinsky, 2012; Kiss et al., 2012). However, as Shahrokh and Edstrom (2015) explain, it is *women's* economic activity that is often increasing in a context of stagnant or declining labour force participation. They note that men could be experiencing feelings of inadequacy as women begin to shift gender roles within the home, community, and society as a consequence of earning an income. Men could therefore exhibit intimate partner violence in order to reaffirm male control if women are less willing to conform to patriarchal norms in the household (Kiss et al., 2012, p. 1173). While ensuring equal educational opportunities between genders has been a particular focus for the region, there must be mindfulness of a potential violent and unintended backlash from men where women are now empowered and challenging gender norms.

3.3.2 Meso-Social Factor: Machismo

Briceño-León (2005) explains meso-social factors increase violence by stimulating specific behavioural actions. These factors have less structural roots and instead represent the area where particular situations and culture have an effect on behaviour. Various authors posit the social construction of masculinity as one of the most important factors leading to violence (Goicolea et al., 2012; Jewkes et al., 2015; Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008; Salazar & Öhman, 2015). Therefore, this report discusses

Latin American social gender attitudes known as 'machismo' as one of the leading factors contributing to rates of intimate partner violence.

Several authors have noted the extensive role that masculinity and gender-related social norms play in the perpetration of violence (Jewkes et al., 2015; Santana et al., 2006). These authors explain the connection between men and violence lays in gender, defined as the social roles, behaviours and attributes appropriate and expected from both men and women. Intimate partner violence can reflect, and be used to reinforce, men's deeply embedded collective and individual attitudes about gender norms relating to relationships and interactions, ensuring gendered violence remains acceptable in men and women's lives (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008; Shahrokh & Edstrom, 2015). These gender norms vary around the world, defined in Latin America by the term machismo.

In Latin America, there are many cultural norms supporting machismo, defined as a "regional form of sexism that is hegemonic in Latin America" (Goicolea et al., 2012, p. 2). Machismo is a complex interaction of learned and reinforced social, cultural, and behavioural components constituting the male gender identity within the Latino socio-political context (Torres, Solberg & Carlstrom, 2002). It involves a wide set of positive and negative practices that emphasise women's submissiveness and men's power and control (Salazar & Öhman, 2015). These ideals, while including positive elements including honour and obligation to the family, also encourage men to have aggressive tendencies and absolute domination, and a belief that men are "physically and morally superior to women" (Perilla et al, 1994, p. 326). Hence, these cultural norms are an important determinant of behaviour, including reinforcing the perceived male right to exhibit violence against women.

Goicolea, Coe, & Öhman (2014) explain that some Latin American researchers criticise the term, as equating all Latin American masculinities with machismo is stereotyping, reductionist and overlooks the fact that not every man exhibits the same masculine identity. However, the authors concede the strong connection between machismo and intimate partner violence. The Latin American-based International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) evidences the connection (Barker et al., 2013). The survey found that men with low support for gender-equitable norms reported high levels of perpetration of physical violence against females in all three surveyed countries (Brazil,

Chile and Mexico); 34.8 per cent of men with low gender-equitable beliefs reported perpetration of violence in Chile, 24.5 per cent of men in Mexico, and 29.4 per cent of men in Brazil (Barker et al., 2013, p. 28). Changing ideals of masculinity is thus an important step in challenging levels of violence against women, within the Latin American region.

3.3.3 Micro-Social Factors: Exposure to Violence and Alcohol Abuse

Micro-social factors are the final level that contribute to violent behaviour, and are embedded in the individual, rather than within the social structure. Thus, Briceño-León (2005) prefers not to name micro-social factors as causes, but rather enablers or stimulators for the process of violence. For the purposes of this report, emphasis will be placed on the link between alcohol abuse and violence against women (Briceño-León, 2005), and also Heise's (1998) factor of witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child; these have specifically been associated with intimate partner violence in the Latin American context, including within the IMAGES survey (Barker et al., 2013).

Authors consider that exposure to violence during childhood is a risk factor at an individual or micro level (Heise, 1998; Gil-Gonzalez et al., 2007; Gomez, 2011; Renner & Whitney, 2012). Heise (1998) stresses that while not all boys who are abused grow up to be abusive themselves, nor do all abusers have a history of abuse against them, there is an important connection between the two. In a Brazilian survey of 749 men completed by Instituto Promundo, 45.5 per cent reported being victims of violence in their own homes (Barker at al., 2002). Additionally, the IMAGES survey revealed that men from Brazil, Chile and Mexico who had witnessed violence against their mothers during childhood were all more likely to commit violence against a female partner than those who had not, confirming the 'cycle of violence' theory (Barker et al., 2013).

Barker et al. (2002) found evidence that boys are subject to higher rates of physical abuse in the home, which may explain to men's subsequent use of violence in intimate partner relationships. Latin American societies need a multi-generational shift in beliefs, values, and behaviours to address and end the cycle of violence; therefore, the family is a strategic point of entry in order to accomplish this (Heise, 2011). In Brazil,

it was found that many young men came to question violence against women if they were able to construct meaning from their violence with a trusted person (Barker et al., 2002). Thus, targeting the family or providing a trusted person or role model to speak with is especially important in the Latin American context, where close connections traditionally hold a high level of importance.

Various authors also repeatedly regard alcohol abuse as an individual risk factor for intimate partner violence (Peacock & Barker, 2014; Renner & Whitney, 2012). Within the Latin American context, the IMAGES survey also found a significant statistical association between men's alcohol abuse and the perpetration of violence against female partners (Barker at al., 2013). Alcohol consumption can lead to an increase in aggressive behaviour, and reduces inhibitions that culture places on an individual. Heise (1998) notes that while several other researchers have also found an association between alcohol abuse and violence against women, both she and Briceño-León (2005) are wary of this factor due to fear that abusers will use alcohol to excuse violent behaviour. This report mentions this factor, however, due to the fact alcohol abuse can be targeted early in a person's life course.

3.4 Examining Violence Against Women using a Youth Lens

Youth is crucial time in the human life cycle to investigate and target the prevalence of intimate partner violence. This is primarily because youth implies the first male/female interactions, and is also a time when violence can first begin to manifest itself (Ricardo et al., 2011). Striking evidence from WHO (2013) suggests that worldwide exposure to violence is already high among young women, indicating that such violence begins early in women's relationships. In the report using data from 81 countries, the lifetime prevalence of sexual or physical intimate partner violence was 29.4 per cent for young women aged 15-19 years, and 31.6 per cent for young women aged 20-24 (WHO, 2013, p. 17). A study completed by Stöckl et al. (2014, p. 4) focused specifically on lower income countries found the lifetime prevalence of intimate partner violence for women aged 15-24 to be even higher, including in cities within Brazil and Peru, at 56.8 per cent and 44.8 per cent of women, respectively. As noted earlier, while there are significant differences between nations in the Latin American region, these statistics

nevertheless suggest that societies must target the Latin American youth population, as intimate partner violence is beginning in this critical stage of the life cycle.

Several authors suggest violence beginning in the developmental stage of youth can ensure a lifelong trajectory of violence, either as victims or perpetrators (Lundgren and Amin, 2015; Renner & Whitney, 2012). Thus, it is necessary to consider the multifaceted and complex nature of the causes and consequences of a violent youth population. The effect of machismo, alcohol abuse, and witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child will each be examined in turn to ascertain how these factors impact on the levels of youth violence against women, specifically.

The social norms of machismo, as a meso-social cause of violence, often first present in youth as a learned behaviour. In order to understand learned violence, it is important to focus not only on the individual, but also on the societal context, including societal gender norms (Gil-Gonzalez et al., 2007). Imbusch et al. (2011) note that at this phase in their lives, young people learn behavioural patterns that they often find difficult to unlearn later in life without help from intervention methods. Within the Latin American context, machismo is a masculine 'script' that is taught to young boys (Mosher & Tomkins, 1998). Felix-Ortiz et al. (2012) explain that teachings from older members of society include showing no fear, feeling shame about emotion, and exerting interpersonal control through aggressive dominance. They conclude that rather than being seen as part of an individual's unconscious being, machismo is taught between generations; machismo is not a personality trait, but something created and challenged over time, or with experience. Machismo legitimises male dominance and female subordination through teachings from respected older males, and allows a continuation of machismo as the dominant cultural masculinity.

Youth exposure to a high level of alcohol consumption, as the first micro-social issue, can exacerbate the problem of violence against women (Banyard et al., 2006). Stöckl et al. (2014) found a significant association between heavy drinking by young males and experiences of intimate partner violence in rural and urban Brazil and rural Peru, as examples within the Latin American region. These authors encourage existing programs targeting alcohol abuse to connect with violence prevention to reduce the correlative effect.

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Several studies link exposure to familial violence, as the second micro-social factor, to youth intimate partner violence (Banyard et al., 2006; Guidi, Magnatta & Meringolo, 2012; Vézina & Hébert, 2007). Bandura's (1977) social learning theory explains this connection, stating that violence is often socialised and ingrained into the culture of a young person. Being a witness, or exposed, to violence at a young age contributes to a young person's learning that violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflict, and thus ensures young women are at risk for victimisation. Duryea et al. (2003, p. 1) estimated that in the Latin American region 95 per cent of youth live with their parents and/or other adults. Consistent with the social learning theory, if young men are seeing or experience violence from these adults, it is unsurprising that youth begin to perpetrate the same behaviours.

These socio-cultural factors are critical to address at a young age, in order to lower statistics of intimate partner violence. Moreover, the effect of experiencing intimate partner violence at such a young age likely affects the psychological and physical development and economic well-being of young adults in the future (Stöckl et al., 2014). Investing in a life free from violence for young women is imperative, and is primarily achieved through prevention strategies.

3.5 Preventing Violent Behaviour

As the causes of violence against women are complex and interconnected, the strategies for combating such violence are also varied and nuanced. Appropriate strategies should align with the causes of violence, rather than providing a quick fix for the phenomena. Storer et al. (2016) explain that recognising the multiple influences on behaviour assumes that both risks for *and* solutions to problems such as violence take into account the social context, and applicable individual attributes. Hence, violence elimination methods also apply an approach that targets various levels.

The intervention strategy for violence that has garnered the largest evidence base in recent decades is preventive methods (Imbusch et al., 2011). Prevention focuses on reducing an individual's exposure to risk factors that could lead to negative outcomes (Olson & Goddard, 2015). Preventive interventions are classified in terms of three levels: primary, secondary, and tertiary. In the last decade and a half, there has been a

particular shift towards primary prevention of violence, aimed at halting violence before it occurs (Flood, 2011). A preventive intervention or program is considered primary if it targets the social issue before the onset of the problem. Primary prevention results from the premise that violence develops over time, with risk factors accumulating over many years before violent behaviour occurs (Michau, 2007).

Employing preventive measures requires targeting different sectors of society, addressing the multiple causes and consequences of violence (Peacock & Barker, 2014). There also needs to be integration of violence prevention initiatives with other programmes within society (Barker et al., 2013, Michau, 2007) - those that provide guidance for the transition between education and employment; question practices around gender equality; and aim to prevent alcohol abuse, among other subjects. This will reinforce and broaden the network of institutions and organisations, and create a society-wide approach. Beginning such prevention early in the life course, particularly with those youth who may perpetrate violence, is imperative (Bott et al., 2005; Lundgren & Amin, 2015).

3.5.1 Targeting Young Males

There is wide agreement on the need to intervene in the crucial nature of the youth period, as first expressed in Chapter 2, when attitudes and beliefs about sexuality and gender stereotypes are still developing (Hickman, Jaycox & Aronoff, 2004; Ricardo et al., 2011). Ideal intervention methods would both address the immediate violent characteristics that first present themselves at this age, and to lower the risk of future violent relationships (Cornelius & Resseguie, 2007; Lehrer et al., 2013).

Successfully targeting prevention in a youth context involves again addressing violence through a number of levels of society. A differentiated program of interventions makes no assumptions that all youth will respond to the same prevention strategy. A prevention program could include social marketing and media campaigns to assist with meso- and macro-social causes of violence, and individual knowledge and attitude change interventions to address micro-social causes of violence (Jewkes at al., 2015). If young people are educated about the larger social and cultural contexts they live in, and

the potential negative effects these create, they are more likely to generate change in their behaviour and societal views (Michau, 2007).

Historically, women's rights activists have succeeded in lobbying governments to enact laws and policies to address violence prevention. However, there has been shift in recent decades to engage men and boys in also addressing and transforming this issue (Flood, 2011; Jewkes et al., 2015; Peacock & Butler, 2014; Storer et al., 2016). This effort recognises that men and boys also have strong motivations for ending intimate partner violence and promoting gender equality (Peacock & Butler, 2014), including suffering directly as a result of violence perpetrated against their female loved ones, which can commence from a young age (Flood, 201). Although individual young men's use of violence differs, engagement of all young men in the solution is crucial.

Involving youth, particularly young males, in prevention initiatives will assist in eroding the Latin American cultural supports for physical and sexual violence early in the life course, and supersede these with norms of gender equality and sexual respect. Instituto Promundo's Program H, as a case study used within this report, seeks to challenge men's behaviour, gender relations that harm women, and constructions of masculinity (Peacock & Barker, 2014). Further explanation and analysis of Program H is in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.5.2 Linking Prevention with Positive Youth Development and Empowerment

There have also been recent calls in the field of youth development to create a broader number of programs that seek to both prevent problems, but also promote positive outcomes among young people (Olson & Goddard, 2015). Prevention of intimate partner violence must address the social and structural determinants of gender inequalities, and reduce the impact and harm of violence (Peacock & Barker, 2014). However, beyond becoming reflective and critical of the system of masculinity that surrounds young men, there is a need to support positive change through a PYD framework.

Christens and Peterson (2012) describe PYD as a broad perspective that emphasises the promotion of well-being among young people, and developing their future potential. Empowerment is a key aspect of this approach, and programs should seek to empower youth to participate in political and social actions through communication, and look to create change through new ideas (Goicolea et al., 2014). There is a need for comprehensive interventions and education of alternatives to violence across various contexts and settings, to combat the continuation of disadvantage, under-development and violence (Morán, 2003).

Development that emphasises prevention of risky behaviour, including violence, sometimes does not promote well-being and citizen control, rather focusing on the negative traits of a particular population (Christens & Peterson, 2012). There has been recent research, however, into the links between prevention and PYD, some specifically in relation to violence (Allison et al., 2011). These authors explored the use of PYD as an intervention strategy to target reductions in risk of youth violence. The integration of the two approaches was found to be effective. The goals of PYD and prevention strategies align well, as both promote a mitigation of aggressive behaviour, despite the former approaching such mitigation from an anti-deficit approach to development. Prevention strategies need not necessarily view violence it as a complete deficit of a young person, nor only associate violence with youth. Programs must engage and empower youth to be at the centre of these strategies, so that they are a focal point of their own growth and wellbeing.

3.6 Chapter Conclusions

The social processes both leading to, and preventing, violence against women are of a highly complex nature. This is particularly the case when examining violence within the Latin American region, as there are vastly differing economic and social contexts between nations. Inequities also exist within nations, as evidenced in the example of Brazil, explored further in the following Chapter 4.

Briceño-León's (2005) multi-layered approach has been applied and extended to consider violence against women, and includes macro, meso, and micro-social causes leading to violent behaviour. This report explored specific factors relevant to this social

issue within Latin America. These include the difficult transition between education and employment, and the complications that unemployment creates; the Latino social norm of masculinity known as machismo; witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child; and the link between alcohol abuse and violence against women. There is also a need to explore these factors using a youth lens, given the crucial nature of this phase when gender attitudes and perpetration of violence can first occur. The following Chapter 4 examines the country context of Brazil, as the first site of implementation of Instituto Promundo's world-leading violence prevention program for young men – Program H.

4 ADDRESSING YOUTH VIOLENCE IN BRAZIL:

COUNTRY CONTEXT

4.1 Introduction

Brazil is troubled with political, economic and cultural inequities, including current political difficulties affecting the lives of Brazilian citizens. This chapter examines Brazilian youth in detail, as the population group best placed to improve social issues still plaguing the nation, including persisting harmful gender norms. Three main concerns are affecting Brazilian youth, echoing regional issues detailed in Chapter 2: a lack of education and employment opportunities, subsequent violence within the youth population, and limited youth engagement. Youth participation has been aided, however, by an increasing number of programs and organisations looking to fulfil youth rights in practice and improve youth behaviour (Rizzini & Bush, 2014). This chapter introduces Instituto Promundo as an organisation aiming to reduce levels of intimate partner violence through challenging Brazilian gender attitudes. Grounded in humble beginnings in Rio de Janeiro, Promundo's Program H has now evolved into a

world-leading program that encourages young men to question the costs of traditional masculinities, working at various levels within a society.

4.2 Brazil: Country Context

Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world, covering 47 per cent of the landmass of South America (Paim et al., 2011, p. 1778). The nation also ranks fifth in population, with 2014 statistics stating 206.1 million inhabitants (World Bank, 2016, para. 1). Thus, the federative republic's significant population and land area generates significant regional and global influence in social, political, and economic spheres. In past years, Brazil has also placed sixth in terms of economic output, measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Coy, 2016, p. 49). These statistics do not reflect the largely contradictory societies and communities occurring within Brazil, however (Rohter, 2010).

Skidmore (1999, p. xiii) posits the contradictions and inequalities within Brazil are potentially a product of the distinctive blend of peoples within the population – indigenous, African, and European – with a Portuguese-derived culture fusing these together. Despite a hypothetically inharmonious mix of cultures, however, Brazil has a reputation for generosity of its people. Brazilians of all social groups collectively forge a rich and vibrant cultural nationalism around the notion of *mestiçagem* – Portuguese for racial and cultural mixing (Eakin, 2016, para. 3). National pride flourishes, despite that same population living in one of the most traditionally unequal societies in the world (Skidmore, 1999).

The disparities are typified through the five geographical regions of Brazil, illustrated in Figure 5 below, all of whom have differing economic, social, and cultural conditions and widespread internal inequalities (Paim et al., 2011). Coy (2016) explains two large-scale regional disparities have characterised Brazil throughout history, and remain today. The first is the contrast between the coastal regions, and the 'interior'. Portuguese colonisation saw a significant population settle along the Brazilian coastline, which is now home to the main economic centres, compared to the far less populated interior. The second is the north-south divide. Brazil's most economically active areas are in the Southeast, including the megacities of São Paulo and Rio de

Janeiro, as well as significant agricultural output. 2011 figures showed 42 per cent of the population live in the urbanised Southeast (Coy, 2016, p. 51), generating 54.4 per cent of the country's GDP (Azzoni, 2014, p. 4). These figures contrast with the stagnating and semi-arid region of the Northeast, which only generated 13.4 per cent of national GDP in 2011 (Azzoni, 2014, p. 4).

Figure 5 Map illustrating the five geographical regions of Brazil (Pena et al., 2011, p. 3)

Despite persistent disparities between the regions illustrated in Figure 5 above, Brazilian national averages have improved in the past two decades. The shift from military dictatorship to democracy saw national inequality drop dramatically, as evidenced through the GINI coefficient, decreasing from 0.637 in 1991 to 0.529 in 2013 (World Bank, 2016). The reduction of inequality was remarkable, found to be twice as fast as other Latin American countries, with key drivers being low inflation and sustained economic growth (Agénor & Canuto, 2015; Rabobank, 2014). The administration of former President Lula was widely regarded as Latin America's epitome for economic development and social progress, lauded for reducing poverty

and expanding the middle class (Hakim, 2016). Yet, while Brazil's recent development can be read as a success story, many problems remain unsolved, stemming from the structural and regional disparities between regions, as mentioned above (Coe, 2016, p. 58).

Others argue that due to, or despite, the continuing inequalities, Brazilians place strong emphasis on collective action in opposition to the long dictatorship years (Rizzini et al., 2009). While Brazilians were freed from the repressive military regime, the country has now entered into a democratic era that has also produced severe instability (Allen, 2015). Citizens of Brazil must now contend with other transformations that a democratic nation brings, including greater industrialisation, urban migration, and citizen struggle (Holston, 2008). The past promises of democratic opportunity are, thus, negated by the present realities of discrimination, violence, endemic corruption, environmental degradation, and widespread poverty that persist despite the economic success (Meade, 2010; Skidmore, 1999, p. xiii). As Holston (2008, p. 275) argues, "this coincidence is the perverse paradox of Brazil's democratisation". As noted within section 3.3.1, uneven spread of economic success across the nation could be a contributing factor in other widespread inequalities, including violence (Smith, 2002). There are regional differences in the levels of intimate partner violence, for example, with the levels highest in the North and Northeast regions of Brazil (Reichenheim et al., 2006, p. 433).

Political writers have warned inequality and unemployment could further rise due to the current political state of affairs within Brazil that has seen President Dilma Rousseff impeached on charges of corruption in early 2016 (Gilbert, 2016; Hakim, 2016). Eakin (2016, para. 4) predicts the impeachment process will likely set back decades of expanding civic culture and participatory politics; her suspension has created arguable social regression particularly regarding gender bias within the political sphere (Nikolau, 2016). The impeachment of President Rousseff, as the first female leader of Brazil, has led several feminist political writers to question the underlying motives of her downfall; some authors believe there are clear gender dynamics at play (Gilbert, 2016; Nikolau, 2016). Gilbert (2016) argues the simultaneous indictment of former Argentinian President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, accused of endangering the nation's finances, and plunging approval ratings for Chilean President Michelle

Bachelet, compound these gender concerns. She concludes the collective decline of these women leaders point to a "manifestation of macho attitudes" within Latin America, especially within the political sphere (2016, para. 11). With the interim Brazilian President Michel Temer additionally appointing a cabinet of male-only ministers, the first to exclude women since the fall of the dictatorship in 1985, persistent and structural masculine ideals are being questioned (Hakim, 2016).

Conversely, Fernandes (2012, p.166) believes it is an essentialist assumption that political representation by Brazilian women will automatically result in greater gender equality, with, therefore, a *lack* of political representation assumed to cause *inequality*, as this potentially neglects nuances within a woman's identity and experiences. However, the actions surrounding the impeachment process could point to greater societal issues if negative patriarchal relations are in fact "deeply entrenched" within society (Fernandes, 2012, p. 116). Chapters 2 and 3 of this report have argued that structural gender attitudes can have a behavioral effect on youth within Brazil; if youth view political actions as imitable behavior, and see the opportunities of women in power limited by a misogynistic environment, there are consequences for Brazilian gender norms and subsequent potential violence.

Therefore, an area of social policy that still requires action surrounds the enduring gender inequalities and norms that affect daily Brazilian life; "human events [within Brazil] unfold on a field played with gendered roles" (Meade, 2010, p. xiii). These gendered roles are a colonial creation and have been cemented by the cultured masculinity of machismo (Daniel & Graf, 2016). While there have been advances in gender equality, including the proportion of women in the Brazilian workforce rising from 52.8 per cent to 57.6 per cent between 1998 and 2009 (Agénor & Canuto, 2015, p. 156), unequal gender patterns persist. Daniel and Graf (2016) explain that although women have campaigned for greater gender change and equality, political participation is still low, for example. Despite quota systems ensuring female politicians in the Latin American region have a voice; there is a sense that traditional attitudes have not completely subsided (Gilbert, 2016), as arguably evidenced in recent months. A complete cultural shift to ensure gender equality has not yet occurred.

The overcoming of gender disparities is thus only achieved over the long term, as it involves changing values and behaviour (Daniel & Graf, 2016). The country's heritage, power relations and development styles have carved themselves in Brazil's society and geography (Coy, 2016, p. 50). It follows that such a social change is best achieved through involving youth in programs and policies that require collective action, in order to best affect a generational shift in gender attitudes.

4.3 Youth of Brazil

Brazil is a young country, with 25 per cent of the population aged 10 to 24, numbering 50.7 million (PRB, 2013, para. 3). Some authors believe there remain deep inequalities and prejudice associated with the category of 'minor' that affect the lives of countless Brazilian youth (Butler & Princeswal, 2014; Junho Pena & Rodrigues dos Santos, 2004). Three of the main issues facing youth in Brazil are consistent with regional problems, as explained in Chapter 2: education levels are a cause for concern, remaining low for a country seeking to compete with developed nations; violence is widespread, especially levels of interpersonal and intimate partner violence; and youth still struggle to participate and have their voices heard. Overlapping these concerns are inequities between genders stemming from traditional masculine norms. Young women are often faced with inequalities of opportunity, and young men can be socialised into generalised notions of masculinity.

4.3.1 Educated, but Unemployed

Brazil, like many other Latin American nations, has sought to expand the coverage and quality of education available, and progress has been achieved on some important indicators (Junho Pena & Rodrigues dos Santos, 2004; OECD, 2014; Rizzini & Bush, 2014). However, challenges remain, namely inequality of opportunity. Paradoxically, increasing education of the more fortunate can contribute to the exclusion of those already entrenched in poverty.

As argued in Chapter 2, there is often a lack of correlation between the requirements of productive sectors and skills taught at school, undermining the value of the education system (Cunha and Guimaraes-Iosif, 2013; OECD, 2014; Rizzini & Bush, 2014). The

consequence is an increased number of educated young people with a lack of skills employers demand. The well-educated youth, therefore, push the less educated even from unskilled jobs. This is exemplified in Brazil where 23 per cent of youth aged 15-24 were not engaged in education, employment or training in 2009 (Kovrova & Lyon, 2013; OECD, 2014). Unschooled youth become workers without opportunities and adults without choices (Juhno Pena & Rodrigues dos Santos, 2004, p. 13). These authors conclude by explaining an increasing number of young people, particularly those from the poorest areas of society, fail to benefit from the recent expansion of education and other public services. Youth then become a risk and a serious concern.

There also remain significant differences between the education and employment opportunities of young men and women in Brazil. While Brazilian young women are now generally more educated, with an average of 8-9 years of schooling compared to young men's 7-8 years, this comparative advantage has not been reflected in the amount of formal jobs and market wages available to women (Agénor & Canuto, 2015, p. 156). Kiss et al. (2012) note that as women become more economically empowered they are often also at an increased risk of violence from partners, as they become less willing to conform to gender norms existing in patriarchal societies such as Brazil. Thus, increasing educational opportunities for both young men and women does not always lead to greater employment, and safety, within societies.

4.3.2 Ever-present Youth Violence

A major threat to youth in Brazil is high rates of violence, particularly interpersonal. Imbusch et al. (p. 115) attribute the high levels of violence to a democracy that guarantees political but not social rights, alongside a combination of structural inequalities, the availability of firearms, and urbanisation processes. A recent global study by Stöckl et al. (2014, p. 4) showed that an average of 29 per cent of ever-partnered Brazilian women aged 15-24 had experienced intimate partner violence in their lifetimes. The causes and factors associated with men's intimate violence against women are multiple and interwoven, as explained in Chapter 3. Aligned with the causes of violence outlined in this report, research coordinated in Brazil found intimate partner violence is related to a lack of educational attainment, traditional views on

masculinity, and having witnessed violence at a young age (Barker, 2005; Peacock & Barker, 2014).

Within the Brazilian setting, the use of violence as an attempt to maintain traditional gender roles is common (Barker, 2005); many youth live in communities that glorify the assertion of masculinity through power. Many young men in Brazil additionally lack working models of healthy, caring, and respectful intimate relationships (Barker, 2005, p. 136). There is a basic atmosphere of distrust in many youth relationships that set the tone for relationships later in life. Thus, Jewkes et al. (2015) argue programs are needed to reteach the values of being a man, and rewrite traditional gender norms. Young men grow up believing that the use of violence is justified, and young women often accept this by default (Barker, 2005). Instituto Promundo, described further in section 4.4, looks to provide young men with role models and examples of healthy behaviour, in an effort to reduce levels of adolescent intimate partner violence, and subsequent violence later in life.

4.3.3 Brazilian Voices for Change

Youth participation in governance could lead to improved outcomes regarding key social issues. However, there is widespread disagreement among authors as to whether youth in Brazil have adequate rights and participation. Silva and Sonto (2009) insist that youth face feelings of despair at the incapacity of the state to ensure rights, social wellbeing and security for its population; the lack of certainty is a major hindrance for developing youth participation. These authors believe that the systemic inequality of Brazilian society reduces the capacity for youth to lend quality to their life experience. However, Cunha & Guimaraes-Iosif (2013, p. 252) argue that Brazil is achieving encouraging results in the creation of youth policies, including the recently enacted Youth Statute (Law No. 12.852 on 5 August 2013) that guarantees the rights of young people to education and work, technical and vocational education, and cultural and political participation.

The implementation of some Brazilian youth programs has been successful, including 'ProJovem' - an initiative that supplies youth with education and training to support the transition from school to work, assisting youth to become productive members of the

economy (Severo, 2012; UNFPA, 2011). ProJovem models a holistic approach to youth empowerment, and ensures all areas of young people's lives are enriched, through integrating education, work, and citizenship (UNFPA, 2011). Additional and similar programs that promote positive skill building are required in Brazil and wider Latin America in order to further improve lives and wellbeing of youth within the region.

Social norms pertaining to gender are an area most in need of improvement. For decades young women in Brazil have campaigned for gender equality, and have seen some milestone improvements. Daniel and Graf (2016) note that public discussion and changes in legal status have contributed to increasing recognition of gender disparities, including the law regulating domestic violence (Law No. 11.340 of 7 August 2006). Nevertheless, there remain significant disadvantages to young women, especially regarding the labour market and persisting levels of violence. While Rizzini & Bush (2014) believe there is a contrast in the rights guaranteed to young men and women in Brazil by law and the realities of their lives, there remains a sense of optimism with Brazilian that society is capable of improvement. Instituto Promundo is one organisation that seeks to fulfil youth rights in practice and improve youth behaviour and attitudes relating to gender.

4.4 Instituto Promundo

Founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1997, Instituto Promundo is a Brazilian-based non-governmental organisation working in a number of areas, primarily promoting equitable and non-violent masculinities and gender relations worldwide (Men, Boys and Gender Equality, 2016). Promundo's (2016) mission statement is "to promote gender equality and create a world free from violence by engaging men and boys in partnership with women and girls". Originally founded in specific response to unequal gender norms within Brazilian society, Promundo now has representation in Brazil, the United States, Portugal, Rwanda and Burundi, thus the organisation collaborates worldwide to achieve this mission.

Since Promundo's founding, the organisation has used formative research into masculinities and gender equality to develop and rigorously evaluate evidence-based educational and community-wide gender programs and initiatives, and execute

international and national advocacy towards social justice and gender equality (Men, Boys and Gender Equality, 2016). Instituto Promundo places a large focus on men's involvement in transforming gender norms; men as partners in women's economic empowerment; and men as advocates in the prevention of violence, both sexual and physical. Promundo's work has allowed men and women from high-conflict areas to recover from violence, men to discuss the benefits of shared decision-making and parenting, and youth from over twenty-two countries to question gender norms (Promundo, 2016).

Promundo is also one of the few organisations that seek to promote long-term gender transformation and social change through multi-layered violence prevention efforts and delivering a diversity of approaches to youth (Storer et al., 2016). Promundo's Program H targets young men with the aim of questioning traditional gender norms and ideas about masculinity at both individual and community levels, addressing power and oppression mechanisms that sustain violence against women. The transformation of social norms is attempted through targeting a diverse range of settings for gender socialisation including group educational sessions, and social media campaigns addressing wider society (Promundo et al., 2013). A detailed case study analysis of Program H is found in the following Chapter 5.

While this report will focus on 'Program H', Instituto Promundo also ensures involvement of young women through a companion 'Program M'. A combination of programs provides further confidence in the organisation, as it does not seek to exclude women from the violence prevention process. Promundo is recognised as a global leader in promoting gender justice, and has been supported by major organisations including the United Nations, World Bank, and World Health Organisation through joint work on the initiatives, including Program H (Promundo, Instituto PAPAI, Salud y Género, & ECOS, 2013).

4.5 Chapter Conclusions

Brazil has been traditionally known as a country of extremes: generosity and selfishness, compassion and cruelty, great wealth alongside deprivation (Rohter, 2010). The continuing social and economic difficulties that face many of Brazil's youth act to

heighten insecurity about the present and the future (Silva & Sonto, 2009, p. 12). Such difficulties are poignant for both young men, who continue to feel pressured to conform to certain masculinities, and young women, who must contend with persisting gender discriminations and high levels of intimate-partner violence. Growing to adulthood in Brazil, as a country with inadequate education options, too little jobs, and too few options for achieving positive masculine and feminine identities, turns many youth to violence in order to reaffirm their status, and many young women to accept this behaviour (Barker, 2005).

The transmission of new and differing perceptions, values, and attitudes by a range of close sources including school, family and the media are beginning to provide Brazilian youth with hope for a better future. Brazilian youth development is aided by organisations such as Promundo, who look to inspire gender equities. The following Chapter 5 will provide an in-depth study of the Program H initiative.

5 PROGRAM H: EMPOWERING YOUTH TOWARDS GENDER EQUITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes Promundo's Program H, whose mission is to assist young men in redefining gender norms with an end goal of reducing intimate partner violence. This chapter first examines the program intervention model, and the 'Gender-Equitable Men' (GEM) Scale as the primary method of evaluation. This chapter also explores opportunities to expand Program H, including the use of 'mixed-sex' group activities to facilitate cross-gendered dialogue, and a scaling up of the intervention into the Brazilian public education system. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 1, this report includes a semi-structured interview with a Senior Programme Officer within Promundo regarding Program H and its impacts on youth within the Brazilian context. Excerpts are included throughout the chapter to provide further analysis.

5.2 Program H: Descriptive Context

Instituto Promundo developed the Program H initiative in 2002 through collaboration with three other Latin American NGOs also working with young men. Program H targets young men with the aim of questioning traditional gender norms and ideas about masculinity at both the individual and community level. The program empirically proves to positively influence gender behaviours through the development and

utilisation of the 'Gender-Equitable Men' (GEM) scale (Nascimento, 2005), explored in greater depth below. Grounded in humble beginnings in a low-income Brazilian setting, the program is now utilised in more than 22 countries worldwide, replicating Promundo's model of implementation and evaluation.

5.2.1 The Program Intervention Model

Program H (first letter of 'hombres' and 'homens' – men in Spanish and Portuguese) addresses young men in their Brazilian social context. Program H focuses on the idea that traditional gender norms are one factor causing violence against women. An interview with a Senior Programme Officer described Program H in the following way:

> *"At its core, [Program H] aims to change harmful masculinities and norms and create safe spaces where men can discuss these issues and reinvent for themselves what it means to be men."*

The quote introduces the aim of the initiative: to change young men's attitudes about what it means to be masculine through critical reflection. Program H assists young men to "build skills to act in more empowered and equitable ways" (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 1). The complementary individual and community interventions empower young men to feel a sense of agency and control over their lives and sensitize young men to the costs of traditional masculinity and the benefits of new gender-equitable behaviours (Pulerwitz, Barker & Segundo, 2004; Ricardo et al., 2010).

Program H offers the target population of young men between 14-25 years of age opportunities to interact within a male-only setting, with male facilitators as gender-equitable role models (Barker, 2005). The trained facilitators lead youth through participatory group activities implemented during regular sessions over ten to twelve months. The use of the male-only setting has generated several positive outcomes including greater allowance of emotional exchange, questioning machismo, reflecting on fatherhood and violence, and changing the style of male-to-male interaction. The Senior Programme Officer confirmed the success of the male-only setting:

"Originally, in creating Program H we had targeted young men and having trained male facilitators who can model these positive masculine norms is really critical."

The male facilitators therefore support relationships based on dialogue and respect rather than power, encouraging young men to question men's violence against women and rethink their actions within intimate relationships. Programs are motivated to address young men specifically due to the systematic and structural supports for violence frequently found within men, including gendered norms (Jewkes et al., 2015). The male setting often provides a first opportunity for the young Brazilian men to emotionally reflect on the individual costs of such norms.

Promundo bases the single-sex group activities on a validated curriculum that includes a manual (printed in Spanish, Portuguese and English) and educational cartoon video entitled "Once Upon a Boy". The themes in the manual were selected based on a literature review and survey of programs working with young men, and include intimate partner violence prevention as a key subject (Nascimento, 2005). Ministries of Health in different Latin American countries have officially adopted the manuals, including Brazil, Mexico, and Chile (Nascimento, 2005; Promundo, 2016). The no-words cartoon video uses a pencil as a metaphor for gender socialisation - the ability to create or erase behaviours or thoughts that are deemed 'appropriate' for young men (Ricardo et al., 2010). As a cartoon video, it can quickly engage a youth population, and transfers easily across cultures (Barker, 2003). Additionally, the lack of words encourages the projection of personal dialogues and stories. Therefore, the group activities encourage young men and boys to discuss their own socialisation and question traditional views of masculinity, promoting attitude and behaviour change among men (Lundgren & Amin, 2015).

Aligned with the multi-layered approach to violence prevention outlined in Chapter 3, research confirmed there was a need for Program H to intervene at both a societal and community level, as well as intervening with individual attitude and behavioural change (Allison et al., 2011, Barker, 2005; Gomez, 2011). During the interview, the Senior Programme Officer quoted:

> *"Working on individual level and relational level norm change is not enough. [We now question] how can we engage these men in larger circles to echo what is happening in these groups"*

This quote introduces the idea of a wider socialisation of young men. There currently exists a societal change within Brazil, which has seen a disintegration of the traditional family role of socialising youth, replaced with the socialising influence of the media, for example. Instituto Promundo harnesses this media influence, as authors regard interventions that address the youth context specifically as the most effective (Cunha & Guimaraes-Iosif, 2013; Gomez, Speizer, & Moracco, 2011). As a complement to group education, Instituto Promundo uses a community mobilisation strategy consisting of social marketing, mass media and youth culture in an attempt to shift young men's attitudes on violence (Jewkes et al., 2015; Lundgren & Amin, 2015). Campaign slogans use language and images of young men from similar communities in order to guarantee relevance and community support (Barker, 2005). The interview provided several more examples of community change:

> *"Whether it's a social marketing campaign, or a 'telanovella' on the radio, or whether it's having a stand at a health fair at a school… All of those secondary components were all created and implemented by youth in the groups that we engage in Program H"*

This explanation by the Senior Programme Officer introduces the concept of harnessing youth innovation and involvement to ensure future attitudinal and behavioural change. Exploring the extent to which Program H positively involves youth in the process of their developmental growth is discussed further in Chapter 6.

5.2.2 Evaluating Program H: The Gender-Equitable Men Scale

The program also stands out due to the rigor of evaluation. From the onset of the program, Instituto Promundo sought to develop tools to measure the impact of gender-equitable activities on young men's attitudes and behaviours (Ricardo et al., 2010). Pulerwitz and Barker (2008) note that support for inequitable gender norms negatively influences health-related behaviours, including intimate partner violence. Yet, while

many programs have described gender equity as a program target, few have assessed how interventions contribute to achieving gender-equitable behaviours (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). In response to this, Instituto Promundo developed and validated a "Gender-Equitable Men" (GEM) scale measuring gender attitudes of young men before and after implementation of the program.

Thirty-five 'scale' questions were generated, so named for their range of answer choices including: agree, partially agree, and disagree. The questions describe both equitable and inequitable attitudes, for example: "A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine"; "There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten"; or "A couple should decide together if they want to have children" (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008, p. 335). These questions were developed based on a review of the literature regarding gender norms among young men in Brazil. Other organisations wishing to implement Program H in other contexts also use these questions, altering them to reflect different societal attitudes (Barker, 2005).

Before implementation of Program H within Brazil, the GEM scale was pre-tested with 742 Brazilian men aged 15-60 and was found to be reliable for assessing individual and collective attitudes towards gender norms (Nascimento, 2005, p. 2). The scale also showed significant positive shifts in gender norms at both six months and twelve months after completing the Program H intervention (Pulerwitz et al., 2004). The GEM scale is highly regarded by both Promundo staff members and the wider development community, as explained through a quote from the Senior Programme Officer:

> *Program H was the impetus for wanting and needing to have quantitative proof that change with young men was possible; that if we create these safe spaces and targeted inequitable norms, those perceptions and ideas could change. The GEM scale was a landmark tool in being able to achieve that. It was developed almost 15 years ago and is still one of the only tools that we have to measure norms around masculinities.*

As noted in this quote, the GEM scale addresses the scarcity of evidence surrounding the success of interventions with men and boys, as programs do not necessarily provide confirmation of a change in social norms or violence perpetration (Jewkes et al., 2015).

While behavioural change is difficult to measure in the short term, this scale is nevertheless a sensitive evaluation instrument for measuring movement or change in the direction of gender equity on the part of men (Nascimento, 2005).

This report is seeking to evaluate the nexus between Latin American cultural norms and gendered intimate partner violence among youth. While the GEM scale is unable to measure self-reported intimate partner violence, the scale can nevertheless measure changes in key gender attitudes and norms known as machismo, described in Chapter 3 a meso-social causal factor for the perpetration of violence (Barker, 2005; Ricardo et al, 2010).

5.2.3 Next Steps for Program H

The use of the single-sex setting has delivered successful outcomes for Program H, as other males can support and encourage young men to talk about emotions and subjects not discussed previously (Promundo et al., 2002, p. 14; Pulerwitz et al., 2006). Thus, building on the experiences of Program H, Promundo began a sister initiative named Program M (first letter of 'mujeres' and 'mulheres' – women in Spanish and Portuguese), recognising the relational aspect of gender and the need for a complementary approach to engage young women (Promundo et al., 2013, p. 11). Program M promotes women's empowerment and citizenship, and engages young women in similar critical reflection about gender norms within both school and community-based settings (Moura, 2012).

There are now recommendations, however, that group educational activities should also work with young people in 'mixed-sex' groups at least part of the time. The Senior Officer reflected on this recommendation:

> *"Young men and young women do not live their life in silos, and so there needs to be opportunities where we bring young women and young men together for cross-gender dialogue."*

While Program H is now one of many programs that engage young men in the promotion of gender equity, very few programs involve structured dialogue or

collaboration between young men and women (Ricardo et al., 2010). Promundo are now working towards engaging youth in mixed-sex sessions to complement both Programs H and M. The Senior Programme Officer explains:

> *"Light bulbs turn on when young men can listen to the voices of young women, and when young women hear young men becoming vulnerable in terms of the pressures they feel to live up to these really rigid ideas of manhood"*

This quote reflects a new consensus that combining both single- and mixed-sex group sessions into the campaign is fundamental in ensuring acceptance of youth, and that the content is relevant and engaging to both men and women (Jewkes et al., 2015; Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 12). Mixed-sex settings allow young men and women to model respect for one another and confront the reality of violence perpetration. The use of a single-sex setting for at least part of the program remains critical, however, for teaching men to be empathetic (Ricardo et al., 2011). A combination of intervention approaches has been shown to be effective in changing gender norms and reducing violent behaviour (Pulerwitz et al., 2006).

Notwithstanding evidence of impact of the interventions, the duration and cost associated with implementing Program H and M have limited the numbers of youth able to participate (Moura, 2012). The programs cannot achieve the kind of large-scale and sustained reach necessary to change existing society-wide gender norms and power dynamics, and broaden the influence over youth lives and health (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 12). Therefore, Promundo has been investigating ways in which to scale-up the implementation of the educational curricula and campaign within the public education sector.

The Brazilian National Curriculum established in 1996 mandates all primary and secondary school teachers must implement evidence-based sexuality education and promote gender equality in classrooms (Cevallos, 2006; da Silva, Guerra, & Sperling, 2013). Despite the regulation stating sex education should be a 'cross-cutting theme', implementation has been haphazard and inconsistent (da Silva et al., 2013). No training has been provided to teachers to successfully teach sex education, for example, ensuring "representations of gender and sexuality that reproduce and legitimate gender

disparity are accentuated" (da Silva, 2014, p. 1418). Thus, Promundo have developed an online capacity-building portal known as PEGE (Portal for Gender Equality in Schools). The portal includes a series of 15-20 modules for high school teachers to learn how to implement Program H and M in the classroom. The Senior Programme Officer reflected on the success of the scale-up:

> *We have trained over 4000 teachers across two different states in Brazil... that's another way in which we have been trying to promote these gender equitable environments in schools for youth, and ways that we have been working at that structural or institutional level.*

As evidenced in this reflection, the school setting is a primary or structural site for gender socialisation among youth. Thus, this was a logical place to continue the process of implementing an institutional culture of gender equality (Moura, 2012). The ability to engage in further holistic capacity building secures sustainability of the program and an ability to truly mainstream a gender perspective (Ricardo et al., 2010).

5.3 Chapter Conclusions

Program H seeks to promote critical dialogue and reflection around the "constellation of gender norms" (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008, p. 325) that youth are confronted with in everyday life. Program H has had a particular impact on the youth population due to the field-tested curriculum, the community campaigns, and the culturally relevant and validated evaluation model of the GEM scale. The insights gleaned from a review of the literature and an interview with a Senior Programme Officer within Promundo affirm that the combination of the key components of Program H ensure its success. Additionally, through mixed-sex education sessions, and scaling up of the program through the PEGE initiative, the program is now successfully reaching more youth using more sustainable methods.

In examining ways to prevent violence, Program H is a successful intervention that seeks to reduce intimate partner violence through generating attitudinal and behavioural change, evidenced through the adoption of the program into Ministries of Health and Education within the Latin American region. Additionally, the GEM scale is a useful

tool to measure positive shifts in gender norms among young people. There does not seem to be any research so far, however, that examines the positive involvement of youth in Program H's process of changing these gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours, and eventual violence reduction. The following Chapter 6 focuses on the extent to which Program H aligns with Positive Youth Development, through a qualitative document analysis.

6 POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT: DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter includes a qualitative document analysis of three key documents representative of different stages of executing Program H: initial research, implementation and evaluation. The use of a qualitative document analysis assists in answering the second research question, which explores the characteristics of Positive Youth Development (PYD) in the context of Latin American gendered youth violence prevention. As discussed throughout this report, focusing on the assets of youth is a shift in perspective away from viewing youth as problematic. A PYD framework gives increased attention to the positive qualities and outcomes that youth can achieve in this phase of their lives (Crocetti et al., 2014).

Program H is a positive resource and Promundo specifically applies this initiative to the particular Brazilian socio-cultural context in an attempt to challenge gender norms and reduce intimate partner violence. This document analysis evaluates the three Program H documents against the Five Characteristics framework of Positive Youth Development. This frame is applied to investigate how well the program seeks to

involve youth in their future development, and to what degree the program sees youth as positive contributors to society.

6.1.1 Program H Documents

Three documents are analysed, representing different stages of execution of Program H. The inclusion of documents pertaining to research, implementation, and evaluation represents a well-rounded view of the initiative.

The first document to be analysed was published as a journal article by Gary Barker, Instituto Promundo director, two years before the first implementation of Program H.

> Barker, G. (2000). Gender Equitable Boys in a Gender Inequitable World: Reflections from Qualitative Research and Program Development in Rio de Janeiro, *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, 15(3), 263-282.

This article describes results and findings from field research completed in Brazil, which shaped Program H's focus on understanding and educating young men in various settings. This research highlights an early emphasis on educating those young men who seek gender equality and non-violence in their relationships and lives.

The second document is an internal publication that describes the initiative in detail, and captures the aims of Program H and how these are delivered.

> Ricardo, C., Nascimento, M., Fonseca, V., & Segundo, M. (2010). *Program H and Program M: Engaging young men and empowering young women to promote gender equity and health.* Washington, DC: PAHO.

The document was written by Christine Ricardo and other Instituto Promundo staff members in 2010, nearly ten years after the program was first delivered, thus there are reflective elements within the document. The document also includes a description of the later-introduced Program M; therefore, any keywords mentioned in the sections of the document related to Program M were not included.

The third document is an evaluation of Program H completed in 2006 in conjunction with a research company 'Horizons'.

> Pulerwitz, J., Barker, G., Segundo, M., & Nascimento, M. (2006). *Promoting More Gender-equitable Norms and Behaviours Among Young Men as an*

HIV/AIDS Prevention Strategy (Horizons Final Report). Washington, DC: Population Council.

Although this document mainly focuses on those aspects of Program H that target HIV/AIDS education, rather than violence prevention, it is a particularly useful document as it includes aspects of the initiative not mentioned in other documents, including a cost-benefit analysis and lessons learnt while delivering the program. Those sections of this document pertaining to violence prevention are those most focused on in this analysis.

6.2 Five Characteristics of Positive Youth Development

Each of the documents listed above are analysed against characteristics of Positive Youth Development, to examine whether the goals and outcomes of Program H focus on promoting positive outcomes.

The use of Five Characteristics (Five Cs) to operationalise Positive Youth Development (PYD) has emerged in the past 25 years as a viable measurement approach (Lerner et al., 2005). Although a standard vocabulary or structural approach of PYD still does not exist, the Five Cs framework has attracted the strongest attention from those practitioners and researchers working with youth (Bowers et al., 2010; Erentaitė & Raižienė, 2015). The Five Cs are a core set of intersecting characteristics that denote positive change: Connection, Caring, Character, Competence, and Confidence.

Connection refers to positive and supportive bidirectional bonds with friends, family, or institutions within a set community (Crocetti et al., 2014; Travis & Leech, 2013). These relationships are crucial for youth to feel accepted, cared for, and affirmed in life.

Caring reflects empathy, sympathy, and identification with others (Travis and Leech, 2013). The authors also note that an awareness of other people's experiences and responding to the distress and pain of others indicates an inhibition of aggression and a motivation to help others, evidencing Caring.

Character refers to respect towards societal and cultural rules, and possession of standards of correct morality, a sense of right and wrong, and integrity (Travis & Leech, 2013, p. 94). Bowers et al. (2010) also indicate that Character includes valuing diversity.

Competence is a view of mastery and competency of one's actions and abilities. This is either regarding a certain skill; or general physical, social or emotional competency (Travis & Leech, 2013).

Confidence includes ideas of self-worth and self-regard, which are not specific to any behaviour or activity, but rather an internal sense of overall positivity (Crocetti et al., 2014; Travis & Leech, 2013). These authors also explain that confidence reflects a satisfactory assessment of one's current circumstances, but also future possibilities.

The Five Cs approach has assisted in evaluating the effectiveness of programs or policies aimed at promoting PYD, and understanding the goals and outcomes of community-based programs aimed at enhancing youth development (Lerner et al., 2005, p. 22). There have been a number of *quantitative* studies completed assessing each of the Five Cs using decimal scoring systems (Crocetti et al., 2014; Erentaitė & Raižienė, 2015; Lerner et al., 2005; Phelps et al., 2009). However, there is a lack of *qualitative* analyses of the characteristics completed, despite each of the Five Cs defined through a set of easily describable components (Erentaitė & Raižienė, 2015).

This qualitative document analysis will explore each of the Five Cs through identifying keywords and phrases as indicators for each characteristic. I decided upon keywords and phrases indicative of each characteristic from the literature and definitions of the terms, as well as common synonyms. These were searched for individually, and the total count did not include words in any titles or references. Tables displaying the keywords and respective frequencies are under each characteristic.

Each document is assessed as to whether these keyword indicators present themselves within the text, and also how each characteristic is represented and connected to the

aims and outcomes of Program H. The sum of the five characteristics represents the larger concept of Positive Youth Development; hence, each element is critical to every other within the approach (Travis & Leech, 2013). The representation of all five Characteristics through the indicator keywords and phrases, with links to the aims and outcomes of the program, shows the greatest alignment with the approach.

6.2.1 Connection

Key Word	Document One	Document Two	Document Three	Totals
Connection				
Relationship	27	24	53	104
Peer	11	13	14	38
Interact	15	2	12	29
Relative	2			2
Friend	19	10	12	41
Family	31	13	11	55
Model	15	6	2	23
Mentor	6			6
Connection	3	1		4
Communit(y)	33	27	60	120
TOTAL	162	96	164	**422**

Using a keyword search, Connection was the PYD characteristic overwhelmingly most referenced, both in greatest range of keywords and number of keyword mentions (422 in total), clearly placing this as a high priority for the program. The documents evidence Connection through a number of aspects of the initiative described and evaluated in the analysed documents.

The keywords chosen represent the idea of forming connections with multiple groups of people within society. Traditional gender norms and roles are created and reinforced through multiple layers of society, whom are all also involved in rewriting these norms and thus creating positive development among youth. Therefore, the analysis explores keywords of "peers" (38), "friends" (41), "family" (55), and "community" (120).

The first document, in stating the implications of initial research on program development, noted an early need for young men to form various connections:

"Families, girlfriends, community organisations, school, and adults in the community are all involved directly or indirectly in modelling or reinforcing ideas about gender and masculinities" (Barker, 2000, p. 277)

Therefore, from the onset of Program H, the PYD characteristic of Connection was seen as crucial to encourage gender equity among young men in multiple sites and settings (Barker, 2000).

The identification and training of facilitators in delivering Program H is another key example of Connection. Pulerwitz et al. (2006) found these gender-equitable adult men are role models for the younger participants. The initial research first advocated the idea of a "model" (23) or "mentor" (15) (Barker, 2000). The second and third documents echoed the significance of such Connections:

"[Importance of] having a family member or meaningful role model" (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 5)

"[Importance of] gender-equitable role models within their own community" (Pulerwitz et al., 2006, p. 13)

With the significance of role models referenced across the documents, this indicates successful implementation of this aim of the program. Having a meaningful role model that supports gender-equitable roles and attitudes is therefore effective in contributing to individual change (Barker, 2000; Barker, 2007; Nascimento, 2005).

The participants in the program forge an added greater Connection by sheer virtue of experiencing the activities and lessons learnt together; involvement in this program provides the young men with a sense of camaraderie. The participants begin to support more gender-equitable attitudes through small group discussions and activities (Nascimento, 2005; Ricardo et al., 2010). Thus, the keywords of "peer" (38), "friend" (41) and "interact" (29) were also searched for and mentioned with reference to this

idea of participation in Program H. The second document references the importance of Connection between participants:

> *"[Importance of] being part of an alternative male peer group" (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 5)*

Formative research noted the male peer group as a factor associated with increasing support for gender equality, successfully implemented in Program H (Barker et al., 2000, Ricardo et al., 2010).

The keyword cited most frequently was "community" (120 mentions), across all three documents (33, 27 and 60 mentions). This idea enforces the idea advocated by Promundo that changing community ideals regarding gender norms, and subsequent violence prevention among young people, requires a whole of society approach.. This keyword is mentioned within the documents with reference to both forging new communities between the participants of the program, and encouraging the young men to take lessons learnt and inform their wider social community.

It is, therefore, unsurprising that Program H shows the most alignment with Connection, as the associated principles of this PYD characteristic are at the heart of the program's goals and ideals.

6.2.2 Caring

Key Word	Document One	Document Two	Document Three	Totals
Caring				
Reflect	4	19	4	27
Emotion		1	4	5
Empathy		2		2
Discuss	1		31	32
Car(ing)	20	3	2	25
Communicat(ion)		3	16	19
Encourage	7	3	8	18
TOTAL	32	31	65	**128**

The PYD characteristic of Caring represents empathy, sympathy, reflection, and discussion of other's distress, with these terms and their synonyms chosen as keywords analysed within the three documents.

In analysing the documents' alignment with Caring, "reflection" was one of the keywords most cited across all three documents (27 mentions in total). The use of this keyword could be because Program H takes advantage of the male-only, and thus less inhibitive, setting and encourages the young men to "reflect" on their own experiences, therefore encouraging others in the group to "discuss" (32) and "communicate" (19) their past and present "emotions" (5). Participants in Program H are encouraged to be empathetic towards other young men within the group, and sensitive to past experiences (Nascimento, 2005; Ricardo et al., 2010). Nascimento (2005) also found the use of male-only groups allowed for more emotional exchange and increasing attention to being caring and caregiving. The representation of these ideas in both research and description shows Caring, as a key aim of the program, is successfully implemented.

The first document notes a pressing need for both individual and group activities to support Caring behaviour:

"[Program H encourages] reflections about life histories and how they act as men" (Barker, 2000, p. 278)

The second descriptive document evidences the success of implementing the group activities within a male-only setting:

"[Participation in the activities leads to] increased feelings of empathy, reduced conflict among participants, and critical reflections about how participants treated their female partners" (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 6).

The Caring characteristic is also demonstrated through the identification and training of facilitators. The keyword "encourage" (18) was searched for as facilitators have to be attuned to group dynamics, manage conflicts, and encourage young men to speak

openly about their emotions (Pulerwitz et al., 2006), indicating a necessary "empathy" (2). The facilitators also must show a clear willingness to help others, and through this encourage the young men to behave similarly. The third evaluative document evidenced the success of identifying and training facilitators:

"[The facilitators] encourage young men not accustomed to talking about emotions and values to open up" (Pulerwitz et al., 2006, p. 13)

The keyword "caring" itself was also one of the highest referenced within the documents (25 mentions in total). The documents particularly mention this keyword with reference to romantic relationships. Phrases within the first and second documents mention this focus:

"Being respectful and caring in one's relationships with women or men, being involved in the lives of one's children and not using violence towards a partner" (Barker, 2000 p. 265)

"Appealing to a sense of empathy and men's potential to treat women as equals" (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 17)

As noted in the above passages, discussions advocating limiting violent behaviour and exploring how previous violent behaviour has impacted on young men's lives and beliefs is also key example of how Caring is used throughout the program. Consistent with PYD, Program H focuses on the use of effective non-violent responses to problems (Allison et al., 2011). Therefore, the development and implementation of Program H aligns with the Caring characteristic of PYD. The documents mention Caring by emphasising the importance of empathetic attitudes towards past experiences, focusing on emotional exchange, and encouraging reductions in violent behaviour.

6.2.3 Character

Key Word	Document One	Document Two	Document Three	Totals
Character				
Traditional	19	1	4	24
Norm	6	18	70	94
Attitude	18	24	47	89
Socialis(e)	6	8	10	24
Hegemonic	3			3
Masculin(ity)	26	7	14	47
TOTAL	78	58	145	**281**

PYD defines Character as encouraging youth to show respect towards societal and cultural rules. Program H, however, has the goal of disrupting traditional beliefs, as Brazilian society socialises young men to accept masculinities that lead to an increase in levels of intimate partner violence (Barker, 2000). Program H instead aims to promote new standards of correct morality through discouraging long-held societal and cultural views. Hence, keywords were chosen from the broad theme of changing traditional gender norms, illustrated in the following passage from the second document:

> *"[Program H] introduced ways to taken on more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours" (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 1)*

The third document reflected on the introduction of traditional masculinities through individual and community socialisation:

> *"Socialisation that promotes inequitable gender roles as the norm" (Pulerwitz et al., 2006, p. 4)*

The high number of key words associated with Character across all three documents (78, 58, and 145 mentions) indicates a high alignment of Program H with this PYD characteristic. In particular, there are a remarkable number of mentions of "norm" (94) and "attitude" (89) that occur. These keywords therefore reflect the altering of "traditional" (24) gender norms and attitudes, as a form of societal and cultural rules.

These traditional norms and attitudes are also known as "hegemonic masculinities", hence, the inclusion of these two keywords into the analysis. Researchers describe hegemonic masculinity as the pattern or set of socio-cultural practices that are grounded in an ideology of power and allow male dominance over women to continue (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Fernández-Álvarez, 2014). Given the broad goal of the organisation is to re-write deeply embedded cultural norms in order to create behavioural change among young men, it is unsurprising that the keyword "masculinity" was evidenced across all three documents (26, 7, and 14 mentions). The first document noticed these prevailing masculinities within Brazilian communities pilot-tested for Program H:

"Young men were largely socialised into and accepted hegemonic masculinity" (Barker, 2000, p. 266)

Showing consistency across the lifecycle of the Program, the third evaluative document notes the GEM scale addresses these masculinities:

"[Program H] hopes to influence and promote a modification of those norms" (Pulerwitz et al., 2006, p. 36)

Thus, the Program H initiative somewhat deviates from the established PYD definition of Character. Rather than showing respect towards societal and cultural rules, Program H aims to change societal gender norms. However, attempting to change gender norms and attitudes, and subsequently prevent violence, has a more positive end goal than allowing existing cultural gender rules to continue and cause harm.

The first document evidenced harmful masculinities as present within the first pilot-testing for the program; the second document described changing traditional norms as a key objective of Program H; and the third evaluative document noted the success of altering gender attitudes as proven through the use of the GEM scale. Thus, the documents show strong evidence of aligning with the PYD characteristic of Character, represented through the aims of the initiative set out in the first research text, and outcomes referenced in the second and third implementation and evaluation texts.

6.2.4 Competence

Key Words	Document One	Document Two	Document Three	Totals
Competence				
Skill	7	7	2	16
Ability	7			7
Identity	10		1	11
Competenc(y)	6			6
Self-efficacy		3		3
TOTAL	30	10	3	**43**

The characteristic of Competence references the idea of a young person expressing a positive view of their actions and abilities. While keywords pertaining to Competence were mentioned across all three documents, the first document describing initial research included both the greatest range of keywords, and highest mentions (30). The initial research noted the need to learn new skills in order to avoid traditional versions of masculinity:

> *"Helping young men acquire vocational skills is… important in terms of helping the young men find meaningful, pro-social identities" (Barker, 2000, p. 278)*

As this first document was written in the early stages of Program H's lifecycle, this represents an early goal to enhance young people's "skills" (7) and "abilities" (7), and to create new positive "identities" (10), in line with the goals of PYD.

The keyword "self-efficacy" (3) embodies the idea of Competence, defined as the belief in one's ability to succeed in specific situations or accomplish a task. This keyword, however, was only mentioned in the second document:

> *"self-efficacy in terms of violence prevention" (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 10)*

The keyword "skill" (16) was the keyword cited most frequently across all three documents, and often was used in reference to gaining skills to act in gender-equitable ways. An example from the second document:

"[Program H assists to] build skills to act in more empowered and equitable ways" (Ricardo et al., 2010, p. 1)

Gaining Competence in gender-equitable behaviour is therefore an overall aim of the program through the completion of group activities. Skill-building is achieved through individual reflection; dialogue, negotiation and mutual respect are encouraged as the basis of relationships (Promundo et al., 2013, p. 22). Thus, despite a lower frequency of keywords throughout the documents, Program H nevertheless aligns with the characteristic of Competence.

6.2.5 Confidence

Key Words	Document One	Document Two	Document Three	Totals
Confidence				
Confiden(ce)			2	2
Self-care	1			1
TOTAL	1	0	2	**3**

Alignment with the PYD characteristic of Confidence was less pertinent to the creation and implementation of the Program H initiative, as there are significantly fewer keywords mentioned across the three documents. All synonyms of the words "confidence" and "self-care" were also searched for but did not appear. Therefore, with only two keywords noted across all three documents, and no keywords appearing within the second document, Program H only minimally aligns with this Characteristic within this analysis.

However, despite a lack of keywords within these particular documents, this does not necessarily imply that Program H does not encourage confidence building through engagement with young people. It would be useful if Program H would indicate clearly how the various activities promote Confidence within key documents, in order to ensure a lack of misrepresentation.

6.3 Chapter Conclusions

Program H aligns with the values of PYD, despite not directly mentioning PYD literature or vocabulary within the program's objectives and framework. Through inclusion of similar goals and outcomes to PYD, the document analysis referenced all Five Characteristics of PYD within the Program H documents. While keywords related to Connection, Caring, and Character were the characteristics most frequently mentioned in the documents, it was interesting to note an alignment with the spectrum of PYD ideals were included in all documents. Referencing all five characteristics indicates that from the onset through to evaluation of Program H, positively inspiring youth in reaching development outcomes is a high priority for Instituto Promundo.

Explanations and quotations from the documents support alignment with the analysis criteria of the Five Characteristics of PYD (Ward & Wach, 2015). This document analysis also considered meaning and context of the text, as well as the type of document and author, to ensure an impartial and fair assessment (Altheide, 1996; Bowen, 2009; Scheyvens, 2014; Ward & Wach, 2015). As Program H encourages youth to achieve better levels of well-being and resilience, there is alignment with PYD ideals (Sanders & Munford, 2014). Program H promotes youth involvement in the prevention of risk, viewing youth in a positive light with the ability to successfully contribute to society.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the nexus between gendered youth intimate partner violence prevention and empowering PYD within a Brazilian context. It compares the information gathered from analysis of Program H documents, and a case study interview with a Senior Programme Officer within Promundo, with the literature. The aim was to explore two research questions:

1. How is gendered intimate partner violence among youth addressed in Brazil?
2. How are empowering Positive Youth Development characteristics included within youth violence prevention in Brazil?

This study used an empowering PYD framework to enable the actions and ideas of youth to be central to answering my research aim and questions. This research investigated the issue of intimate partner violence among youth in Brazil, caused in part by gender inequities permeating Brazilian society. Simply preventing such violence from occurring, and thus reducing its effects on society, was found to be inadequate to ensure holistic youth development; youth must feel positively empowered and engaged

to address this issue. Therefore, the idea that "problem-free is not fully prepared" (Catalano et al., 2002, p.232) is fundamental to the ideas within this research report.

This research report began by introducing the topic and methodology being utilised - a qualitative case study of Program H, a Brazilian violence prevention program seeking to rewrite traditional gender norms among young men. The case study explored the interplay between the priorities of Program H and the violence prevention and PYD literature, and used both primary and secondary source material for a well-rounded view of the initiative. A detailed document analysis explored three key Program H documents representing various stages of the program's lifecycle, using the five characteristics (Five Cs) of PYD identified and explained by Bowers et al. (2010) and Travis & Leech (2013). This report also included a semi-structured interview with a Senior Programme Officer within Promundo to gain specific insights into the present and future work of Program H.

Chapter 2 explored three main issues hindering youth development within the Latin American region, echoed specifically in the Brazilian context in Chapter 4. These issues were: failures in the provision of adequate educational and employment opportunities; resulting frustration causing interpersonal violence among young people, including intimate partner violence; and the absence of youth involvement in both national political and economic development, and their own development (ECLAC, 2008, 2014b). Additionally, harmful gender norms persist throughout Brazilian society, which compound the issues raised above (Daniel & Graf, 2016; Meade, 2010). Young men can feel pressured to conform to certain masculinities, and young women must contend with persisting gender discriminations.

Growing to adulthood in Brazil, as a country with too few options for achieving economic success and a lack of positive masculine and feminine identities, turns many youth to intimate partner violence in order to reaffirm their status, and many young women to accept this behaviour (Barker, 2005). Chapter 3 explored multi-layered approaches to both risks for and solutions to the issue of intimate partner violence, as a product of multiple overlapping levels of societal influence (Imbusch et al., 2011). Targeting various groups and layers within society was found to be highly useful when

assessing violence, both within the highly nuanced region of Latin America and the highly varied population of youth.

Current Brazilian youth development is aided by organisations such as Instituto Promundo, which looks to inspire gender equities among youth. Promundo's Program H uses a multi-layered prevention approach, targeting gender inequities at both an individual and community level, as detailed in Chapter 5. Additionally, as noted in Chapter 6, this prevention approach aligns with the PYD in an empowering fashion. Altering harmful gender inequities through the involvement of multiple societal groups, and encouraging caring behaviour among young men in particular, inspires positive behaviour.

7.2 Discussion in Response to Research Question One

The first research question explored how gendered intimate partner violence among youth is addressed in the Brazilian context. The social processes both leading to, and preventing, intimate partner violence among youth in Brazil were found to involve overlapping levels of societal influence on behaviour (Imbusch et al., 2011). Thus, the multi-layered approach proposed by Briceño-León (2005) was applied and extended to explain the causes for the issue of intimate partner violence among youth. This Latin American approach explained three levels of factors leading to violence – macro, meso, and micro (see Chapter 3), and was heavily relied upon due to its geographical relevance. Specific factors from Barker et al. (2013) and Heise (1998) noted to increase the prevalence of intimate partner violence within Latin America were also included. This report found wide agreement on the need to intervene against violence during youth, when attitudes and beliefs about sexuality and gender stereotypes are still developing (Hickman et al., 2004; Ricardo et al., 2011). However, due to the multi-causal nature of violence, this report also discovered a need for various societal groups to involve themselves in addressing violence, as diverse groups of people influence are responsible for influencing youth behaviour, through diverse methods (Jewkes et al., 2011).

The macro-social factor targeted in this report was low levels of employment despite increased education, mirroring a key developmental issue facing the youth population

within Brazil and wider Latin America. Variables associated with unemployment were found to be significant in causing violence against women, including feeling ashamed, stressed, or depressed as a result of lack of work (Barker et al., 2013). Additionally, as young women receive paid work over men, they challenge the gendered and culturally defined male role of provider, stimulating violence from men as a reassertion of power.

Traditionally unequal gender inequities, known in Brazil and wider Latin America as machismo, are a cultural, or meso, causal factor for violence. Such inequities were found to often first present in youth as a learned behaviour. This report explained machismo is a hypermasculine 'script' that is taught to young boys, with teachings including exerting interpersonal control through aggressive dominance (Felix-Ortiz et al., 2012). Program H was found to specifically target the rewriting of harmful masculinities in order to reduce levels of violence, through targeting both individual and community attitudes.

The two micro social factors discussed were the link between alcohol abuse and violence against women, and Heise's (1998) factor of witnessing or experiencing abuse as a child; these were found to be specifically associated with intimate partner violence in the Latin American context (Barker et al., 2013). Bandura's (1977) social learning theory was used to explain the second of these two factors, as violence is often socialised and ingrained into the culture of a young person. This further linked to the idea of harmful gender roles encouraging young men, especially, to accept violence as the norm.

This research discovered a shift in recent decades, to engage men and boys in addressing and transforming the issue of intimate partner violence, recognising that men and boys have strong motivations for ending violence and promoting gender equality (Flood, 2011; Jewkes et al., 2015; Peacock & Butler, 2014; Storer et al., 2016). Program H was found to align with this shift, in working with young men to erode the Brazilian cultural supports for violence early in life, and supersede these with norms of gender equality and respect.

Akin to causal explanations of violence, violence prevention efforts expressed dissatisfaction with a single-factor approach (Catalano et al., 2002). Primary prevention

interventions, which target problem behaviour before it begins, were found to be most effective when addressing multiple layers of society contributing to violence. Therefore, initiatives such as Program H that target both societal and community influences, and individual characteristics leading to violence, were found to be most effective (Peacock & Barker, 2014; Storer et al., 2016). Authors recommended that ideal intervention methods would both address the immediate violent characteristics that first present themselves at this age, and lower the risk of future violent relationships (Cornelius & Resseguie, 2007; Lehrer et al., 2013). Prevention of risky behaviour, such as violence, was recommended to also encourage positive empowerment to fully engage the youth population (Olson & Goddard, 2015).

7.3 Discussion in Response to Research Question Two

The second research question analysed how empowering PYD characteristics are included in youth violence prevention in Brazil, using a qualitative case study of Program H. The findings indicated that characteristics of PYD were well incorporated into the aims and outcomes of Program H as a prevention program. Despite prevention advocating for an anti-deficit approach, compared to PYD employing a promotion and empowerment approach, the two frameworks were found to have potential for alignment; both frameworks advocate for a reduction in violent behaviour as a key outcome.

As a violence prevention program, there was a possibility that Program H would focus too heavily on the deterrence of negative risk. Program H had made no previous specific reference to the PYD approach, and there existed no conclusive measurement of whether or how Program H positively empowers the Brazilian youth population. Therefore, a document analysis sought to explore whether three key documents pertaining to the Program H initiative aligned with the Five Cs of PYD. Alignment with the Five Cs was found through the presence of specific keywords and phrases, and was compared with the objectives and aims of Program H. While keywords related to Connection, Caring, and Character were the characteristics most frequently mentioned in the documents, it was interesting to note an alignment with the spectrum of PYD ideals were included in all documents.

PYD literature points to a particularly symbiotic relationship between the three characteristics of Connection, Caring, and Character as they holistically promote the idea of moral identity (Travis & Leech, 2013, p. 99). Program H was found to unknowingly embody this symbiotic relationship, focusing on how gendered norms within a Brazilian context affect young people's ideas of morality, with a goal of preventing intimate partner violence, an inherently immoral act. Therefore, although the three key documents of Program H did not actively mention the PYD framework, the heavy referencing of these three characteristics evidenced positive empowerment at the heart of the program's goals and outcomes, despite an end goal of prevention of risk.

Connection was the characteristic overwhelmingly most referenced in the documents, as Program H exhibited the researched prevention method of targeting multiple groups within a society in order to empower youth to reduce levels of violence. Program H, through a combination of individual reflection, group activities, and wider community campaigns, targets the "myriad" of places that young men are socialised as a necessary step in order to question gender norms and create behavioural change (Nascimento, 2005, p. 2). Intervening at the various levels was found to provide an opportunity to forge greater connections with parents, service providers, other individuals within Program H, or groups within the community who influence youth behaviour and attitudes (Barker, 2007; Ricardo et al., 2010). From a PYD perspective, if young people have positive and mutually beneficial relationships with both people and institutions in the social context, they could thrive and contribute (Sanders & Munford, 2014). Additionally, as youth create strong connections with society, it is assumed they could also be empowered towards pro-social decision-making, including refraining from violence; this explains Program H's indirect focus on this characteristic of PYD (Travis & Leech, 2013).

From a developmental standpoint, as young men create strong connections, they also strengthen their empathetic relations, which is an indicator of the Caring characteristic of PYD (Travis & Leech, 2013). Program H was also shown to heavily emphasise ideals of Caring, through a focus on emotional exchange between the young men, and empathetic attitudes towards the young men's past experiences (Ricardo et al., 2013. Through indirectly referencing ideals of Caring, and ultimately encouraging reductions

in violent behaviour, Program H is empowering youth to create improved moral identities.

Finally, Character directly relates to moral reasoning and behaviour. Although PYD literature would define Character as respect towards societal and cultural rules (Bowers et al., 2010), the Program H initiative was found to deviate from this through aiming to *change* societal gender norms. However, as Program H seeks to write and create new standards of correct morality within communities, they are advocating for less societal acceptance of harmful behaviours including intimate partner violence. This report assumes creating new standards of behaviour has a more positive end goal than allowing existing cultural gender rules to continue and cause harm.

The document analysis demonstrated that Program H promotes positive behaviours among youth. The "optimistic orientation" (Sanders & Munford, 2014, p. 160) of Program H is an exposure to a supportive and empowering environment for youth, reflecting the ideals of PYD (Nissen, 2011). A quote from the Senior Program Officer summarises how Program H targets positive change:

> *Often when we think of adolescents or adolescent males we think of this as a problematic period where they are challenging what is considered positive civic behaviour, where they might be more apt to engage in harmful risk taking and that kind of thing. What we aim to do as part of Program H is to break down those stereotypes of this problematic period and try and promote this idea of positive manhood and positive masculinity, and through our facilitators and through our programs try and create these positive role models for young men.*

Therefore, although having an end focus on prevention of violence, Program H was found to indirectly include empowering PYD characteristics within the initiative. Alignment with the Five Cs, particularly Connection, Caring, and Character, provides conclusive measurement of Program H's empowering environment. The following section seeks to draw together the findings from both research questions in relation to the aim of the research project, utilising research regarding both prevention and PYD.

7.4 Final Discussion and Recommendations

This research report concludes that dimensions of youth development and empowerment are interrelated and dynamic (To, 2007). The youth empowerment process parallels the multi-layered approach used throughout this report, in which organisations, programs, and policies should address macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of intervention (To, 2007, p. 556). Additionally, violence prevention among youth also achieves the greatest results when addressed using a multi-layered approach. Youth development is a process that cannot be achieved through targeting one issue facing the youth population, or targeting young people through only one level of societal influence.

Both empowerment and PYD, which focus on encouragement and development of positive behaviour, have been contrasted and compared with prevention of the negative. Prevention approaches focus on reducing exposure to risk factors that increase problem behaviour correlated with health issues, including violence. This is contrasted with PYD, which positively empowers youth to make change. Roth & Brooks-Gunn (2003, p. 94) argue that programs should "approach youth as resources to be developed rather than as problems to be managed". This report notes agreement of the need for greater promotion of youth preparation and healthy development, not just problem prevention and deterrence (Catalano et al., 2002; Lerner, 2005; Olson & Goddard, 2015; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

Some authors such as Benson (2006) and Roth & Brooks-Gunn (2003) have noted a 'paradigm shift' in the prevention field from deterrence to development. These authors argue that the youth development field should focus exclusively on building assets rather than trying to reduce risk, as solely targeting risk factors emphasises the deficits of young people. However, a focus solely on building resilience minimises important social risk factors (Catalano et al., 2002, p. 235; Olson & Goddard, 2015). Therefore, Catalano et al. (2002) argue those programs that are concerned with promoting *both* PYD and preventing behavioural problems have the most promise for success. Cooperation, as opposed to competition, between the two frameworks is the best strategy for progress in youth development, as there is emphasis of both risk reduction and asset development (Lerner, 2005; Lerner et al., 2005; Olson & Goddard, 2015).

Programs such as Program H have the ability both to promote positive youth behaviour outcomes and prevent youth problems, such as intimate partner violence (Catalano et al., 2004). As stated by Catalano et al. (2004, p. 109):

> "Many programs with a primary prevention label [are] in fact embedded with numerous positive youth development strategies and measured positive youth development outcomes in addition to changes in behaviour".

This quote demonstrates that targeting both prevention and empowerment is plausible, and targeting both is often an unintended consequence of recent youth prevention programs. Program H exemplifies this through never overtly referencing the PYD framework within Program H literature, yet still indirectly incorporating positive and empowering characteristics within the aims, methods, and outcomes of their prevention activities. An excerpt from the interview with a Senior Programme Officer explains how Program H addresses both frameworks:

> *"[Prevention can] be a much more "top-down" approach where we … try to impose these prescriptive behaviours and norms".* Program H instead creates a space to question, *"how these young men identify with manhood, how they develop more positive or reject more harmful ideas of what it means to be men … We try not to be so prescriptive about it, but rather just to create enough space for them to discuss what it means to be men, and what are the positive behaviours that they want to act out."*

This quote demonstrates that Program H measures positive outcomes by more than simply the absence of negative behaviours (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Positively empowering youth to address unequal gender norms, and thus lower rates of violence rather than simply regarding youth as a risk to society, could also have positive effects on other areas of youth development. Effects could include providing youth with the necessary skills to advocate for further governance, and address developmental concerns including a lack of employment.

Program H focuses on gender norms as one causal factor for violence, despite research showing problem behaviours among youth are correlating and reinforcing each other (Catalano et al., 2002). Thus, further development of Program H could include expanding or partnering with other organisations to prevent the development of multiple risk factors for violence, for example including alcohol dependency assistance, or working with youth employment agencies.

Possible further areas of research could include the broadening of this study to encompass several violence prevention programs throughout Latin America as examples for analysis. In addition, a study could be adapted to explore intimate partner violence worldwide, specifically comparing how programs targeting young men within differing socioeconomic and cultural contexts employ prevention and empowerment methods.

To finally conclude, Program H is one program assisting to "raise youth consciousness to address society's institutional or structural problems that adversely affect their lives" (To, 2007, p. 555). Through empowering and encouraging men to reflect on traditional harmful gender norms, and consequently adopt new versions of masculinity, Program H assists in reducing levels of intimate partner violence among youth. Additionally, this study has provided qualitative measurement of Program H's promotion of youth development and preparation. A reduction in violence is most likely when youth are empowered to become involved in both individual and community-level change, addressing various levels of society. Program H significantly contributes to changing inequitable gender norms amongst young men, with potential positive and empowering flow-on effects to the young people of Brazil and the wider Latin American region.

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APPENDIX: INFORMATION SHEET

Involving Young Men in Preventing Violence Against Women: A Case Study of Instituto Promundo's Program H

Olá!

My name is Courtney Rose and I am currently enrolled in the Development Studies Programme of Massey University, New Zealand. This study contributes to a research project undertaken to complete the requirements for a Master's Degree in International Development at Massey University.

I am passionate about the issue of violence prevention among youth, and have a special affinity with Latin America after having spent significant time travelling and volunteering there.

This research project aims to analyse the domestic violence educational program delivered to young men in Brazil, entitled "Program H". As a staff member of Instituto Promundo, I would like to invite you to participate in this research by taking part in an interview. The thesis aims to gain more understanding of domestic violence among youth within the Latin American region, with a particular focus on Brazil. I am particularly interested in evaluating the program's success in viewing youth as positive contributors to development.

I will be asking Instituto Promundo to disseminate this information sheet, and for three or four representatives from Instituto Promundo to voluntarily participate in a semi-structured interview. If you agree to participate in this project, the interview will involve answering questions about your role in the organisation, your views on violence prevention, and about Program H specifically.

The information from the interviews will be used along with a qualitative document analysis to establish how Program H successfully contributes to violence prevention. All personal information relating to both you and your organization will be kept confidential. If you agree to participate, I would appreciate it if you would allow me to tape interviews, but this is not a requirement. All interview notes and tapes will be securely stored to ensure privacy and confidentiality. If you wish, I shall send a summary of project findings once they are complete. You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview, should you agree that the interview be taped.

Thank you for the time you have given towards reading this information sheet; I value all information you could bring to this research project. Please do not hesitate to contact me, or my supervisor, if you have any questions or concerns (see contact details on page 2).

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> *This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.*
>
> *If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 x 86015, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.*

Involving young men in preventing violence against women : a case study of Instituto Promundo's Program H : a research report presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of International Development at Massey University, Manawatū, New Zealand

Rose, Courtney-Jane

2016